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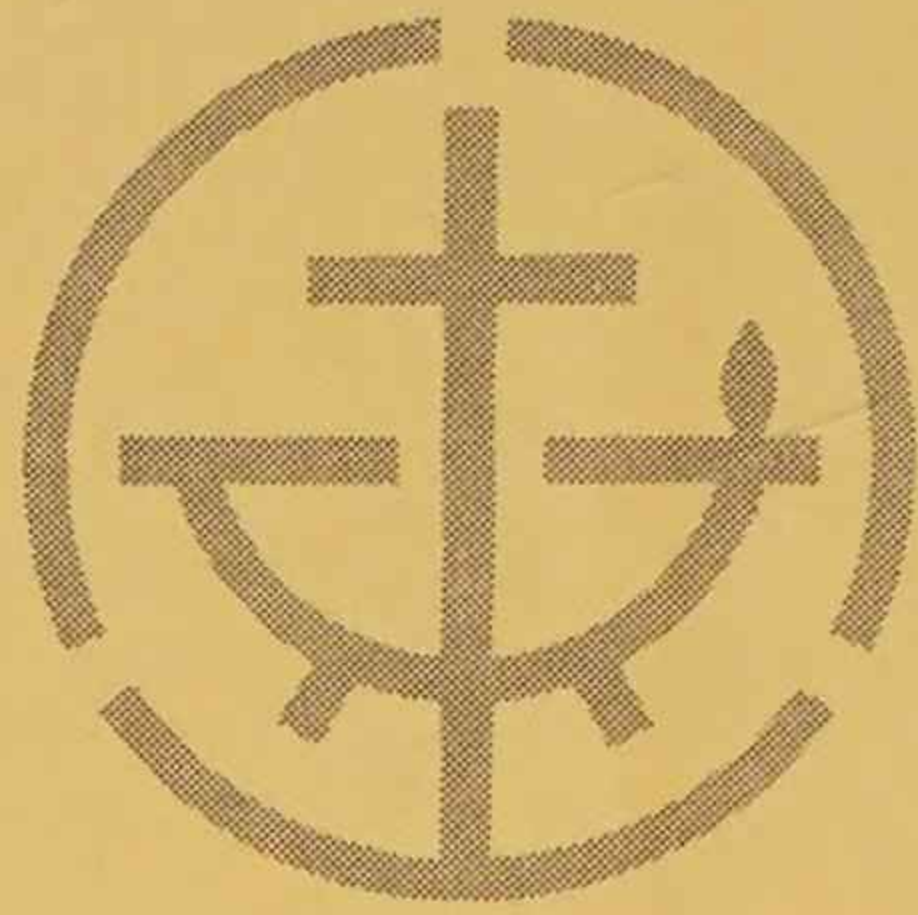


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Technical Report of The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography

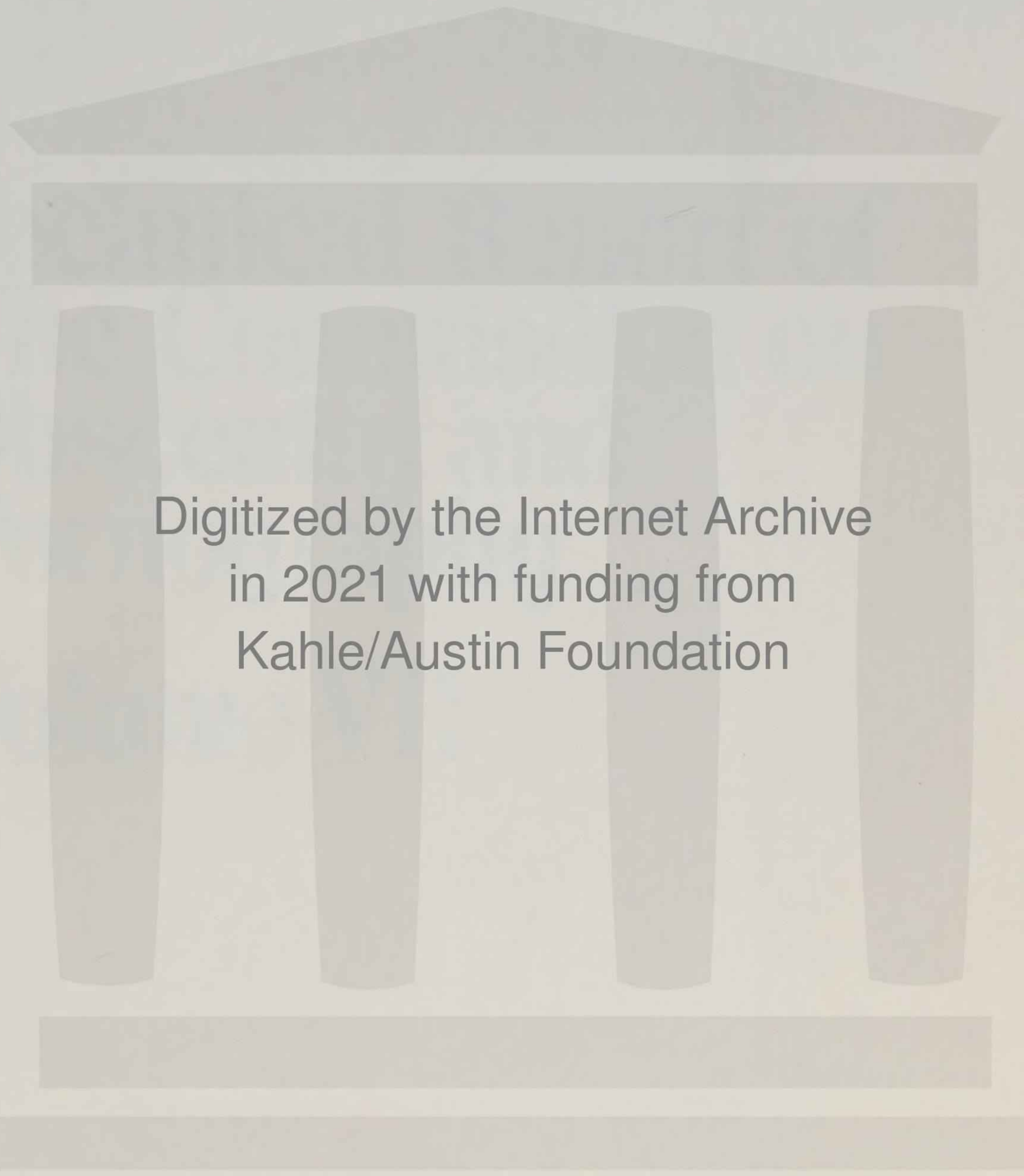
Volume VII

EROTICA AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR



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U.S. Commission on Obscenity
and Pornography.

Technical Report of The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography

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Volume VII

EROTICA AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

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Foreword

The members of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography take special satisfaction in making available these Technical Reports of research undertaken at the Commission's request and under the direction of its staff.

These reports are an important part of the Commission's response to the directive from Congress to study and report on (a) constitutional and definitional problems relating to obscenity controls, (b) traffic in and distribution of obscene and pornographic materials, and (c) effects of such materials, particularly on youth, and their relationship to crime and other antisocial conduct.

Most of the Technical Reports are original work because, outside of the legal field, very little research on the questions assigned to the Commission had been undertaken by anyone prior to the funding of the Commission in the summer of 1968. At appropriate points in these volumes, reference is made to reports of earlier research, as well as to research projects undertaken independently of the Commission during the two years of its effective life. Primarily, however, the Commission found it necessary to rely on the original research reported here.

Although attention will initially focus on the findings and recommendations of the Commission and its four panels, the research reflected in these Technical Reports will have greater long-range importance. The findings by the Commission and its panels are necessarily limited and hurried distillations, and its recommendations are inevitably tempered by the give and take of seeking to reach a group judgment on a highly controversial subject. The research reported here, however, was subject to no such limitations and is being made available primarily for two purposes:

(1) We expect and invite critical examination and appraisal of these reports, for we have only begun the task of interpreting the wealth of information they contain.

(2) We hope that the Commission-sponsored research will stimulate and point the way to further scientific inquiry in this difficult and baffling field. There are still many unanswered questions, and these will require further research with more refined techniques and instruments.

For the Commission, I wish to express deep appreciation to all the individuals and teams whose research is reported here. We are most grateful both for their willingness to pioneer in this unexplored and controversial field and for their shouldering of the burden on such short notice and with such restrictive time schedules.

I also wish to express for the Commission our admiration and thanks to Dr. W. Cody Wilson, our executive director, and his excellent staff. Only through their valiant and effective efforts in planning and implementing this vast array of highly diverse research projects, all focusing on specific tasks assigned to the Commission, was it possible for us to bring our work to a timely completion.

WILLIAM B. LOCKHART
Chairman

General Preface

Many of the papers in these volumes share two characteristics: a focus on empirical description and a lack of refinement in presentation. Each of these characteristics is a product of both circumstance and deliberate policy.

The emphasis on empirical description reflects in part the nature of existing knowledge at the beginning of the Commission's work. Few empirical observations had been reported in the literature, and these were not sufficient to provide even a tentative description of the phenomena of concern to the Commission, nor to form the basis for research at a higher level of conceptualization.

The emphasis on empirical description also reflects the nature of the task assigned to the Commission. The policy questions posed by the Congress required primarily empirical description for guidance.

The overall research strategy and the specific research projects were guided, however, by ideas and concepts from more theoretically developed areas of the behavioral sciences such as socialization, personality, and social structure. Hopefully, the data compiled for purposes of empirical description of the phenomena of obscenity and pornography will be relevant to theoretical issues in these other areas.

Some of the empirical descriptions may appear to many social scientists as demonstrations of the obvious. This is often the case *after* an empirical description has been provided. Yet, it is never certain that "obvious" concepts and relations are valid until they have been tested empirically. As it turned out, there were a few surprises to a few people.

The policy implications of the findings of this research program may very well stir controversy and debate. Because of their crucial importance for policy discussion and decision, the Commission has presented the basic empirical observations with a minimum of complex statistical manipulation and conceptual analysis. The lack of refinement in presentation of several of the research reports is due in part to the Commission's desire to keep very close to the raw data.

Most of the researchers had less than nine months in which to establish a research team, arrange a research setting, develop measuring instruments, secure subjects, collect the data, reduce the data, and write a report. In several instances we are presenting, literally, the first draft of a report.

The Commission staff has refrained from all but very minor editing of these reports. The observations and interpretations are entirely the authors'. To insure that ideological standards were not imposed on the results of the reports, the Commission and its staff have also foregone the prerogative of imposing generally accepted standards of scientific reporting. To the same end we have also published all of the research that has been undertaken for us.

Nevertheless, most of the reports in these volumes quite satisfactorily reflect current standards, not only for conducting research but also for reporting on its results.

We trust that many of the authors will soon present to the behavioral science community reports based on these data but directed to more theoretical and conceptual issues and reflecting a higher degree of refinement of both data and presentation than has been possible here.

This series of volumes of Technical Reports is a joint effort of the Congress, the Commission, the Commission staff, the research teams headed by the authors of the several papers, and the many people who participated in the studies: Congress posed the general problems, authorized the Commission to contract with competent agencies to conduct research, and provided the necessary funds. The Commission specified the kinds of information that it required and worked closely with the staff in designing an appropriate research program. The Commission staff specified the details of the research program and, under the direction and guidance of the Commission, implemented it—partly by undertaking research directly, but more often by contracting with outside agencies to conduct research. The authors of the papers accepted responsibility for developing concrete research arrangements, collecting and analyzing data, and writing reports, all under tremendous time pressure. Several thousand people cooperated in collecting the data and devoted uncounted hours of time providing the information in these volumes.

On behalf of the Commission, its staff, the authors of the papers, and the people who read these volumes and make use of the contents, I express deep appreciation to the Members of Congress who initiated and make possible the gathering of this information, and to the people who participated in the various studies and contributed the basic information.

W. CODY WILSON
*Executive Director
and Director of Research*

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Exposure to Pornography and Sexual Behavior in Deviant and Normal Groups

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The following report describes the second phase of a research project designed to assess whether relationships exist between experience with pornography and the development of normal or abnormal sexual behavior. The first phase of the research was concerned with developing a standardized clinical interview for surveying both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of an individual's past and current use of erotic materials. (A detailed description of the development of the interview is contained in the initial report to the Commission.)

Because of important moral, social, and legal implications it was surprising to find such a marked paucity in the literature of studies regarding the effects of pornography on behavior. It was also surprising to find that, with a few notable exceptions, much of what had been reported was complicated by a variety of methodological problems.

In general, most of the previous work focused on defining and quantifying—using either psychological or physiological parameters—what various groups of subjects have found to be sexually arousing. Earlier studies were undertaken by Giedt (1951), Linder (1953), Eliasberg (1962), Byrne and Sheffield (1965), Goldberg and Milstein (1965), Hess, Seltzer, and Shlien (1965), Jakobovits (1965), Levitt and Brady (1965), Loisselle and Mollenauer (1965), Levitt and Hinesley (1967), and McConaghy (1967). These studies contained a number of interesting trends and consistencies:

1. There is no relationship between one's past sexual experience and the level of sexual arousal, except for a very specific sexual experience (for instance, oral-genital contact, female on male) in which arousal is positively correlated with past sexual experience.
2. In terms of the content and media of presentation, the available data show that the erotic valence of photographs is higher than that of drawings and within each media nude scenes have a higher valence than clothed scenes.
3. Certain personality variables such as authoritarianism or perceptual and cognitive styles seem to be related to the perception of pornography.
4. In terms of special target groups (sex offenders versus non-sex offenders) it was observed that sex offenders were more sexually responsive (projected more sexual themes) to stimuli ranging from obvious sexual scenes to ambiguous stimuli. Sex offenders' dreams were of a more sexual nature and, specifically, had more sex crimes as their themes than those of non-sex offenders.
5. Level of sexual arousal from erotic material was correlated with such factors as level of education, youthfulness, imaginativeness, and the capacity to project.

The monumental pioneering work of Kinsey and his group (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953) was extremely helpful to us in providing valuable insights into many aspects of human sexuality. The methodology used was valuable because of its primary reliance on interview data. Despite the extensiveness of the group's survey of sexual behavior, the use and effects of erotic material was rather briefly described, as it was not a central focus of the studies. However, the 1953 study indicated that differences in reported levels of sexual arousal in males and females could be a product of the explicitness of the sexual stimuli and of the media used. (Except for this report no other group has used standardized interviews to gather data on the behavior effects of contact with pornographic materials.)

Using a standardized clinical interview, this research project was designed to focus on the relationship between the use of pornography and its influence on subsequent behavior. It was anticipated that data on experiences with erotic material could be compared across pertinent subject groups to help clarify what role, if any, pornography plays in the shaping of sexual behavior.

The data in this report are the results of interviews with a wide variety of subjects: institutionalized sex offenders, noninstitutionalized sexual deviants, users of pornography, and controls (normals) both Caucasian and Black.

METHOD

Development of the clinical research instrument

Initially we directed our efforts on this research project toward developing an effective clinical interview schedule that would enable us to assess as accurately as possible an individual's experiences with erotic materials. Although the present report focuses on data that were gathered in the interviews, we felt that a complete report would require an abbreviated description of the rationale, techniques, and sources used in developing the interview. (A copy of the interview format is contained in Appendix D.)

The first step was to develop a working model for the interview. The model naturally served as a guide in the development of the questionnaire, which examined factors antecedent to exposure to pornographic materials, the exposure itself, and the results or consequences of this exposure. The interview was designed as a series of modular sections so that it could be used either in its entirety or in sections fitted to specific research interests.

In developing the sequence of questions within and between each modular section, an attempt was made to avoid bias by asking first the most open-ended questions and later the specific detailed questions. In addition, to reduce defensiveness the question sequences moved from questions which were the least personally threatening to questions which might be more personally threatening and anxiety provoking.

Organization of the instrument

An introductory statement formed Stage I of the instrument. A significant amount of attention was devoted to preparing the introductory statement in staff conferences and in consultation with an advisory committee. It was deemed important for the interviewer to have some preliminary "ice breaker" but to avoid any intensification of anxieties by giving too much information or by being too verbose. The final version of the introductory statement was quite brief and simply stated that the interviewee would be questioned about experience with erotic materials, a subject of current importance, and that there were no right or wrong answers. The interviewee was assured of complete anonymity, and some indication was given of the amount of time that would be required of him. The introductory statement was assiduously constructed so as to avoid any indication that specific results were desired by the interviewer.

Stage II of the instrument covered demographic data. This section was inserted directly after the introductory statement for several reasons. The introductory "ice breaker" was made quite brief in the expectation that the questions in Stage II concerning demographic data—since they were unemotional in nature—would further serve to put the subject at ease. It was felt that factual questions of this nature would help to relax the subject. In addition, the substance of the questions in Stage II was quite important in providing the associative data for comparing and classifying interviewees. Placing this material at the beginning also permitted the interviewer to obtain information from subjects who might withdraw from the interview before its completion.

Stage III contained direct questions pertaining to experience with pornographic materials. The first part of Stage III was a general section. The initial questions related to the interviewee's frequency of contact with literature and entertainment media in general. These questions served to give some measure of a respondent's general pattern of stimulus-seeking in which erotica would be a specific case.

The second part of Stage III contained preliminary general questions about contact with erotic materials during the past year and during preadolescence. There were several reasons for asking these questions at this point. Concerning the most recent activities, a commitment was obtained from the interviewee regarding his exposure before any specific questions were asked that might arouse anxiety and defensiveness. A few of the questions also permitted the respondent to have his first chance to speak freely about sexual material.

The general questions covering preadolescence were designed to elicit information concerning the circumstances in which the erotic material was seen, as well as who was present, what was learned, and specifically what erroneous information might have been deduced from the experience. Any actual shaping of sexual attitudes or practices which might have grown out of these early experiences was probed.

The third section of Stage III concentrated on the adolescent period and, more specifically, on the experiences in adolescence with erotic materials. The questions dealt first with photographs, next with motion pictures, then with books. The questions in these three areas were designed to elicit estimated frequencies of exposure for each medium of pornographic materials. Since the questions within each medium (photos, movies, books) were subdivided by type of sex represented, frequencies of exposure were elicited for each type of sex in each medium. The questions were limited to these three media, as they proved to be the most productive and the ones with which most persons had the greatest contact. These categories also provided a sampling of both public and private viewing of erotic materials. Data concerning content and frequency of exposure to erotica were obtained before more specific questions were introduced concerning feelings and reactions. Pretesting confirmed that throughout this stage of the interview there was little or no reluctance on the part of the interviewees to answer fully. This desirable situation not only provided more data for the later specific questions but also acted as a jumping-off point for the more intensive and challenging questions. If experiences with certain kinds of material were denied in response to later questions, the interviewer could act as a mnemonic device to remind the interviewee of experiences with erotica mentioned earlier.

The next section of the interview contained intensive questions concerning the respondent's "peak" experience with a pornographic stimulus. The first question in this section requested the interviewee to select his most significant and salient experience with erotic material during his adolescent period, which question was designed to permit the interviewee to provide his own standard for determining his most memorable experience and was followed by questions probing the basis of its significance for the respondent. The nature of the stimulus, the emotions engendered (positive and negative), fantasies stimulated, and action taken (if any) were examined. In addition, the respondent was questioned as to the circumstances of this exposure and conceptions and misconceptions about sex which

followed his exposure. Subsequent questions were designed to elicit information about the manner in which these materials became part of the person's fantasy life and to determine whether any actual sexual activity immediately followed these exposures. Questions also probed for any changes in sexual activity as a result of these exposures (either immediately or remotely) and factors that may have fostered or prevented immediate sexual activity.

The final set of questions in this section were designed to differentiate between erotic materials experienced as exciting and those labeled disgusting. These questions were placed at the end of the section because of the possibility that the interviewee, if asked too soon to judge experiences as disgusting, might screen out and not report exciting experiences.

The next major section within Stage III dealt with the most recent experiences, those that took place during the previous year. The questions focused on photographs, motion pictures, and books in essentially the same manner as in the adolescence section. In addition, a section was added concerning live entertainment of an erotic nature, which was not included in the adolescence section.

The intensive questions focusing upon the adult experience had some variations from the sequence in the adolescent section. The most significant difference was in regard to the order in which the questions were asked. In the adolescence section, questions pertaining to feelings were followed by questions relating to actual acts. The order was reversed in the adult section. Pretesting indicated no significant effects of order differences. This reverse order was used to reduce potential boredom resulting from repetitive questioning.

The final section of Stage III dealt specifically with the role of fantasy in the individual's sexual life. Questions were directed at the content of the individual's daydreams and fantasies, as well as the persons involved in the fantasies (actual or imagined sex partners), the actions taking place, and the role of the fantasy either in arousing desire or as a concomitant of sexual activity. Further questions were designed to ascertain what use was made of pornographic materials in stimulating the interviewee or his regular sex partner. The respondent was also questioned as to access to desired erotica and sources of obtaining the material.

The next major stage of the interview (Stage IV) dealt with the interviewee's sex attitudes and perception of his parents' sexual attitudes. Accordingly, several questions were prepared on a closed-end format designed to reveal personal and perceived parental sex attitudes. Also included were questions dealing with sources of sex information during school years. Again, the sequence of the questions was influenced by first asking the less challenging and personally remote questions; thus, questions dealing with parental attitudes preceded the individual's own attitudes. (Most of these questions were drawn from the items developed by William Simon in his studies of sex attitudes and practices.)

Stage V of the questionnaire dealt with the interviewee's sex history. This was the last major stage in the questionnaire and was placed at the end to reduce defensive responses. The questions related to sex practices in early life and current sex practices. They were designed to elicit responses regarding the respondent's general sexuality, the intensity of his sexual activity, and specific kinds of sexual acts preferred.

In Stages IV and V the interviewers used prepared precoded cards from which the interviewee selected his answer. These cards substantially increased the speed of the interview and facilitated the compilation of data.

Selection and training of interviewers

Sex offender sample. The sex offenders institutionalized at Atascadero State Hospital were interviewed by professional psychologists and social workers on the hospital staff. It was felt that interviewers who were familiar with sex offenders and who had an understanding of their problems could carry out these interviews with maximum skill.

Homosexual, transsexual, and control sample. Respondents were interviewed by a team located at the Legal and Behavioral Institute. The team was composed of two graduates in psychology, two clinical psychologists, two psychiatrists, and one graduate lawyer.

Black middle class and Black ghetto samples. The persons in these samples were interviewed by Black interviewers, each of whom had a B.A. degree and had served as a counselor or teacher at the Community Skills Center.

Each interviewer was trained by a senior interviewer. He was required to listen to one recorded interview and then to make two practice interviews. These were scrutinized by a senior project member and, if they were acceptable, the interviewer was permitted to carry out regular project interviews. If not, the interviewer had to continue making practice tapes until certified.

All interviews were taped recorded and done in private offices, except for five which were carried out in respondents' homes. Analysis of the interviews was done from the tape recordings.

Coding of the interviews. Based upon a subsample of 50 interviews, empirical code categories were formed to cover the range of responses. These categories were then applied to a subsequent sample of 50 interviews and necessary modifications were made. Coding was done largely by noninterviewers, typically undergraduate students in psychology. The coders were largely ignorant of the purpose of the study and of any working hypothesis underlying the format of the interview. Blind coding checks were done until 85% to 90% agreement was obtained using the final code. Coding meetings were held on a once-a-week basis until this level of reliability was reached. A spot check was made on each coder's record, and if serious differences appeared the record was recoded by another senior coder. As might be expected, coding reliability for demographic and precoded questions was nearly perfect. Initial attempts at achieving reliability on the most open-ended questions were disappointing. This was true as long as a coder worked directly from the tape recording.

In order to improve reliability, coding of open-ended questions was then set up as a two-stage process. First, the interviewer listened to the tape and wrote down "the essential thought units" in each answer on a 3×5 card. Reliability of what was abstracted from the total answer was found to run between 80% and 85%. Then the code was applied to the written abstracts of the responses. Using this two-stage procedure an average reliability of 80% to 85% was ultimately obtained.

NATURE AND SELECTION OF THE SAMPLES

Institutionalized sex offender sample. This sample of male sex offenders was obtained through the generous cooperation of the research and psychology staffs at Atascadero State Hospital. Atascadero State Hospital is a California institution

for the "criminally insane." Any sex offender judged in court to be psychiatrically disturbed may be sent there for observation. If during a period of observation (usually 30 days) the patient is judged by the staff to be suitable for the program of rehabilitation and treatment provided by the hospital, he is permitted to stay. If he is not judged suitable by the hospital staff, he is returned to the referring court for other disposition, usually including penal confinement. It is difficult to specify the exact basis on which the hospital staff makes its decisions, but discussions with the staff indicated that they are sensitive to a patient's willingness to acknowledge his deviant behavior and his desire to change his sexual patterns. Of course, the desire to avoid imprisonment in a penitentiary may affect the patient's attitude.

This factor is mentioned as it should be recognized that our sample was drawn from sex offenders who had been judged by a court as psychiatrically disturbed and who had passed the probationary period in the hospital. This means that our data are based upon a group of sex offenders considered receptive to rehabilitation, drawn from the total population of males who were arrested for sex crimes.

From their total population of sex offenders, the research staff at Atascadero was asked to draw three groups of approximately 20 each for studying (1) aggressive sexual offenders, especially rapists or attempted rapists (hereinafter usually referred to simply as "rapists"); (2) pedophiles (child molesters) who selected *male* children as sexual objects; and (3) pedophiles who selected *female* children as sexual objects.

In each group, samples were selected to fit the following criteria: (1) shortest length of time in the hospital; (2) age between 20 to 40 years, with an equal percentage in each 5-year segment of that age range; and (3) a willingness to participate in the project. Patients were selected by a psychiatric technician from hospital records that best met these criteria, which resulted in a total of 72 tentative subjects. Of these 72 only two refused to participate in the study, and 11 others were eliminated because of mechanical difficulties in recording and similar problems. As it turned out, only approximately 20 subjects in each subgroup from the total population then residing in the hospital met the selection criteria after eliminating the problem cases, and thus almost all of the patients meeting these criteria were in our sample.

After a patient was selected for the study, he was informed of the nature of the project. He was told that all data collected were to be kept strictly confidential and that \$5 would be paid into his hospital account for his participation. The final sample consisted of 19 rapists, 20 male-oriented pedophiles, and 20 female-oriented pedophiles.

Homosexual sample. This sample was drawn from the membership of a local homophile organization called One Incorporated. The staff of the Legal and Behavioral Institute made a presentation at the annual dinner of the organization at which volunteer subjects were solicited. Subjects were selected to match the Atascadero sample in age distribution. Each subject was paid \$10 for participating in the study. There was no possibility of matching the homosexual sample with the Atascadero group in educational level, as the groups varied so markedly from each other. It is difficult to know how representative this sample was of the larger homosexual population. Obviously, persons in this sample identified themselves publicly as homosexuals and were willing to participate in this study. Possibly

they represented a bias toward those homosexuals attracted by the payment. The sample consisted of 37 males.

Transsexual sample. Each person applying for a sex-change treatment at UCLA is referred to the Gender Identity Clinic for psychiatric and psychological evaluation. At the time of the study, persons currently in the Los Angeles area who were patients of the Gender Identity Clinic were asked to participate. No applicant who was contacted refused to participate. Each respondent was paid \$10 for participation. The sample consisted of 13 males.

Users sample. This sample consisted of people who paid for and used erotic material. It was originally intended to obtain a sampling of such persons in three subcategories: customers of so-called "adult" bookstores, patrons of "skinflick" movie theaters, and persons whose names were on mailing lists identifying them as buyers of 8-mm. erotic movies.

To obtain subjects among customers of adult bookstores, flyers were placed in six such stores in the Santa Monica and Hollywood areas of Los Angeles County. Flyers were also distributed outside other adult bookstores including some in downtown Los Angeles. (A copy of the flyer is set forth as Appendix A.) Two of the stores were adjacent to skinflick theaters. The sample of persons who responded to the flyers consisted largely of those who obtained the flyer in the Santa Monica bookstores. (This was surprising, since most of the flyers had been distributed at a bookstore in Hollywood.) Several of the interviewees had obtained the flyer from friends who had seen them at bookstores.

Distributing the flyers and contacting the user sample were done primarily by an employee of the Legal and Behavioral Institute. Early attempts to contact patrons of the stores directly while they were making purchases proved fruitless. Most people were frightened by this approach and refused to participate. The fact that a greater number of respondents came from the Santa Monica area than from Hollywood raised questions of bias in this sample. It can be seen in Table 3 (in the next section) that the users recruited by responding to the flyer had a higher education and economic level than did the controls. This suggests that our sample was comprised of the better educated and more affluent types of users of pornography.

Subjects among patrons of the skinflick theaters were also obtained primarily from the distribution of flyers in the theaters. Since some of the bookstores were attached to the theaters, there was an overlap in the two types of patrons responding to the flyers.

To obtain a sample of persons purchasing 8-mm. erotic films, all persons in the Los Angeles area who appeared on the mailing list obtained from the Commission were contacted. From a list of over 100 names only 10 responded, all of whom denied obtaining films through that source. Several hundred flyers were given to persons who ran mailing services for people who did not want to receive mail at home, and there were a few responses from that source.

Users of pornography in all three categories were also obtained from two other sources. The primary source was an ad in a local "underground" newspaper with a very large circulation, the Los Angeles *Free Press*. The ad read as follows:

The Legal and Behavioral Institute is conducting a research study aimed at achieving enlightened censorship legislation. The Institute would like to interview persons who go to adult movies and adult bookstores or receive such

material by mail. We are willing to pay interviewees for their time. Please call 470-2457.

The ad ran for one week, skipped a week, and then ran for two more consecutive weeks. There were many responses to the ad in the first week, but many of the people calling were not users. The placement of the ad the first week was before the page of "skin" movies. The second week the ad ran it was placed along with the "skin" movies, and almost no one responded. The third week it was placed in the middle of the paper with a heavy black border, and the response was enormous. Attempts to place the ad in the "establishment" press to approach a different reading audience proved unsuccessful: Various newspapers refused the ad because it was "too controversial" or presented other obstacles that caused too much delay considering the limited time available for the study.

A few subjects were contacted through an organization entitled 101, which is an association of "wife swappers." They tended to be heavy users who were also highly educated and fairly affluent.

The selection process of the users did not result in subsamples which fitted the original division into the three categories—customers of adult bookstores, patrons of skinflick movie houses, and persons whose names were on mailing lists of 8-mm. erotic films—because of the difficulties encountered and discussed above. Instead, the sample was separated into the following three categories: (1) those responding to the flyer; (2) those responding to the advertisement, and (3) those purchasing through the mail. The numbers in each group were 52, 17, and 9, respectively.

A reexamination of the data and categories led us to believe that there was a substantial overlap between categories (1) and (2). Category (3) was obviously quite small. Accordingly, unless otherwise noted, the data on the user sample presented in this report were drawn primarily from the 52 subjects responding to the flyer.

The Black sample. The Black sample was composed of two groups: One group consisted of 22 male residents of the ghetto who were trainees in a job training program for the hard-core unemployed; the other group was composed of 17 males drawn from residents of middle-class areas.

The ghetto sample was drawn from trainees enrolled at the Community Skills Center in Gardena, Calif. The center is a skill retraining school funded under the Manpower Training and Development Program of the U.S. Department of Labor. Trainees considered "hard-core" unemployed were selected from the total population of the school. The list of available trainees was then sampled in a random order until a sample was drawn which matched the age breakdown of the total Atascadero sample of institutionalized sex offenders. Since by definition the Black ghetto sample was extremely low in economic status and unmatched on that variable with the sex offender sample, an age match was the only one that could be made.

The sample of middle class Blacks was not systematically drawn from a known pool of subjects. Instead, interviewers knowledgeable about the Black community were instructed to locate persons who satisfied an income definition of middle class economic status. These interviewees could not be personal friends of the interviewers and had to be referred through some intermediate source perhaps a

friend or relative. This sample also was selected to match the age distribution of the Atascadero State Hospital group.

Control sample. In any study of this type there is a need for some baseline data against which to compare findings for the special sample. The problem of defining and selecting such a sample is a formidable one. Obviously the control sample should be free of serious sexual deviation and unbiased in the method of selection. In order to locate a sample of subjects with minimal bias, a subcontract was awarded to the UCLA Survey Research Center to locate respondents. They were given the age distribution and educational level distribution of the Atascadero samples and were told to locate a community sample matched on these parameters. The Atascadero samples were used as the primary groups to match the controls for reasons of policy and practicality. The policy reason involved the great importance attached to an analysis of sex criminal data. The practical reason was that at the time the control sample was selected and interviewed only the Atascadero sample was complete. Time was an ever-present burden in this study, and its extreme brevity—necessitated by the Commission's schedule—accounted for many methodological variances. Based on demographic data available to the center, certain target areas of Los Angeles were selected which were likely to contain male Caucasians of this age range and educational level. The control sample was limited to Caucasians and Christians, as the Atascadero sample was almost exclusively Caucasian and Christian. The homosexuals, transsexuals, and users also were almost entirely Caucasian.

The UCLA Survey Research Center then went into these communities locating specific streets on a random basis within a target neighborhood. A house-to-house survey located respondents who fit the criteria and who were willing to participate in the study. The names of these individuals were turned over to the Legal and Behavioral Institute for further contact. A total of 133 names were provided by the survey center. From this list each person was contacted by telephone and asked to participate in the interview. He was told that he would receive a \$10 fee. Sixty-three of the 133 people agreed to participate and were actually interviewed. The others either had telephone numbers which were invalid, refused to come to the phone, refused appointments, or failed to appear when appointments were scheduled. If the matching between the control and Atascadero samples (shown in the next section) is examined, it can be seen that there was an excellent match to the rapist sample; however, the match between the pedophile and control samples was not as good. The pedophile groups contained a larger number of older men with a 7th to 9th grade education; it appeared that these subjects were the most difficult to locate in the community and were most likely to refuse an interview. Of the 63 who were interviewed, 10 were eliminated from the sample because of technically inferior interviews caused by mechanical difficulties with tape equipment or poor interview technique. In two cases, the subject was eliminated because he clearly belonged to a deviant group.

Other samples. Several other sample populations were interviewed. The numbers in these populations did not justify complete analysis in the brief time available, but some summary comment is made, where appropriate, in regard to those samples. The following is a short description of those samples.

Venice control group. In an effort to locate Caucasians with low educational levels, the survey team drew samples from the Venice section of Los Angeles. While these subjects matched the sex offenders on external criteria, it was obvious that the Venice control subjects were "dropouts," many with extensive drug histories. This group of 16 persons accordingly was not grouped with the main control sample.

Female subjects. In addition to the 13 male transsexuals reported above, there were nine female transsexuals interviewed who were obtained in the same manner as the male transsexuals. There were also six lesbian subjects obtained through various sources. Twelve female users were obtained as subjects through the same sources as the male users.

DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

Age distribution. Subjects in the sample fell primarily in the 20 to 40 year age range (see Table 1).³ Only the homosexuals and the mail order users of pornography had a substantial number of respondents over 40 years of age. The age match of rapists to controls was excellent. However, there was a significant difference in age distribution between the controls and the two pedophile groups, the Black middle class group, the flyer user group, and the homosexuals. The variance was not surprising, as these groups often differed from each other on age distribution, and it was not possible to match a single control group to such variable groups. The female user group tended to follow the same age distribution as the male.

Birthplace and current residence. All samples except the two groups of Blacks were born predominantly in the Midwest and West, but all areas of the country were represented in all groups. The Black ghetto group showed a heavy concentration of persons born in the Southeast (about 47%), which contrasted greatly with the control group. The Black middle class group also did not compare well with the control group in that many were from the Southeast and Southwest, and several were born outside the United States. All groups were predominantly urban in origin, but a little more than one-third of the homosexuals were born in "rural" settings. Interestingly enough, users on mail order lists also showed an unusually high percentage from a rural background (50%). At the time of the study almost all subjects in all samples were residing in urban areas in the West.

Marital status. Table 2 describes the marital status of the various samples. The match between the controls and other samples in this variable was close. It is noteworthy that the female-oriented pedophiles contained a higher percentage of married subjects than did controls ($p < .01$ vs. controls). The users tended to parallel the control group.

As would be expected, the homosexuals were largely unmarried ($p < .01$ vs. controls). The female users showed a very high divorce rate (50%), which was more than twice that of any other group. Both male and female transsexuals were largely single, but only 1% of the females were significantly different from controls. None of the groups showed a significant difference from the controls in the number of times married.

Educational level. As Table 3 illustrates, the match in educational levels was good between the control group and rapists and reasonably good with the male-oriented pedophiles. However, the female-oriented pedophiles were remarkable in

Table 1

AGE DISTRIBUTION

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyer	Users Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Blacks Middle class
15-19	5.7	5.3	10.0	0.0	2.7	15.4	5.8	0.0	11.1	9.1	0.0
20-24	43.4	36.8	10.0	15.0	8.1	15.4	21.2	0.0	33.3	45.5	5.9
25-29	30.2	21.1	30.0	10.0	21.6	30.8	44.2	35.3	11.1	13.6	23.5
30-34	9.4	21.1	15.0	20.0	18.9	38.5	11.5	23.5	0.0	22.7	35.3
35-39	7.5	10.5	10.0	40.0	8.1	0.0	1.9	0.0	11.1	4.5	17.6
40-44	0.0	5.3	20.0	0.0	16.2	0.0	13.5	41.2	0.0	0.0	11.8
45-49	1.9	0.0	0.0	5.0	5.4	0.0	1.9	0.0	22.2	4.5	5.9
50-59	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0
Over 60	0.0	0.0	5.0	10.0	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17
vs. Controls	-	-	.05	.01	.01	-	.05	*	*	-	.01

* Not computed.

Table 2

MARITAL STATUS

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyer	Users Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Blacks Middle class
Married	41.5	42.1	30.0	55.0	2.7	15.4	25.0	52.9	22.2	40.9	47.1
Separated	5.7	15.8	0.0	10.0	0.0	7.7	7.7	0.0	11.1	0.0	5.9
Divorced	5.7	15.8	10.0	25.0	16.2	15.4	11.5	17.6	11.1	13.6	17.6
Widowed	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Single	45.3	21.1	55.0	10.0	70.3	61.5	50.0	29.4	55.6	40.9	23.5
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17
vs. Control	-	-	-	.01	.01	-	-	*	*	-	-

* Not computed.

Table 3

EDUCATION

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyer	Users Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class
Less 8th	1.9	0.0	15.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0
8th	3.8	0.0	5.0	10.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	5.9
Some H.S.	15.1	42.1	35.0	50.0	2.7	30.8	9.6	5.9	11.1	45.5	23.5
H.S. grad.	30.2	31.6	15.0	30.0	16.2	15.4	15.4	29.4	11.1	36.4	11.8
Some college	41.5	26.3	20.0	5.0	43.2	15.4	44.2	29.4	55.6	9.1	29.4
College grad.	3.8	0.0	5.0	0.0	10.8	7.7	11.5	11.8	11.1	0.0	11.8
Some grad.	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.8	15.4	9.6	0.0	11.1	0.0	11.8
Grad. degree	2.9	0.0	5.0	0.0	10.8	15.4	5.8	23.5	0.0	0.0	5.9
Prof. degree	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17
vs. Controls	-	-	-	.01	.01	.02	.01	*	*	.02	-

* Not computed.

that none of the subjects had any college training and as a group were less educated than the controls ($p < .01$). It is also noteworthy that the rapists all had at least some high school training, although there were no college graduates.

The homosexual and transsexual samples were more highly educated than the controls ($p < .01$ and $p < .02$, respectively) as were the "flyer users" ($p < .01$). All of the users had at least some high school training, and they also rated fairly high with regard to college and postgraduate study. Even though the mail order group of users was very small, it appeared significant, in comparison with the other user groups, that only one member of the group was a college graduate. Most of the female users had had some college training, and only one was not a high school graduate.

As should be expected, the Black ghetto group was considerably less educated than the controls ($p < .01$). The group contained no college graduates and consisted mainly of high school graduates or persons with less schooling. The Black middle class group contained a much larger distribution of educational levels, and several had college degrees or advanced degrees.

Socioeconomic status. The Edwards Scale of Socioeconomic status was used for coding occupations. Based solely on the subjects' report of present occupation, all of the sample groups differed significantly from the control group in socioeconomic status as shown in Table 4.

The rapists and the female-oriented pedophiles showed lower occupational levels than the controls. The male-oriented pedophiles, in line with their higher educational level than the rapists, had a significantly higher occupational status ($p < .05$). Compared to the controls the male-oriented pedophiles showed some higher occupations but also many more lower level occupations. The homosexuals and the transsexuals, in keeping with their higher education levels, indicated a higher average occupational status. The user group was heavily professional, as over 30% of each of its subgroups was in one of the professions compared with 7% of the control group. The group of male users on the mail order lists was somewhat noteworthy as having no skilled or semiskilled workers yet a rather high percentage of unemployed.

(The Venice control group shows significantly lower income than the control group, $p < .02$).

The Black ghetto group had a very high percentage of students, which reflected their current status in the retraining center. The Black middle class group had a relatively high percentage of professionals, although there were no representatives of the major professions.

However, regardless of the strong distinctions between the controls and the other groups with regard to occupational description, there were no significant differences between the controls and any other group in their current annual income or their best annual income.

The socioeconomic factors also showed that the two Black samples were comparable to a ghetto versus a middle class distribution. Members of the middle class group rated higher on the Edwards Scale ($p < .02$), had a higher current income ($p < .05$), were better educated ($p < .02$), and had higher salaries in their best job ($p < .01$). It should be noted that the ghetto group was also younger ($p < .02$). Conceivably, the Black middle class sample was a group not necessarily of middle class origin but instead had achieved that status later in life. Table 5

Table 4

PRESENT OCCUPATION**

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyer	Users Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class
Maj. prof.	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	10.8	7.7	11.5	23.5	11.1	0.0	0.0
Lesser prof.	1.9	0.0	5.0	0.0	18.9	23.1	5.8	5.9	11.1	0.0	29.4
Minor prof.	5.7	0.0	5.0	5.0	5.4	7.7	19.2	23.5	11.1	4.5	11.8
Clerical	22.6	10.5	0.0	10.0	21.6	0.0	17.3	11.8	11.1	0.0	5.9
Skilled man.	26.4	26.3	20.0	15.0	5.4	7.7	5.8	5.9	0.0	4.5	17.6
Semiskilled	5.7	42.1	35.0	45.0	2.7	7.7	3.8	11.8	0.0	9.1	11.8
Unskilled	15.1	10.5	15.0	20.0	10.8	0.0	9.6	0.0	11.1	4.5	0.0
Unemployed	17.0	5.3	5.0	5.0	16.2	23.1	9.6	5.9	33.3	13.6	5.9
Student	5.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	7.7	15.4	5.9	11.1	59.1	11.8
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17
vs. Controls	-	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.02	*	*	.01	.01

* Not computed.

** Edwards occupational scale of socioeconomic status.

Table 5
BEST OCCUPATION EVER

	Users										Blacks		
	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyer	Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class		
Maj. prof.	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	10.8	7.7	13.6	20.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lesser prof.	1.9	0.0	10.0	0.0	18.9	15.4	5.1	6.7	12.5	0.0	0.0	31.3	31.3
Minor prof.	5.7	15.8	0.0	0.0	18.9	7.7	20.3	20.0	12.5	17.6	17.6	12.5	12.5
Clerical	26.4	15.8	5.0	20.0	24.3	7.7	25.4	26.7	0.0	11.8	11.8	0.0	0.0
Skilled man.	20.8	36.8	15.0	25.0	5.4	0.0	10.2	6.7	12.5	5.9	5.9	31.3	31.3
Semiskilled	9.4	15.8	35.0	30.0	5.4	7.7	6.8	13.3	12.5	29.4	29.4	12.5	12.5
Unskilled	22.6	5.3	15.0	20.0	10.8	7.7	5.1	0.0	12.5	17.6	17.6	6.2	6.2
Unemployed	1.9	5.3	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Student	3.8	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	22	17	17
vs.													
Controls	-	-	.01	-	.01	.01	.01	**	*	-	-	*	.02

* Not computed.
** Edwards occupational scale of socioeconomic status.

shows the occupation selected as "best ever" by the subject. This choice corresponded closely with the current occupational data, demonstrating an absence of downward social mobility. Only the homosexuals appeared to have lost about 13% from the professions to the unemployed. The rapists showed 15% as having once held jobs in minor professions, although none held such jobs at the time of the study.

The users' selection of "best job ever" as compared to their current job showed that most of them were working at their best job at the time of the study, which would tend to indicate either a steady job performance or upward mobility. The middle class Black group also presented about the same picture while having slightly more unemployed (and students) at the time of the study as compared to data indicating best job ever held.

The current salary levels of the users tended to be high as compared with the other groups, which reflected their higher education and better jobs. Twelve percent of the male users and two of the female users who responded to the flyer earned more than \$20,000 per year.

The maximum current salary and "best salary ever" for all other groups including the controls did not exceed \$15,000 per year except in a few isolated cases. For more than 70% of all groups other than the users it was less than \$10,000, except for the transsexuals, who reported higher average earnings. The homosexuals did not appear to earn significantly more, although they had more impressive job descriptions. While many of the middle class Blacks were professionals, only four earned over \$12,000 per year.

As Table 6 shows, the rapists had the highest percentage of those dissatisfied with their jobs ($p < .01$ vs. controls), but at the same time they showed the highest percentage of those satisfied with their salaries. The breakdown of reasons for dissatisfaction with jobs among the rapists was not very productive, but more than 17% listed lack of creativity. This contrasted with the homosexuals and transsexuals, who showed little satisfaction with their salaries although they were satisfied with their jobs.

The users also tended to be satisfied with their jobs but dissatisfied with their salaries, which may reflect the users' desire to receive salaries commensurate with their high level of education.

Religion. As Table 7 illustrates, the only groups showing significant differences from the control group with regard to present religion and religion in which they were raised were the male-oriented pedophiles and the Black ghetto group. The male-oriented pedophiles differed significantly from the controls in reporting a higher percentage raised as Protestants and a lower percentage raised without any formal religion. That group also showed a high percentage of current formal religious affiliation. As compared with the controls, the Black ghetto group indicated a higher percentage of Protestants with fewer raised as Catholics.

Except for one male-oriented pedophile and one homosexual, there were no Jews in the sex deviate groups and only three in the control group. Table 7 also indicates that there was a significant shift towards an absence of a current religious affiliation among these groups, particularly among the female-oriented pedophiles and the controls.

The user groups showed more persons raised as Jews than did the controls and other groups, with Catholics and Protestants of a frequency about equal to the

Table 6
FEEL ABOUT CURRENT JOB AND SALARY

	Control (N=53)		Rapist (N=19)		Male object pedophile (N=20)		Female object pedophile (N=20)		Homosexual (N=37)		Transsexual (N=13)		Flyer (N=52)		Ad (N=17)		Mail (N=9)		Ghetto (N=22)		Middle class (N=17)	
	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.	Job Sal.
Satisfactory or O.K.	84.9	58.5	47.4	89.5	85.0	65.0	85.0	75.0	70.3	35.1	61.5	38.5	78.8	53.8	82.3	70.6	77.8	44.4	72.7	45.5	88.2	64.0
Unsatisfactory or boring	13.2	20.8	52.6	10.5	15.0	25.0	10.0	10.0	29.7	48.6	30.8	46.2	19.2	38.5	11.8	23.5	11.1	44.4	13.6	9.1	5.9	23.0
vs. Controls	—	—	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	.02	—	—	—	—	*	*	*	*	—	—	—	—

* Not computed.

Table 7

RELIGION RAISED IN AND CURRENT

	Control (N=53)		Rapist (N=19)		Male object pedophile (N=20)		Female object pedophile (N=20)		Homosexual (N=37)		Transsexual (N=13)		Flyer (N=52)		Ad (N=17)		Mail (N=9)		Ghetto (N=22)		Middle class (N=17)	
	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.	Raised Now	Job Sal.
Prot.	41.5	17.0	52.6	36.8	75.0	50.0	60.0	25.0	59.5	16.2	61.5	30.8	32.7	9.6	47.1	11.8	44.4	33.3	77.3	27.3	76.5	35.3
Cath.	30.2	15.1	42.1	26.3	20.0	5.0	20.0	5.0	24.3	5.4	38.5	23.1	34.6	9.6	11.8	0.0	22.2	0.0	13.6	0.0	17.6	11.8
Jewish	5.7	5.7	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	7.7	19.2	9.6	17.6	5.9	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Atheist	0.0	1.9	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.0	5.9	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	3.8	11.3	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	5.0	5.0	0.0	24.3	0.0	15.4	5.8	3.8	17.6	0.0	11.1	11.1	4.5	13.6	0.0	0.0
None	18.9	49.1	0.0	31.6	0.0	45.0	10.0	65.0	13.5	51.4	0.0	23.1	5.8	65.4	5.9	76.5	11.1	33.3	4.5	59.1	5.9	52.9
vs. Controls	—	—	—	—	.05	.02	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	*	*	*	.05	—	—	—

* Not computed

control group. Almost 100% of each of the Black groups reported having been raised as Christians and more than 75% were Protestant; none of the ghetto Blacks and only 12% of the middle class Blacks reported being Catholic at present.

The Blacks were somewhat more polarized than the control and other groups with regard to church attendance and tended to divide into two groups: those attending once a month or more and those never attending. The only group showing significantly greater current church attendance than the controls was the homosexual sample ($p < .01$), even though a greater percentage of homosexuals than controls reported no current religious affiliation.

The lesbian sample was also high on church attendance but, unlike the male homosexuals, showed a high degree of current religious affiliation; indeed it was 100%, although two-thirds currently belonged to a religion other than Christian or Jewish. Compared to the female users and female transsexuals, the lesbians had significantly more current religious affiliation ($p < .05$).

Overall comparison between groups for demographic variables. The number of significant differences between controls and other groups for all demographic variables is presented in Appendix B. Here it can be seen that across all variables the match between rapists and controls was quite good. The rapists differed from the controls in their current occupational level and degree of satisfaction with their best job. The male-oriented pedophiles were significantly older than controls, differed in their range of occupational levels, and were more likely to have been raised in some formal religion (predominantly Protestant). The female-oriented pedophiles were also significantly older, more likely to be currently married, contained a higher percentage with lower educational levels, and were lower in occupational level. Thus, any differences subsequently reported between rapists and controls can be viewed with confidence as unrepresentative of correlated socioeconomic or generational differences. Differences between the controls and pedophile groups, on the other hand, must be examined carefully to determine whether differences in frequency of reported exposure to pornography were the results of socioeconomic, educational, or generational differences in the availability of pornography.

The contrasts between homosexuals and controls revealed that the former were on the average, older and better educated than controls but equal in income. This suggests a degree of underachievement in the homosexual sample. Similarly, the transsexuals differed in showing higher occupational levels but were equal in age range, educational level, and income. The users differed from the controls in containing a higher percentage of respondents in the 40 to 44 years age range and a higher occupational level than controls. These findings suggest that contrasts in experiences between these groups and the controls should be interpreted cautiously to determine whether or not they resulted from the higher educational and occupational levels and (in the homosexual and user groups) generational differences.

REPORTED FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO EROTIC STIMULI

In the course of the interview a respondent was asked to estimate his frequency of exposure to stimuli representing various degrees of nudity and forms of sexual activity. In the section focusing upon adolescent experience, discrete questions

Table 8
CHURCH ATTENDANCE

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Users				Blacks	
							Flyer	Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class	
Once a month or more	15.1	21.0	30.0	15.0	48.6	38.5	15.3	0.0	11.1	36.3	29.4	
Less	35.8	31.6	40.0	30.0	24.3	30.8	28.8	35.3	44.4	9.1	23.5	
None	49.1	47.4	30.0	55.0	27.0	30.8	55.8	64.7	44.4	54.5	47.1	
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17	
vs. Controls	-	-	-	-	.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	

were asked about representations of sexual activity in a particular medium (photos, movies, or books). The questioning followed a systematic order starting with the most probable stimulus to be encountered (partial nudity) and ending with the least likely (sodomasochistic activity). As each type of stimulus was mentioned by the interviewer, the respondent was asked to recall the number of times he had encountered it during that period of his life. During the section of the interview regarding the past year's experience (or in the case of the institutionalized sex offenders, the year prior to hospitalization), the same questions as in the adolescent section were repeated, and frequencies of exposure were recorded.

These frequency estimates are presented separately for the adolescent and the recent periods in the following two sections. The data are presented in two ways. First, graphs were constructed in which a particular group was compared with the controls in terms of the percentage of subjects who reported "never" having encountered a particular stimulus in a particular media. In these graphs the dotted lines represent the control data and the straight lines represent the comparison group (sex offender, homosexual, user, and so on). Secondly, in Appendix C tables are presented in which groups can be compared across the full range of frequencies of reported stimuli. These frequencies of stimuli exposure for each subject were subdivided into four categories for the purpose of analysis as follows: (1) never seen, (2) 1 to 10 reported, (3) 11 to 50 reported, and (4) 50 or greater reported.

These four frequency groups were then used to compute chi-squares between each target group and controls for each discrete stimulus-media combination. At the bottom of each figure the significant chi-squares are indicated by the following system of symbols: * = .05 level, + = .02 level, x = 0.1 level, and xx = .001 level of statistical significance. It can be noted in the figures that sharp differences existed between groups on the percentage of "never" responses as graphed, but that significant chi-squares failed to be indicated for that comparison. While differences existed within that discrete category ("never"), over the total range of frequencies reported the groups did not differ. Most often this reflects a bimodal distribution within a group in which marked frequencies of "never" and "50 or greater" were reported.

Adolescent reports

Sex offenders: rapists. The data in Figure 1 present the percentage of "never" responses reported for adolescence across all stimuli and all media for rapists and controls. While these data suggest a higher frequency of "never" reports for rapists as compared to controls, few significant chi-squares are present for the total range of frequency estimates. The rapists reported significantly less exposure to photos of partially and fully nude women and to books describing nudity and oral-genital relations.

Sex offenders: pedophiles who prefer male partners. In Figure 2 sharper differences are evident between this group of sex offenders and controls than was the case for the rapists. In Figure 2 it can be seen that across all stimuli and media these pedophiles reported a higher percentage as never having encountered erotic stimuli as adolescents. Significant chi-squares for the total range of frequencies

Figure 1

ADOLESCENT REPORTS: RAPISTS (N=19) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).

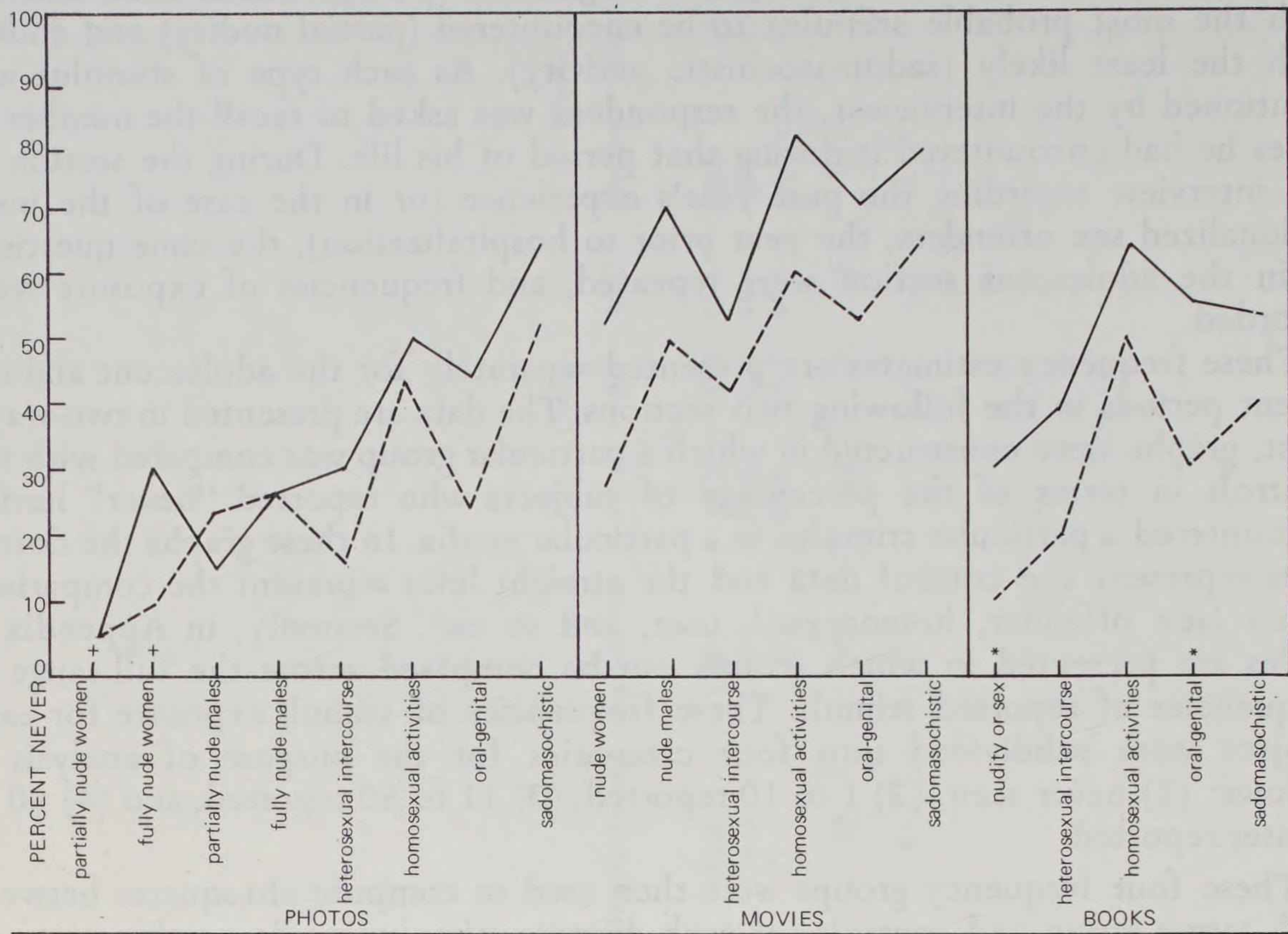
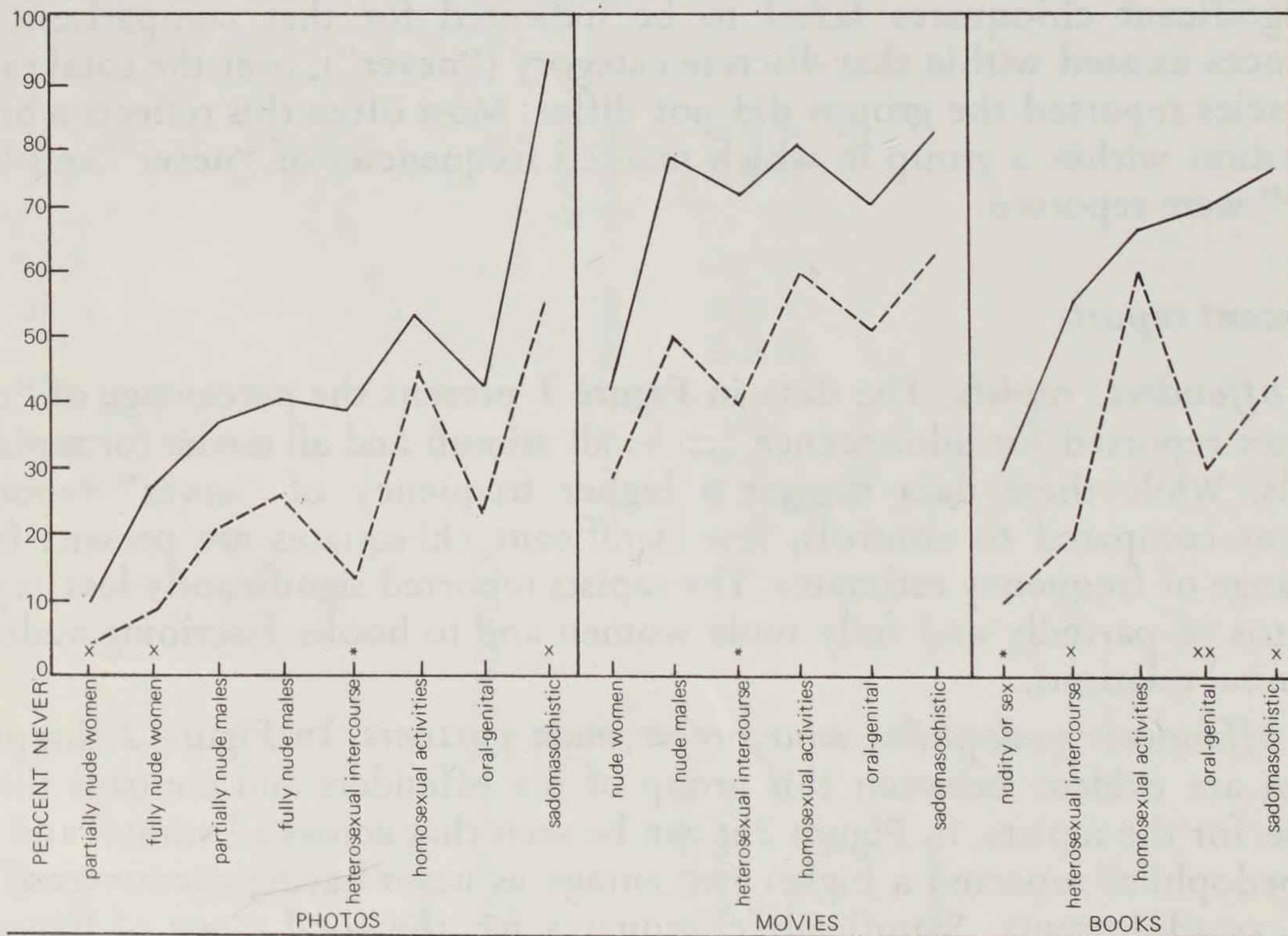


Figure 2

ADOLESCENT REPORTS: PEDOPHILES—MALE TARGET (N=20) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



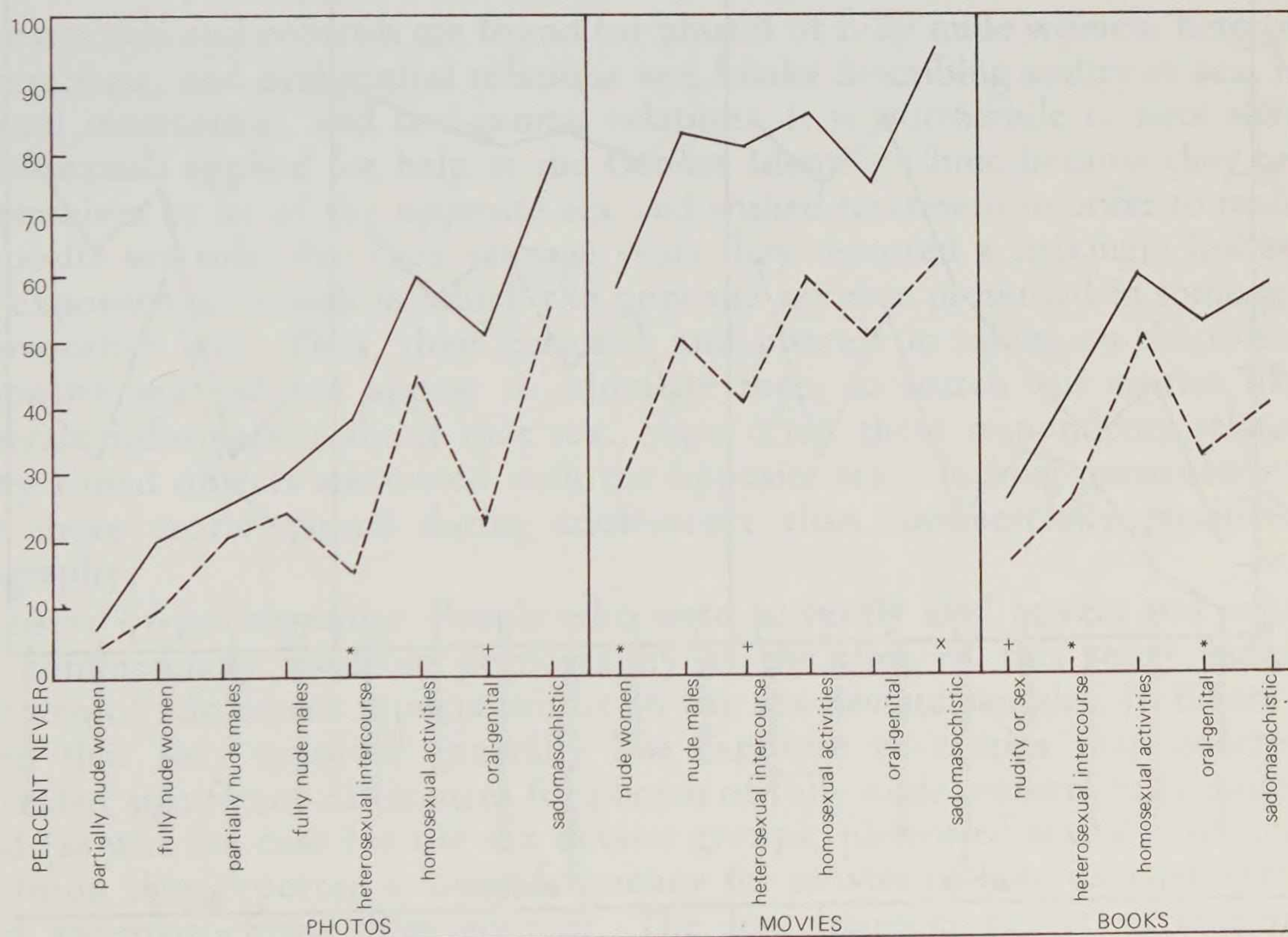
reported are also more numerous for this contrast. They differ significantly for photos of partially and fully nude women, heterosexual intercourse, and sadomasochistic activity, movies of heterosexual intercourse and books describing nudity, heterosexual intercourse, oral-genital, and sadomasochistic activity. It is particularly interesting to note that the sex offenders who selected young boys as sexual partners showed a striking absence of reported exposure to representations of heterosexual intercourse across all media. This was the one type of stimulus for which significant chi-squares were obtained on all three media. It is difficult to determine from these data whether it represented a deliberate avoidance of this class of stimuli (heterosexual intercourse) during adolescence by the male-oriented pedophile group or whether it resulted from having a greater interest in other types of sexual stimuli. The generally low levels of adolescent exposure reported by this group suggest that limited exposure to stimuli representing heterosexual intercourse represents the extreme in a pattern of generally low exposure to erotica.

Since male-oriented pedophiles are a type of homosexual it is interesting to note that the smaller differences between this group and controls were for photos and books depicting homosexual activity. This suggests that their homosexual interest was already present during their adolescent years and influenced their choice of erotica.

Sex offenders: pedophiles who prefer female partners. In Figure 3, the percentage of "never" responses is reported for this group of pedophiles and

Figure 3

ADOLESCENT REPORTS: PEDOPHILES-FEMALE TARGET (N=20) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



controls. As with the male-oriented pedophile group, less exposure to erotica was reported than for controls. Interestingly, the significant chi-squares for the total range of exposure occurred for heterosexual intercourse, regardless of the media. There are also significant differences for photos representing oral-genital activities, movies portraying nude women, and sadomasochistic activity.

It is interesting to note that the two groups of sex offenders who preferred immature partners reported a strikingly low degree of exposure to representations of mature sexual activity (heterosexual intercourse) during adolescence.

Homosexual sample. In Figure 4 the percentage of "never" replies are presented for homosexuals. The number of significant chi-squares indicates that the marked difference between homosexuals and controls existed across all four categories of frequency exposure. For teenage years the homosexuals reported significantly less exposure to erotica than controls. For a few stimuli they did not differ significantly from controls: photos of partially and fully nude males, movies of homosexual acts, and books describing heterosexual intercourse. All but the latter were more likely to interest the homosexuals than the other stimuli represented in Figure 4. This suggests that these individuals may have sought out, as adolescents, erotically tinged photos relevant to their emerging homosexual interest.

Transsexuals. In Figure 5 the data for reports of adolescent exposure for the transsexual group are presented. In general, these graphs indicate less exposure across all stimuli and all media. The most significant differences between male

Figure 4

ADOLESCENT REPORTS: HOMOSEXUALS (N=37) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).

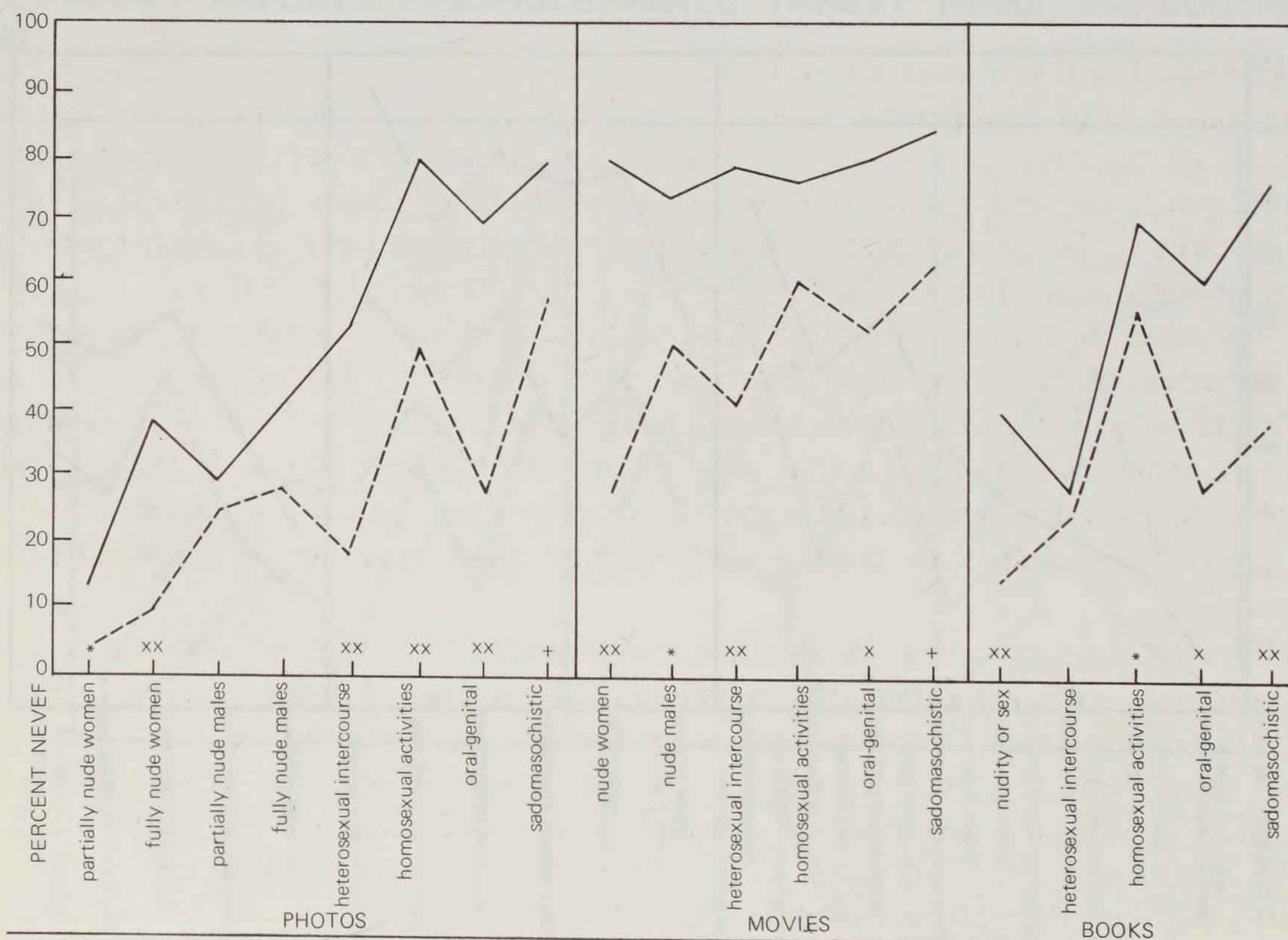
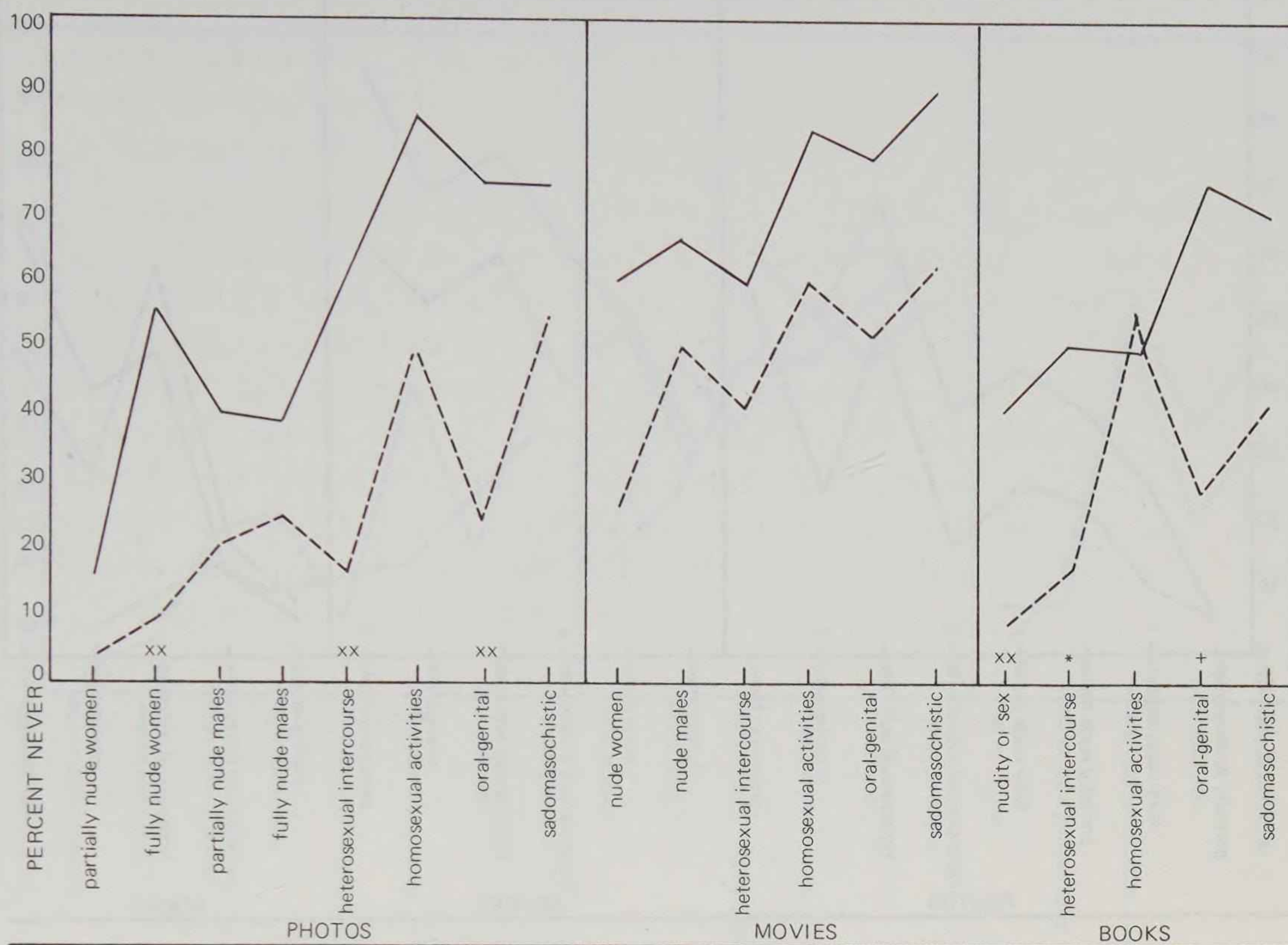


Figure 5

ADOLESCENT REPORTS: TRANSSEXUALS (N=13) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).

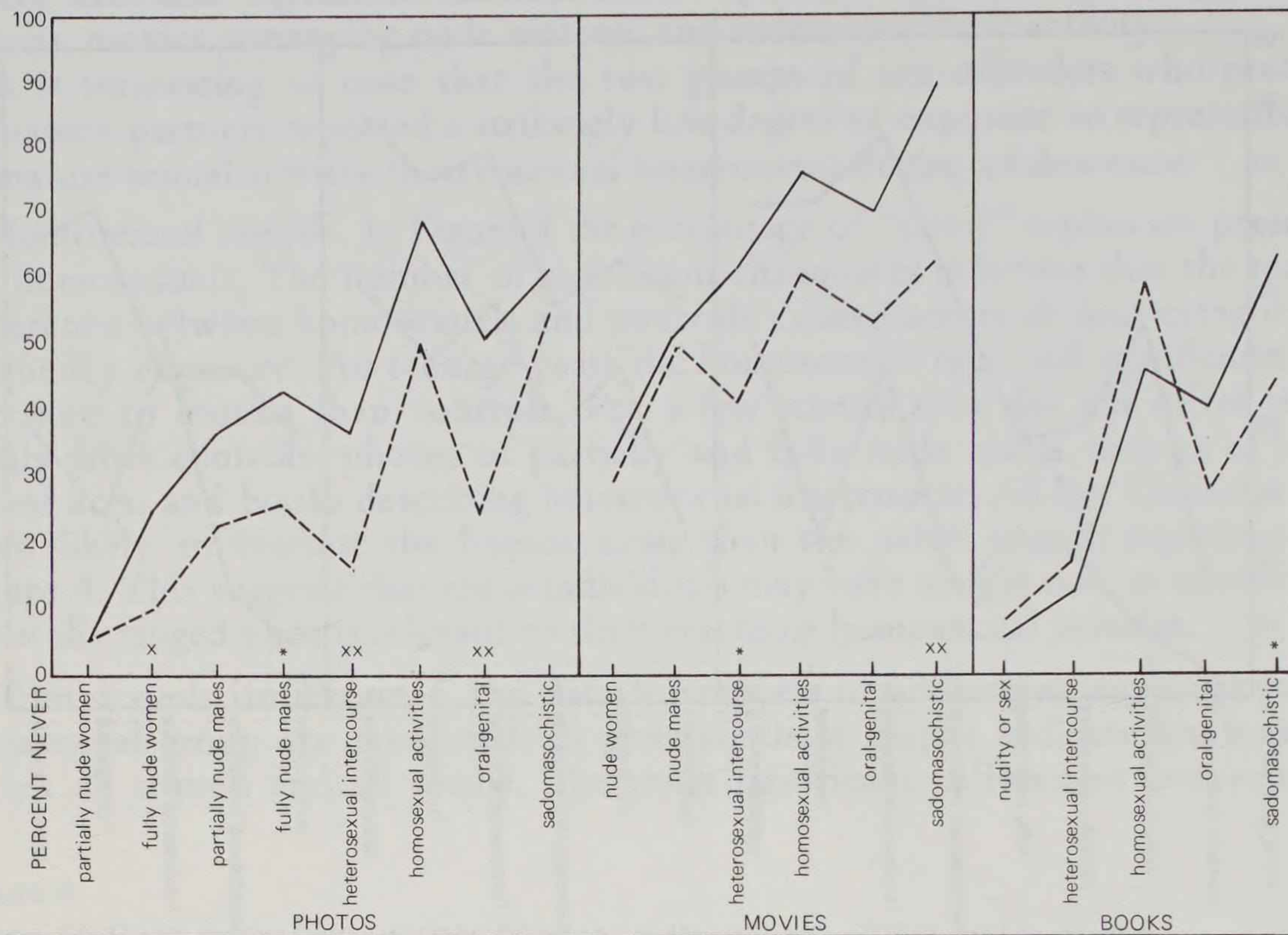


transsexuals and controls are found for photos of fully nude women, heterosexual intercourse, and oral-genital relations and books describing nudity or sex, heterosexual intercourse, and oral-genital relations. It is worthwhile to note that male transsexuals applied for help at the Gender Identity Clinic because they believed themselves to be of the opposite sex and wished treatment in order to realize the opposite sex role. For their teenage years they reported a strikingly low amount of exposure to stimuli in which the opposite sex was presented in some sexually provocative way. Thus, their curiosity and interest in taking on the role of the opposite sex did not appear to stimulate them to search out erotica likely to provide information about that sex. More often these respondents related that they found objects associated with the opposite sex (clothing particularly) to be far more erotic stimuli during adolescence than commercially produced pornography.

Users of pornography. People who were currently avid buyers and consumers of commercially available pornography at the time of this study indicated a pattern of adolescent reports similar to the sex deviate samples. In Figure 6, it is seen that they reported generally less exposure to erotica than controls and revealed significant differences for photos of fully nude women, fully nude males, and (as was the case for the sex deviate groups) photos of sexual intercourse. In addition they reported a lower frequency for movies of heterosexual intercourse and sadomasochistic film content. The less frequent report of encountering

Figure 6

ADOLESCENT REPORTS: USERS—FLYER (N=52) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



sadomasochism in books represents the only significant difference in that category. Generally, the pornography user of today recalls strikingly little exposure to erotica as a teenager and, as with all other previous samples, the most consistent differences from the controls occur for stimuli representing heterosexual intercourse. It appears that sex deviates and users were markedly lacking in adolescent experience with stimuli that represent the culture's definition of a normal sex act.

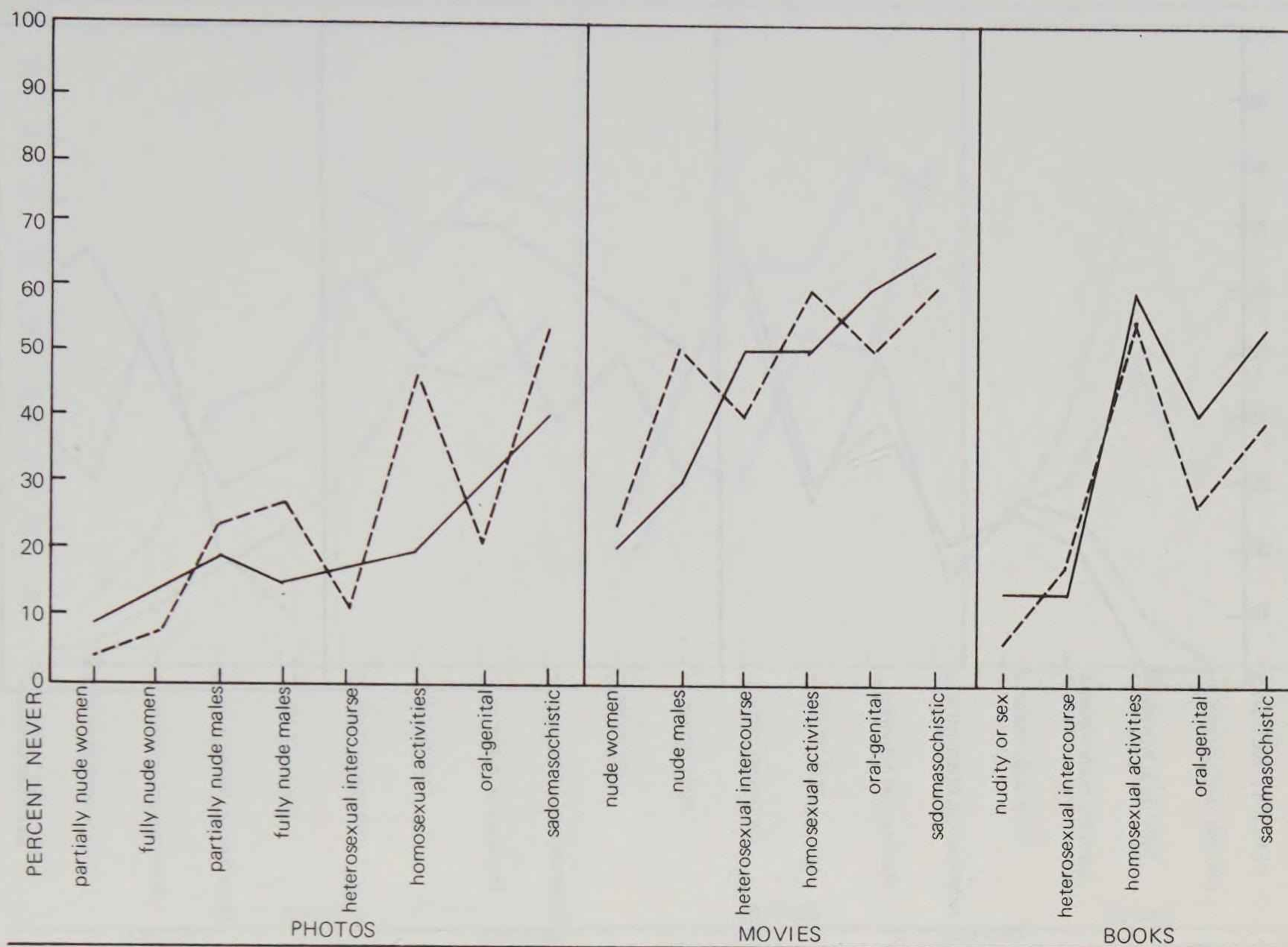
Black ghetto sample. Figure 7 shows that the sample of respondents drawn from the Black ghetto area did not differ significantly from the controls. There is no significant chi-square between the frequencies of exposure reported by the sample and the controls. Despite racial and educational differences the Black ghetto sample—unrestricted in selection for sexual deviation—appears to be an additional control sample for exposure to erotica.

Black middle class sample. In Figure 8, it is noted once again that little if any difference can be seen between this Black sample and controls. Despite some apparent differences for movies and books, there are only two significant chi-squares between the frequencies reported: one for books describing nudity or sex and one for books describing oral-genital activity. The latter is particularly interesting, as data reported in the next section of this report suggest that in current sex practices both Black samples avoid this type of activity in their adult sexual lives.

Overall the data for the middle class Black sample suggest that it is another sample which does not differ significantly from the Caucasian control sample in

Figure 7

ADOLESCENT REPORTS: BLACKS-GHETTO (N=22) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



its frequency of adolescent exposure to pornographic materials. All three of the latter samples act as control samples which differ significantly from the sexually deviant samples.

Recent experience

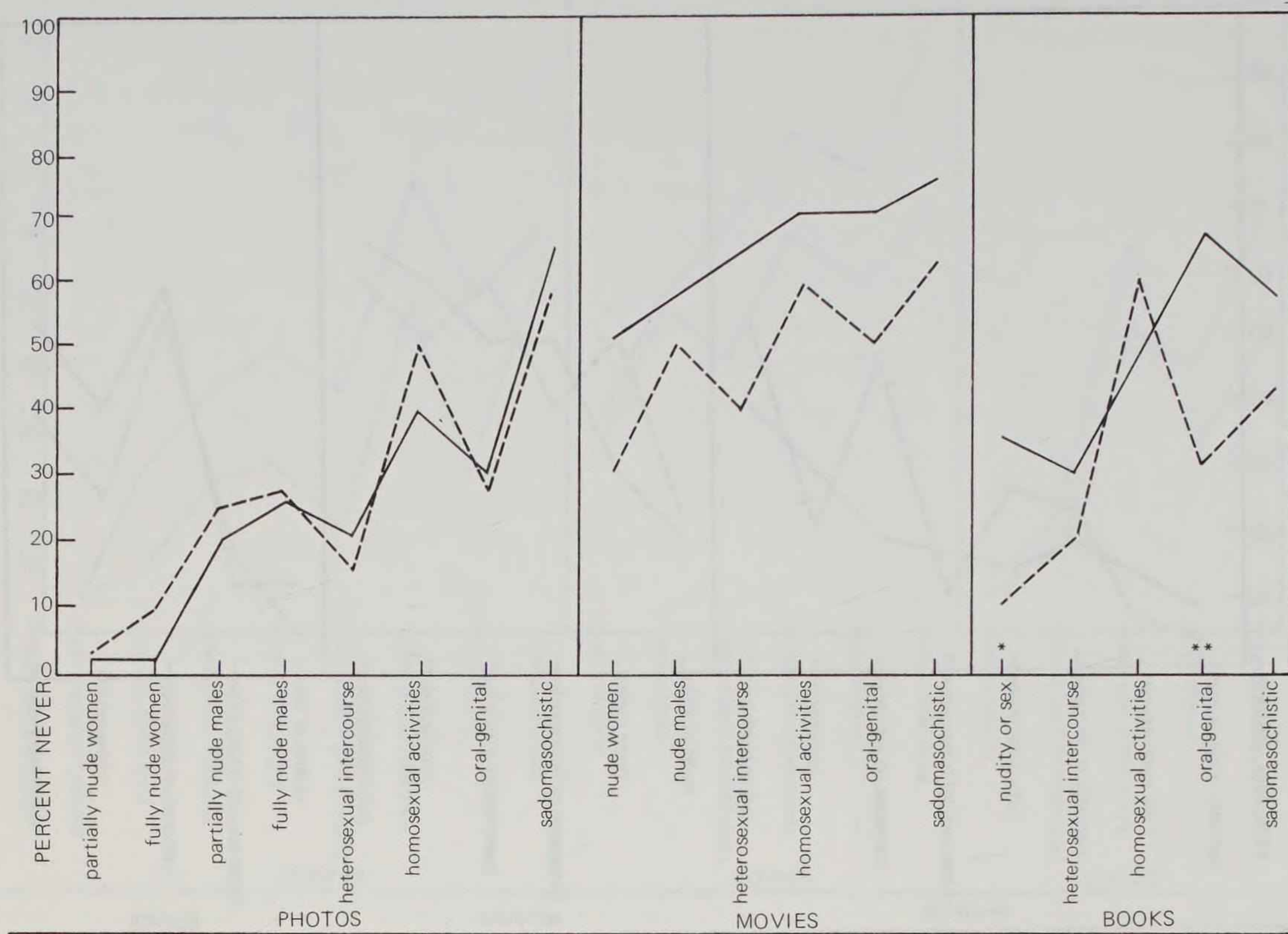
These data represent reports of exposure to erotica during the year prior to the interview or, in the case of the institutionalized sex offenders, the year prior to institutionalization.

Sex offenders: rapists. In Figure 9 the percentage of "never" replies for the rapist and control samples are presented. It can be seen that across all stimuli and media the rapists reported less exposure to pornography during the past year. Significant chi-squares are found for heterosexual intercourse represented in photos and films containing male nudity and oral-genital relations. The differences between rapists and controls in recent experience were greater than for the adolescent reports. It is noteworthy that once again the rapists are distinguished from the controls by their reported underexposure to stimuli representing heterosexual intercourse.

Sex offenders: pedophiles who prefer male partners. In Figure 10, male-oriented pedophiles and controls are compared for reports of recent experience. As was the case for adolescent reports, this group of pedophiles reported generally

Figure 8

ADOLESCENT REPORTS: BLACKS—MIDDLE CLASS (N=17) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



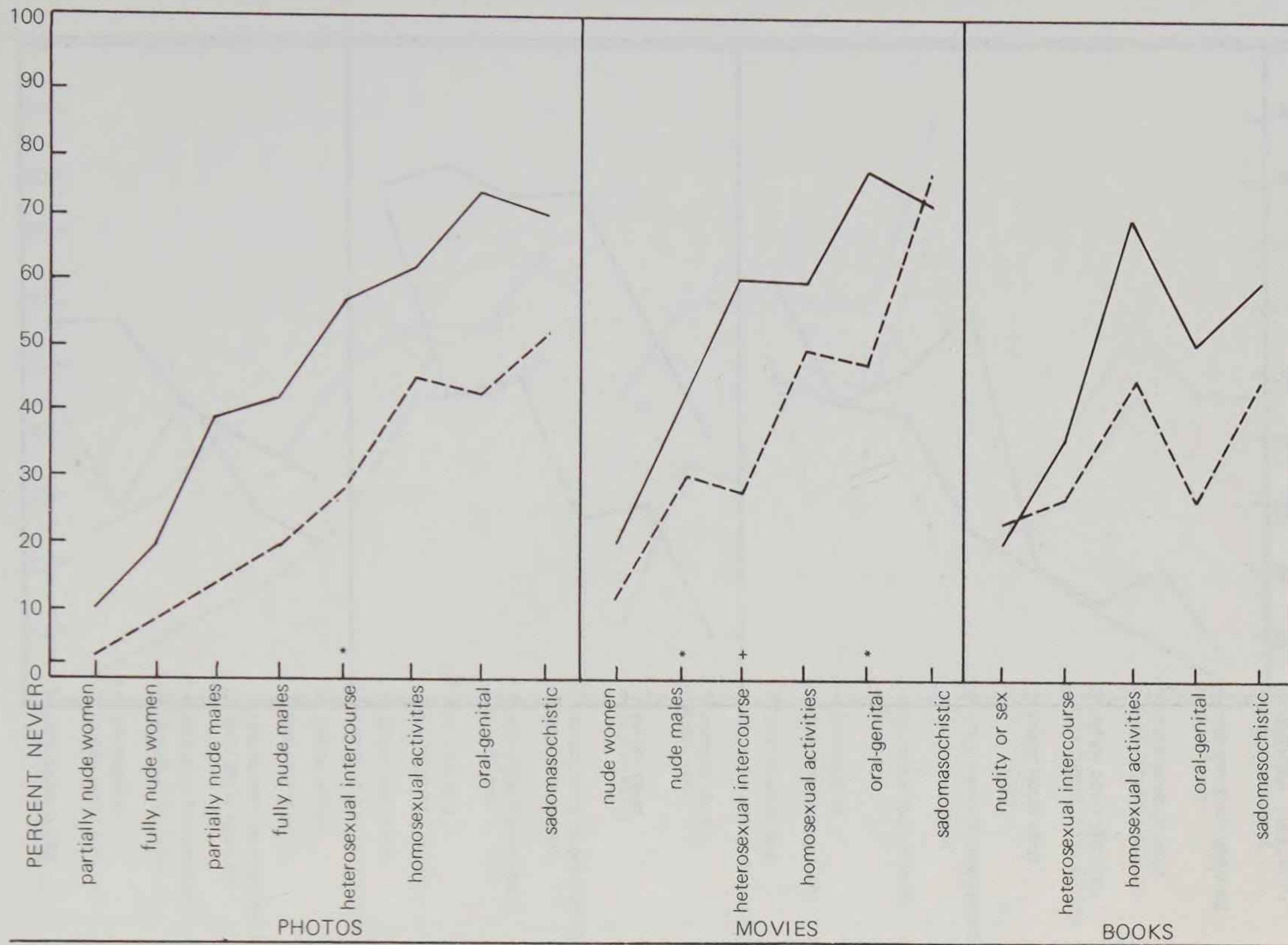
less exposure to erotica across all stimuli and media than controls. Significant chi-squares for the four categories of exposure contrasting male-oriented pedophiles and controls are found for photos of partially nude women, fully nude women, and heterosexual intercourse; movies of all types except those portraying sadomasochistic activities; and books describing homosexual (slightly higher for pedophiles) and oral-genital relations.

This group did not differ from controls in exposure to photos of fully and partially nude males, a finding noted earlier in their adolescent data. These pedophiles appeared likely to be exposed to photos of male nudity but not to photos involving true homosexual activity. Since their sexual behavior involved a type of homosexual interest in immature partners, their selective interest in nudity but avoidance of homosexual erotica seems quite compatible with their sex practices.

Sex offenders: pedophiles who prefer female partners. In Figure 11, the percentage of “never” replies are presented for controls and female-oriented pedophiles. Once again a pattern emerges similar to the adolescent reports in which the female-oriented pedophile group indicated generally less exposure to erotica. Significant chi-squares for the full range of replies are found for photos of partially and fully nude women and partially nude males and for movies involving nude women and men and heterosexual intercourse. There are no significant

Figure 9

RECENT REPORTS: RAPISTS (N=19) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



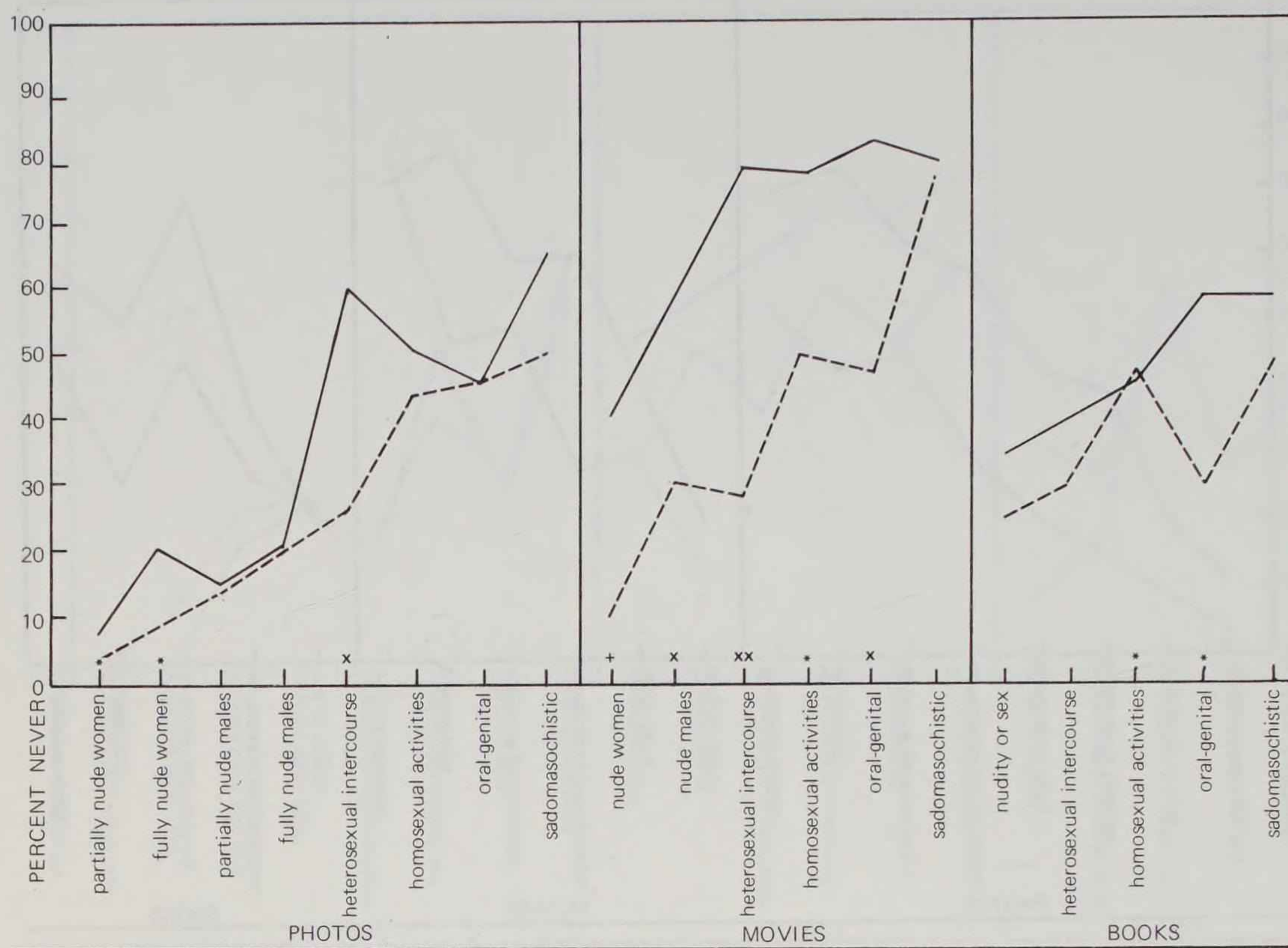
chi-squares for books describing erotica. Once again, there appears to be an underexposure to stimuli describing heterosexual intercourse in both adolescence and the past year for all three sex offender samples.

Homosexual sample. The data contrasting homosexuals and controls are presented in Figure 12. These data suggest a marked reversal as compared to adolescent reports for the homosexuals. In almost all stimuli across all media the homosexuals reported significantly fewer “never” replies and significantly higher rates of exposure. The number of significant chi-squares is large as for the adolescent data, except that now they signify greater exposure than controls while for adolescence the reverse was indicated.

As might be expected, the homosexuals reported a significantly greater degree of exposure to homosexual than heterosexual erotica. In contrast to the adolescent reports, the adult homosexual confirmed in his sexually deviant role actively searches for and uses erotica describing explicit homosexual relations. The very high frequencies of exposure reported suggest an almost obsessive interest in homosexual erotica, indicating that sexuality is a central focus of their day-to-day concerns. The contrast between adolescent underexposure to erotica and current extensive exposure was particularly marked in the homosexual sample, suggesting a certain degree of overcompensation for the limited exposure earlier. It also suggests the possibility that the homosexual subculture supports or reinforces the extensive use of erotica to stimulate and sustain relationships.

Figure 10

RECENT REPORTS: PEDOPHILES—MALE TARGET (N=20) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



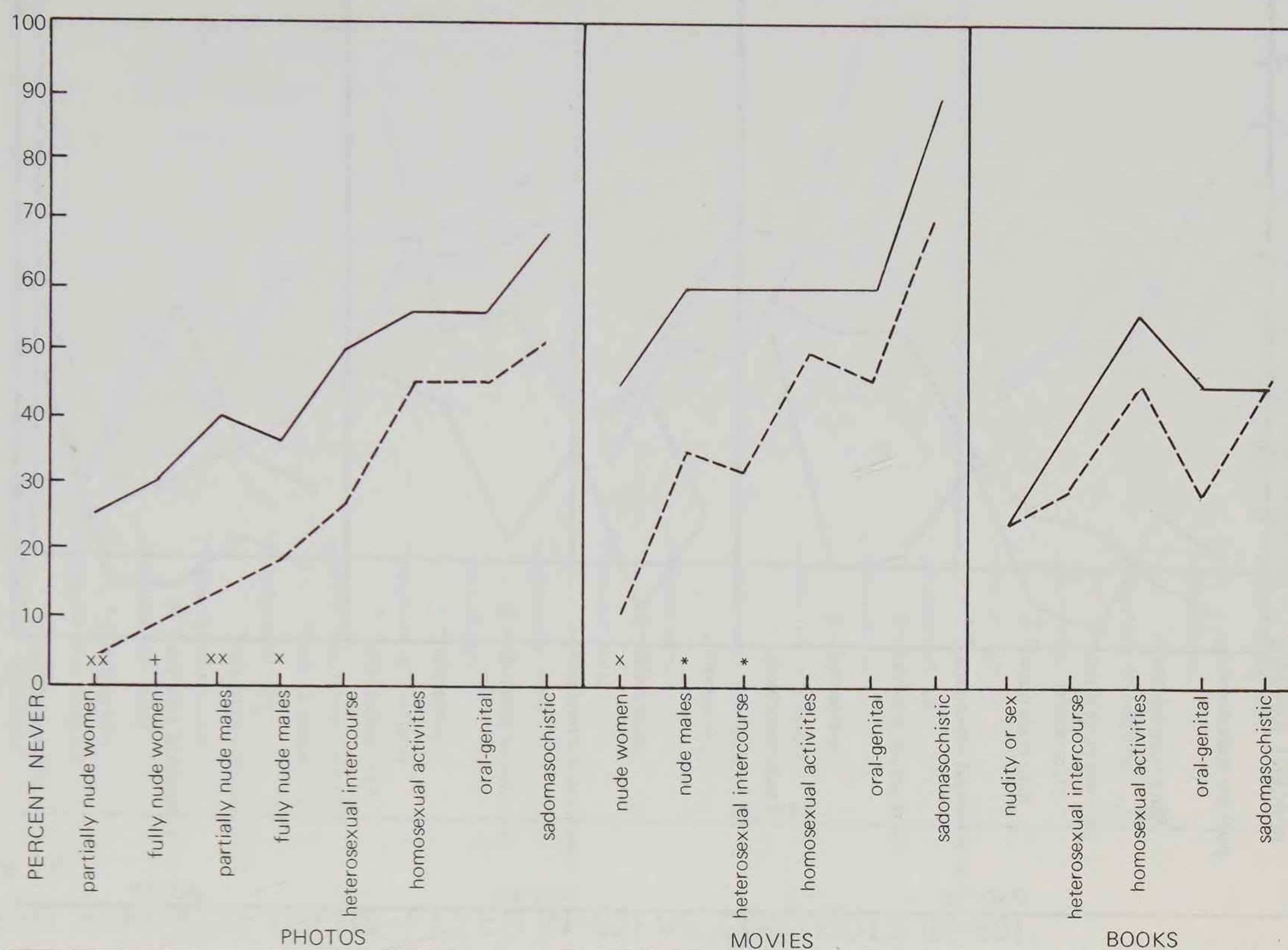
Transsexuals. While it can be seen in Figure 13 that transsexuals reported a higher frequency of “never” exposed than controls across all categories, chi-squares for frequency of report are only significant for movies showing oral-genital relations. Generally, despite marked differences in reports of exposure to erotica during adolescence, the distribution of frequencies reported in the past year did not differ for male transsexuals and controls.

The only trend in the data which suggests more frequent exposure for transsexuals was for books describing homosexuality, in which the transsexuals reported higher recent exposure. However, this factor does not reach a level of statistical significance ($p < .10$).

Users. The data for users, presented in Figure 14, resembles that for the homosexual sample to a marked degree in that they reported less exposure as teenagers than did controls but significantly greater exposure as adults than controls. In Figure 14 it is seen that users indeed fit their classification, as they reported significantly greater exposure to erotica across most categories of stimuli and media. There were significant differences reported between the users and the controls in frequency of exposure for all categories of sexual acts portrayed in photos, all categories in movies except those in which heterosexual intercourse was portrayed, and all categories of books except those in which heterosexual intercourse or nudity was described.

Figure 11

RECENT REPORTS: PEDOPHILES—FEMALE TARGET (N=20) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).

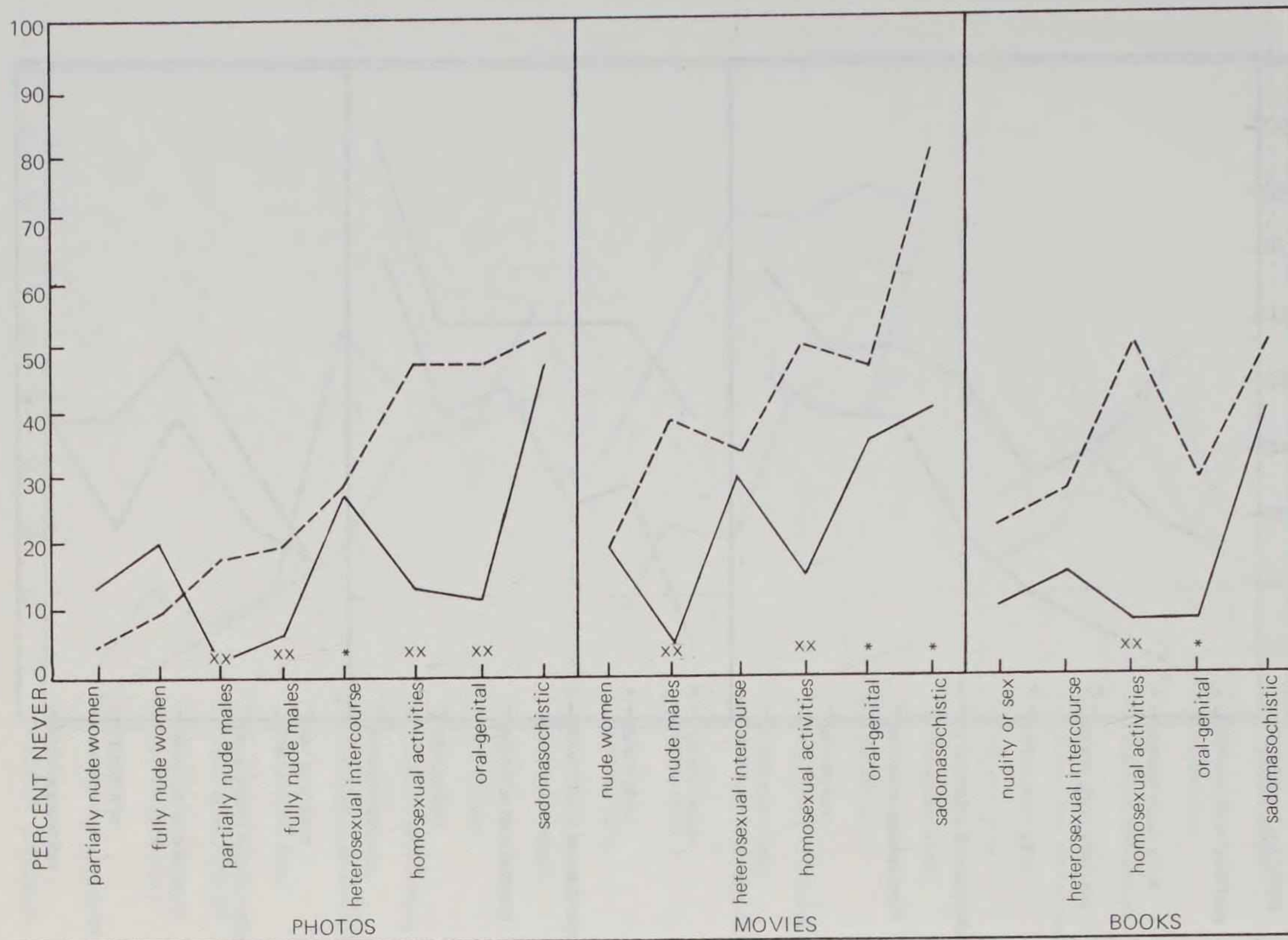


Black ghetto sample. As was the case for the adolescent reports, few significant differences emerge between the Black ghetto sample and controls for recent experience. In Figure 15 it can be seen that no significant differences emerge for frequencies of exposure to erotic books; however, there were two categories in which significant differences did emerge: movies depicting nude women and oral-genital relations and books describing oral-genital relations. These findings are congruent with the adolescent data for the Black middle class group indicating reported underexposure to stimuli representing oral-genital relations. Generally, when differences exist between Black ghetto subjects and controls, they suggest slightly less exposure to erotica in the ghetto sample.

Black middle class sample. Generally, the data in Figure 16 parallel the adolescent data as only two significant differences emerged between Black middle class respondents and controls. However, it is important to note that while the adolescent data suggested consistently greater exposure to erotica for the controls, there are a number of instances in Figure 16 in which the Black middle class indicated greater frequency of exposure to erotica. The Black middle class reported more exposure to photos of heterosexual intercourse than controls and (while not of statistical significance) to photos representing heterosexual acts. Generally, the data for movies suggest slightly higher exposure to most classes of erotic films but no significant chi-square was found for any stimulus. There were consistently

Figure 12

RECENT REPORTS: HOMOSEXUALS (N=37) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



lower reports of exposure frequency to books but the data differ significantly from controls only for books describing oral-genital relations, a finding which was also true for the Black ghetto sample.

Exposure to live shows. During the section of the interview covering recent experience, questions were asked concerning the respondent's exposure to shows displaying nudity or sex acts. Two categories revealed significant differences among the groups: live shows including topless women and live shows including totally nude women. With regard to the former, significant differences were found between controls and homosexuals ($p < .001$) and controls and transsexuals ($p < .04$). In each instance, the controls reported more frequent exposure to this type of live show, and 54% of the transsexuals reported "never" having seen such a show.

For shows in which totally nude women were on display, the three institutionalized groups of sex offenders all reported significantly less experience than controls. For rapists, 77% reported "never" ($p < .01$ vs. controls); male-oriented pedophiles, 80% "never" ($p < .05$ vs. controls); and female-oriented pedophiles, 85% "never" ($p < .02$ vs. controls); while controls reported 45% "never." None of the other groups revealed significant differences from controls.

It is interesting to note that homosexuals and transsexuals reported a lower frequency of exposure to topless shows, but exposure to fully nude females equaled that of controls. Possibly differences in the setting of exposure (bar for

Figure 13

RECENT REPORTS: TRANSSEXUALS (N=13) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).

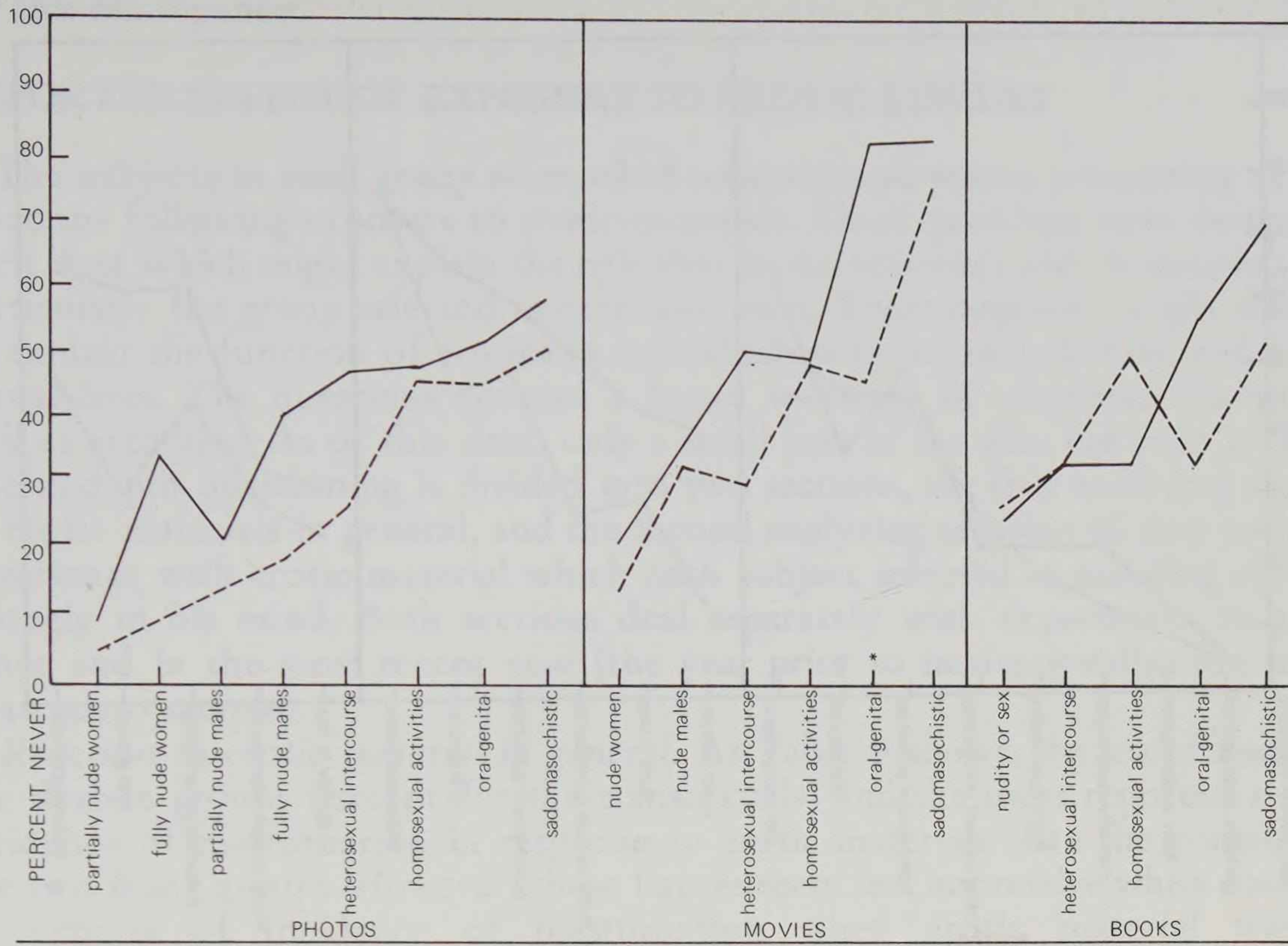


Figure 14

RECENT REPORTS: USERS-FLYER (N=52) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).

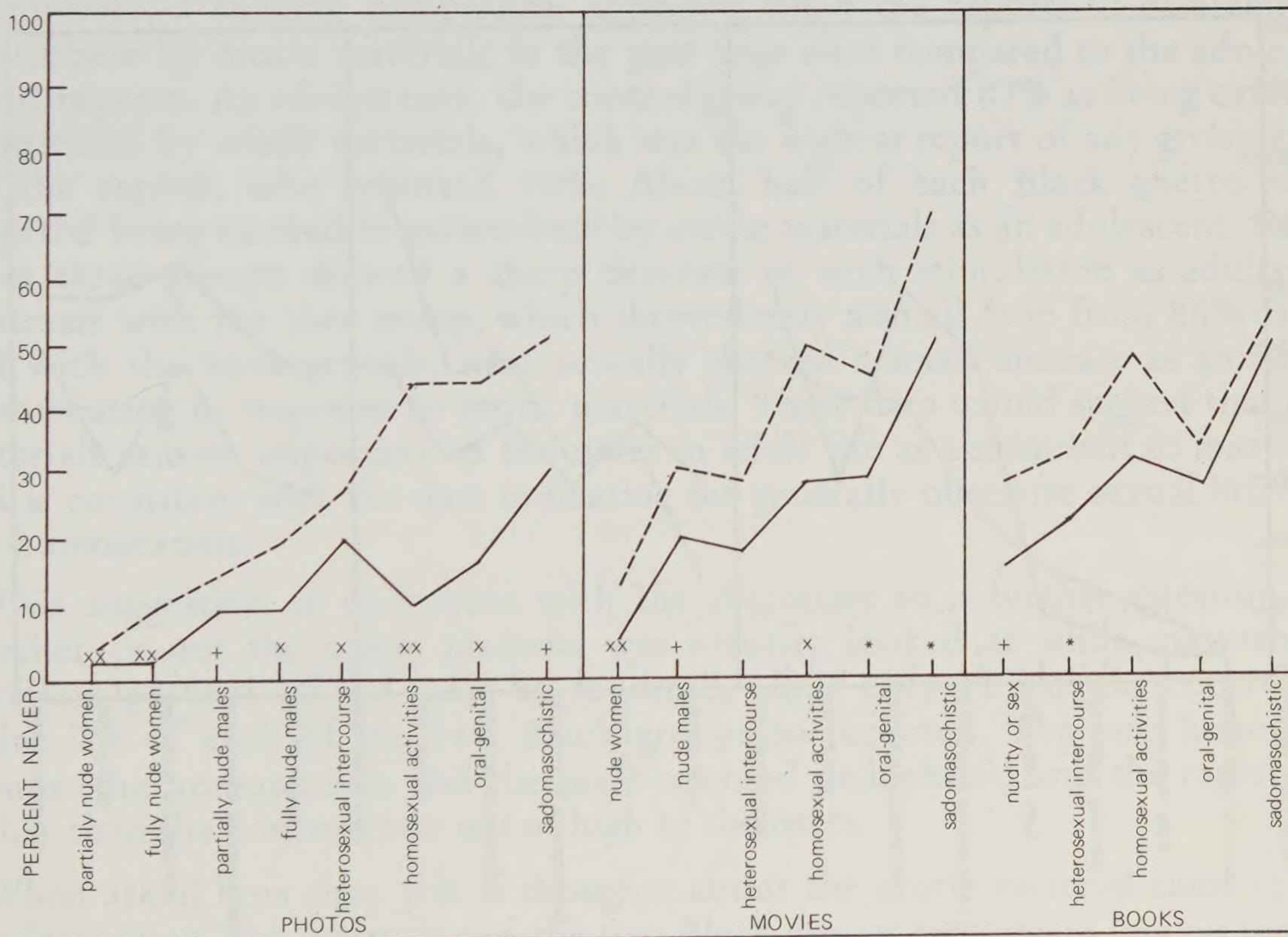


Figure 15

RECENT REPORTS: BLACKS-GHETTO (N=22) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).

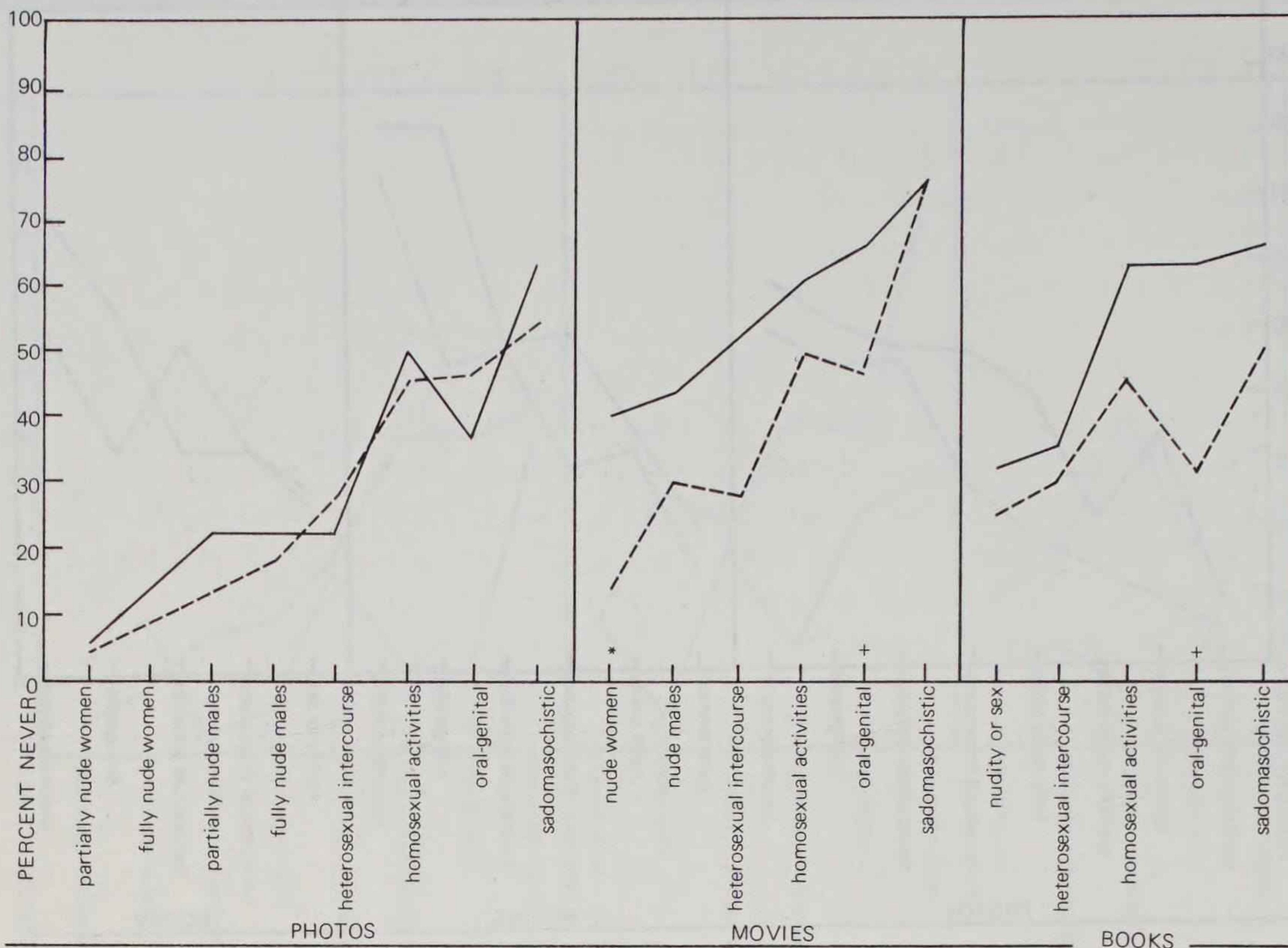
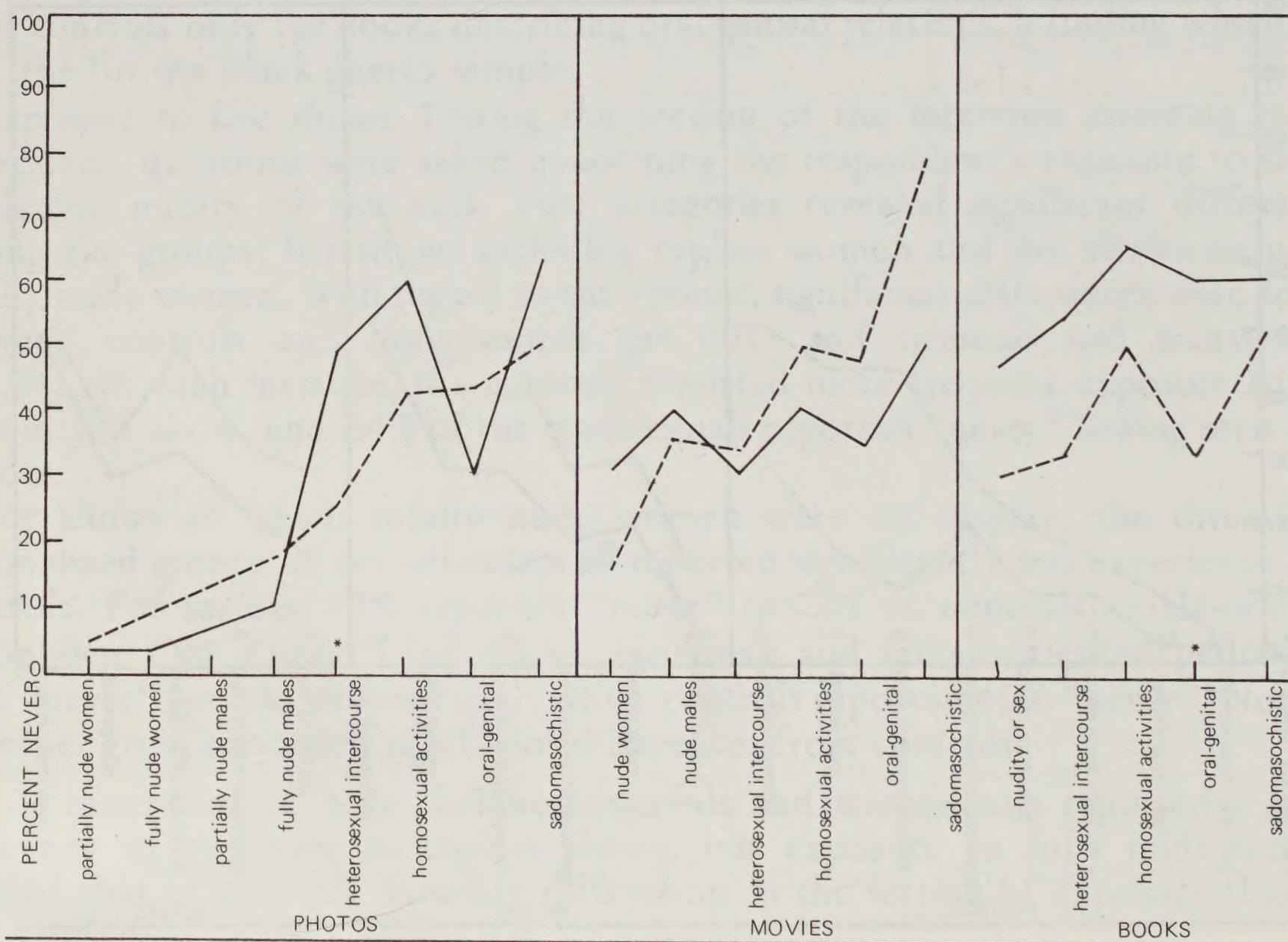


Figure 16

RECENT REPORTS: BLACKS-MIDDLE CLASS (N=17) VS. CONTROLS (N=53).



topless show versus private setting, orgies for fully nude female) might account for this discrepancy.

REPORTED EFFECT OF EXPOSURE TO EROTIC STIMULI

The subjects in each group were asked numerous questions concerning detailed reactions following exposure to erotic materials. These questions were designed to elicit data which might explain the role that erotic materials play in people's lives, particularly the group selected as extensive users. These responses might also help to explain the function of erotica in individuals with sexually deviant and normal sexual lives. The questions covered a broad spectrum of emotional reactions as well as activities. As of this date, only a small part of the data has been analyzed. The in-depth questioning is divided into two sections, the first analyzing reaction to erotic materials in general, and the second analyzing reaction to that particular experience with erotic material which each subject selected as standing out most strongly in his mind. Both sections deal separately with experiences in adolescence and in the most recent year (the year prior to institutionalization for the Atascadero sample).

Reaction to erotic material in general. As Table 9 shows, the sex offender and sex deviate groups (except for the transsexuals) and the users reported a higher incidence of masturbation in response to erotic materials than the controls and the two Black groups. However, these figures seem less impressive when compared to reports of incidence of masturbation when erotic material was not the stimulant; some of the groups actually showed more masturbation without the erotic stimulant, the transsexuals being particularly striking in this regard. As adults, only the users showed as much as 10% more subjects who were stimulated to masturbate with erotic materials than without.

However, a striking comparison appeared when the reports of excitement to masturbate by erotic materials in the past year were compared to the adolescent-based reports. As adolescents, the control group reported 87% as being excited to masturbate by erotic materials, which was the highest report of any group except for the rapists, who reported 90%. About half of each Black ghetto sample reported being excited to masturbate by erotic materials as an adolescent. Each of these three groups showed a sharp decrease in such stimulation as adults. This contrasts with the user group, which showed only a small drop from 86% to 78%, and with the homosexuals, who actually showed a small increase as an adult in masturbating in response to erotic materials. These data would suggest that erotic materials remain important to the users in adult life as a stimulant to masturbate and is consistent with the data indicating the generally obsessive sexual interest of the homosexuals.

This suggestion is consistent with the responses to a further question as to whether or not the erotic material was actually looked at while masturbating. Forty-six percent of the users so reported, while only 11% of the controls and under 7% of each of the two Black groups so reported. The two homosexual groups (the homosexuals and the male-oriented pedophiles) and the rapists were higher than the controls but not as high as the users.

When asked how they felt if thoughts about the erotic material came to mind at a later time, the controls and the two Black groups were again low on reported

arousal, whereas about half the users and sex offender groups reported arousal or feeling good. The rapists again showed their strongly disturbed feelings, as a substantial number (20%) reported feeling guilty when later thinking about these materials. This was the only group that had a substantial number so reporting.

When asked whether thinking about the materials induced sexual relations other than masturbation, about half of all the groups except the transsexuals (only 21%) so reported. The users did not noticeably stand out from the controls or the two Black groups in this regard, although they were slightly higher. Thus, it would seem that erotic materials were much more significant in producing masturbatory reaction in the users, compared to the controls, than sexual relations. When asked whether thoughts of the material appeared during sexual relations, no group reported more than 30%. The users were somewhat higher than the controls and were substantially higher than the two Black groups but slightly lower than the two pedophile groups.

Reaction to peak experience as an adult. After eliciting information as to recent frequency of exposure to erotic stimuli in all media, the subject was directed to select the one experience that stood out most in his mind. After specifying the peak experience, the subject was asked if he had viewed anything in that experience he wished to try later. As reported in Table 10, 58% the users reported affirmatively, while only 38% of the controls so responded. Thirty-five percent or less in the other groups reported affirmatively.

In response to the question if the subject followed through with the desired sexual activity shortly thereafter, all the reports dropped sharply. Only 22% of the users and 13% of the controls reported imitating the act portrayed in the erotic stimuli. The other groups were about the same as the controls, except the female-oriented pedophiles (25%) and the Black ghetto group (21%), which were somewhat higher. The data again tend to suggest that the users employed erotic material not for a specific purpose but for general arousal and masturbation. It is important to note that this seemed generally true of the rapists as well.

In regard to whether the subject wished to engage in some other sexual activity than that represented in this pornographic stimulus, the groups did not reveal sharp differences. However, the rapists seemed to be noticeably lower in reporting affirmatively. When asked if they had actually engaged in such activity afterwards, again there was a sharper drop in the number so reporting in all groups. The rapists again were low in this regard, and the users were relatively high (although lower than the controls). The homosexually inclined groups (the homosexuals and the male-oriented pedophiles) seemed to have the highest rate of actual experience afterwards.

As already noted, the rapists reported relatively low actual activity—either imitative or some other kind—following stimulation by erotic materials. When the subjects were asked what were the internal and external barriers to actually engaging in sex activity, the only significant category of response for any group was the rapists' report of 15% who were "afraid of sex" and 15% who had no available sex partner.

Reaction to peak experience as an adolescent. The same questions were asked the subjects concerning the experience that stood out most vividly in their minds as adolescents (see Table 10). All of the groups showed greater interest at this age than as adults in imitating the behavior viewed in the erotic material. The rapists

Table 9

REACTION TO EROTIC MATERIAL IN GENERAL

	Control		Rapist		Male object pedophile		Female object pedophile		Homosexual		Transsexual		User		Ghetto		Blacks Middle class	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Excite to masturbate	37	(87)*	80	(90)	60	(65)	45	(60)	75	(69)	14	(36)	78	(86)	13	(46)	11	(50)
Actually looked at while masturbating	11		35		25		10		39		14		46		4		7	
Masturbate sometimes without erotic stimuli	30		75		70		60		69		57		68		13		7	
Excite to sexual relations	48		55		60		55		56		21		56		37		46	
Thoughts present during sexual relations	19		20		30		30		19		7		28		4		10	
N	46		20		20		20		36		14		50		24		28	

* Figures in parentheses are for adolescence --- all others as adults.

Table 10

REACTION TO PEAK EXPERIENCE WITH EROTICA

	Control (N=46)		Rapist (N=20)		Male object pedophile (N=20)		Female object pedophile (N=20)		Homosexual (N=36)		Transsexual (N=14)		User (N=50)		Ghetto (N=27)		Blacks Middle class (N=28)	
	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen	Adult	Teen
Wished to try act seen	30	48	35	80	35	65	25	40	33	39	14	29	58	66	29	63	4	54
Did try shortly after	13	28	15	30	15	25	25	20	6	14	7	14	22	30	21	38	4	28
Wished other sex after	65	63	40	75	60	70	45	55	61	51	28	50	66	72	37	71	29	50
Did other shortly after	35	22	20	25	40	40	15	25	36	28	0	21	32	52	29	4	10	0

particularly stood out with 80% recalling having had a desire to do so. The figures also were much greater for wishing to try sex of any kind afterwards, and the rapists again had the highest report at 75%. The high reports of all groups to both of these questions may be merely reflective of the higher generalized desire for sexual activity as adolescents than as adults. It also may reflect greater stimulation because of the newness of the experience of erotic material in adolescence as compared to viewing the erotic material as adults.

When asked about actual sexual activity, there seemed to have been more actual imitation as adolescents than as adults, which also may be explained by the factors referred to above. It is very interesting to note that the Black ghetto group reported the highest percentage (38%) of actual imitation of the behavior viewed, since the Black ghetto group was very low in reporting general use of pornography. Actually, both the Black ghetto group and the Black middle class group reported relatively high specific imitative activity, while they both reported little sexual activity afterwards that was not imitative. This is in contrast with most of the other groups, who reported more general activity than specific imitative activity, although the controls also were somewhat higher in specific than in general activity. The users, on the other hand, were much higher in general sexual activity than in imitation. The rapists were generally average or lower in engaging in any sexual activity afterwards.

The data reported in the sex history section of this report does not indicate that the users were among the more sexually precocious. This information, combined with the figures above indicating that the users were stimulated to sexual activity by erotic material more than the other groups, suggests a pattern of early life conditioning for users in which erotic materials served as a necessary stimulant to sexual activity.

The users' arousal most frequently led to masturbation as a drive reduction, with relatively little social sexual activity. The recurrence of thoughts of the erotic material led to further masturbation. This pattern appeared to continue into adulthood and to become combined with the seeking of more erotic materials to induce arousal. The cycle of self-stimulation then continued. It should be recalled that the users also reported more thoughts about the erotic material during intercourse than the controls, which also may be considered a type of self-stimulation. Perhaps it can be theorized that the users also sought out the erotic material to reassure themselves of their sexual interest.

SEX ATTITUDES

Parental sex attitudes

Nudity. Table 11 presents reported attitudes toward nudity in the homes of the subjects as children and as teenagers. No group reported great tolerance for nudity in the home in either period.

Compared to the controls, the two male homosexual groups (that is, the male-oriented pedophiles and the homosexuals) each reported significantly less ($p < .05$) permissive parental attitude toward nudity as a child. The transsexuals apparently had a fair amount of nudity displayed during childhood combined with strong parental concern, perhaps contributing to the transsexuals' confused sexual

conceptions. The users showed significantly more permissive parental attitudes than the controls ($p < .01$), as did the Venice control group ($p < .02$), perhaps partially contributing to the users' more permissive attitudes toward erotica (reported below). The Black middle class group also showed more permissive parental attitude toward nudity in childhood ($p < .05$) than the controls.

The controls reported some shift toward greater parental permissiveness occurring in their teen years. The homosexuals showed a sharper move toward greater permissiveness to the extent that there was no longer a significant difference from the controls. On the other hand, the male-oriented pedophiles showed only a minor shift, and the gap between them and the controls increased ($p < .02$). Parental attitude reported by the transsexuals tended toward even less permissiveness in teen years.

The users at first glance seemed to continue to show significantly greater parental permissiveness in teen years as compared to the controls ($p < .01$). However, the users reported more than twice as many instances of absolutely no nudity in the home as a teenager as compared to the controls, whereas the controls showed twice as many instances of strong parental concern over nudity.

In regard to the teen years, the significance of the difference between reports of the controls and the middle class Blacks disappeared which was also the case between the controls and the Venice control group. The female users reported some acceptance of nudity in the home as children but a very strict attitude in teen years.

Sex as a topic of family discussion. Table 12 indicates that sex as a topic of family discussion occurred in less than 31% of each group in this report. The sex offender groups reported almost a complete absence of such discussion, which was particularly pronounced in the rapist sample.

The Black ghetto group reported almost no discussion in contrast to the Black middle class group, which reported more discussion than any other group in the entire study (except the transsexuals).

Erotic material around the house. No group reported any substantial amount of erotic material of any kind in the home while growing up. For all categories of books, photos, motion pictures, and mechanical aids there were no significant exposure differences between the controls and any other group. Between groups the only significant differences were between the male-oriented pedophiles, who reported more commercial photos around the house used as a stimulant (as compared to the female-oriented pedophiles ($p < .05$)), and the rapists, who reported very little of any kind of erotica (as compared to the female-oriented pedophiles. ($p < .01$)).

Of all the groups, only the users who responded to the flyers reported having had erotic cartoons around the house when they were growing up. Four males and one female so reported. No person in any group reported mechanical sexual aids around the house while they were growing up. About 5% of each of the sex offender groups and the homosexuals, and 15% of the users, reported using medical or legal books found around the house as a stimulant, but none of the control or transsexual or Black ghetto groups did. Only one middle class Black so reported.

Table 11

HOME ATTITUDE TOWARDS NUILITY AS CHILD AND TEENAGER

	Control (N=53)		Rapist (N=19)		Male object pedophile (N=20)		Female object pedophile (N=20)		Homosexual (N=37)		Transsexual (N=13)		Flyer (N=52)		Users Ad (N=17)		Mail (N=9)		Blacks Ghetto (N=22)		Middle class (N=17)	
	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen
Much nudity	0.0	3.8	5.3	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.4	5.4	0.0	0.0	11.5	9.6	5.9	5.9	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	11.8	5.9
Some nudity	26.4	28.3	5.3	26.3	20.0	35.0	5.0	10.0	29.7	21.6	7.7	0.0	30.8	19.2	35.3	23.5	22.2	13.6	9.1	23.5	35.3	
Concern that people were properly covered	49.1	50.9	57.9	36.8	25.0	20.0	50.0	50.0	24.3	32.4	92.3	92.3	23.1	25.0	29.4	29.4	44.4	40.9	45.5	23.5	29.4	
Absolutely no nudity	24.5	17.0	31.6	36.8	50.0	45.0	40.0	40.5	37.8	0.0	7.7	32.7	44.2	29.4	41.2	33.3	33.3	40.9	40.9	35.3	23.5	
vs. Controls	—	—	—	—	.05	.02	—	.05	—	.02	.02	.01	.01	*	*	*	*	—	—	.05	—	

* Not computed.

Table 12

SEX AS SUBJECT OF FAMILY CONVERSATION

	Control		Rapist	Male object pedophile		Female object pedophile		Homosexual		Transsexual		Flyer		Users Ad		Mail		Blacks Ghetto		Middle class	
	Child	Teen	Child	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen	Child	Teen
Frequent or occasional	20.8	0.0	10.0	5.0	13.5	30.8	25.0	5.9	11.1	4.5	29.4	5.9	11.1	4.5	29.4	5.9	11.1	4.5	29.4	5.9	
Seldom or never	79.3	100.0	90.0	90.0	86.5	69.3	71.2	94.1	88.9	90.9	64.7	94.1	88.9	90.9	64.7	94.1	88.9	90.9	64.7	94.1	
N	53	19	20	20	37	52	17	17	9	22	17	17	9	22	17	17	9	22	17	17	
vs. Controls	—	.05	—	—	—	—	—	*	—	—	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	—	—	—

* Not computed.

Use of commercial photos found around the house as a stimulant was reported by 35% of the male-oriented pedophiles; 30% of the rapists; 20% of the transsexuals, users, and controls; and 15% or less of other groups. However, these differences were not substantially significant.

Pornographic photos found around the house were reported by 20% of the controls, but almost none by any other group. (Sex offender groups reported about 5%, as did two users and one middle class Black.)

Use of commercial books found around the house as a stimulant while growing up was reported by 10% to 20% of the users, which was somewhat higher than the report of the sex offender groups. Only one ghetto Black, one middle class Black, one female user, and one control so reported.

The only sex offender group that reported having any pornographic books around the house were the rapists (less than 12%). Less than 9% of the users reported having had pornographic books around the house. The Black ghetto group equaled the rapists' percentage of 12%, and the Black middle class reported none, as did the controls.

In the entire study only one person (a user who responded to the flyer) reported having a pornographic movie around the house while growing up.

Parents' knowledge of and reaction to subject's viewing erotic material. Only 18% of the rapists reported parental awareness of their viewing erotic material around the house, but in those instances they reported that the parents became angry and punished them. Thirty-seven percent of the parents of the control group knew of the viewing, but only 7% were punished, as the usual parental reaction was indifference. A small number of the parents of the controls explained the materials, a reaction not reported by any of the other groups. The users reported somewhat higher parental awareness than did the control group. The parental attitude of the users tended to be a mild reaction or none at all, but there were more reports of angry and mild reactions than was reported by the control group. Nevertheless, parental punishment was about the same as for the control group (less than 6%). The Black groups reported very little parental knowledge and little or no reaction and no punishment. For the most part, the other subjects reported lack of parental knowledge or indifference if discovered viewing erotic materials.

Source of sex information. Table 13 displays the reported sources of sex information. The most important sources for all subjects were their friends (particularly male friends) and reading independently.

The two Black groups might appear aberrant in that they did not report any significant source other than friends, and even friends were reported less than by the other groups. The Black groups stood out in almost every category as reporting very little sex information from any source. For example, the highest reported source for ghetto Blacks was learning from friends, and that was only 30%. Rather than being truly reflective of the sources of sex information for the Black subjects, this sparse reporting appears to be at least partly due to interview error on the part of some of the interviewers of the Black sample groups. Some of these interviewers apparently asked only for the primary source of sex information rather than asking which sources contributed some information. Accordingly, the Black samples were not included in the comments that follow concerning sources of sex information.

Table 13

WHO GAVE SEX INFORMATION

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Users			Blacks	
							Flyer	Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class
Father											
None	56.6	57.9	70.0	55.0	78.4	38.5	48.1	70.6	88.9	72.7 *	70.6
Some	41.5	42.1	30.0	45.0	16.2	38.5	42.3	29.4	0.0	18.2	11.8
Mother											
None	66.0	68.4	80.0	85.0	62.2	61.5	50.0	64.7	44.4	77.3	64.7
Some	33.9	31.6	20.0	15.0	35.1	23.1	40.5	35.3	44.4	13.5	23.6
Brother											
None	54.7	42.1	65.0	60.0	70.3	46.2	61.5	82.4	55.6	59.1	64.7
Some	37.7	47.4	35.0	40.0	13.5	38.5	27.0	11.8	33.3	36.4	17.7
Sister											
None	83.0	68.4	85.0	90.0	81.1	53.8 +	75.0	88.2	77.8	90.9	70.6
Some	7.6	31.6	15.0	10.0	13.5	30.8	11.6	5.9	0.0	0.0	11.8
Relatives											
None	69.8	68.4	75.0	70.0	83.8	69.2	67.3	70.6	44.4	86.4	70.6
Some	30.1	31.7	25.0	30.0	13.5	15.4	21.1	23.6	33.3	4.5	11.8
Male friends											
None	7.5	21.1	10.0	30.0 +	10.8	7.7	15.4	17.6	11.1	54.5 +	41.2 +
Some	90.6	78.9	90.0	70.0	89.1	84.7	78.9	76.5	77.7	31.8	47.0
Female friends											
None	34.0	57.9	70.0 *	40.0	75.7 +	23.1	38.5	23.5	44.4	81.8 +	52.9 +
Some	64.1	42.2	30.0	60.0	21.6	61.6	54.7	70.5	44.4	4.5	23.5

The sex offender groups did not show any particular pattern of sources for sex information. The rapists reported wives as a significantly greater source than did the controls ($p < .05$) which may indicate late learning. This would be in line with a comment made by a staff member of Atascadero State Hospital that frequently the sex offenders displayed great ignorance of sexual matters and at least one rapist patient did not know where babies came from. The male-oriented pedophiles differed from the female-oriented pedophiles in regard to male friends as a source; the former reported about the same as the controls, and the latter showed significantly less information ($p < .01$) from this source as compared to the controls. On the other hand, the male-oriented pedophiles learned significantly less than the controls ($p < .05$) from female friends, while the female-oriented pedophiles learned about the same as the controls from this source. The female-oriented pedophiles also learned significantly more ($p < .02$) from clergymen than did the controls.

The homosexuals reported having received relatively little information from their fathers (p almost $< .05$) compared to the controls. They resembled the male-oriented pedophiles in this response, a group which also reported relatively little information from fathers. The homosexuals reported almost four times as many instances of having obtained information from their mothers as from their fathers. As expected, female friends were not as important a source of information as male friends for the homosexuals ($p < .01$), compared to the controls.

Interestingly, the male transsexuals learned significantly more from their sisters than did the controls ($p < .01$). They also learned significantly more from doctors ($p < .01$) than did the controls, which may reflect their desire for professional advice on their confused condition, although the ages at which they learned from doctors indicated this source was not a recent one. Compared to the female users, the transsexuals learned more from their brothers ($p < .05$) and also reported an earlier sex education course at school ($p < .05$). On the other hand, they got information from reading on their own at a significantly ($p < .02$) later age than the female users.

The only significant difference between the users and the controls was that the users learned from reading on their own at an earlier age ($p < .01$), which may simply reflect overall early reading since they were a more highly educated group. In all other respects, the male users' sources of information generally followed the controls. About one-third of the female users reported learning from their male friends, and only two reported learning anything from female friends. This finding is significantly different ($p < .05$) from reports of the lesbians, who received more information from female friends. Not a single female user reported any information from teachers, clergymen, or doctors. All but two reported reading independently as an important source, but only one reported learning from school.

In contrast to most of the males, who did not report learning much from wives (except for the rapists and female-oriented pedophiles), over half of the female group reported learning a considerable amount from their husbands.

When later asked about attending formal sex education courses in school (see Table 14), there was no significant difference between the controls and any other group, although the controls seemed to report the highest attendance of such a class and the Atascadero and user samples the lowest, except for the Black ghetto group. The Black ghetto group reported about 24% having learned from that

Table 14

SEX EDUCATION COURSE AT SCHOOL

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyer	Users Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class
Yes	62.3	31.6	30.0	40.0	45.9	53.9	34.6	41.1	55.5	36.4	52.8
No	28.3	47.4	55.0	50.0	45.9	30.8	42.3	41.2	33.3	54.5	35.3
Learn about sex intercourse											
No	26.4	26.3	15.0	20.0	32.4	46.2	28.8	35.3	33.3	22.7	29.4
Yes	22.6	5.3	10.0	10.0	10.8	7.7	7.7	11.8	11.1	9.1	17.6
Learn about birth control											
No	32.1	21.1	20.0	25.0	32.4	61.5	26.9	41.2	44.4	22.7	35.3
Yes	18.9	10.5	5.0	5.0	8.1	0.0	9.6	0.0	0.0	9.1	5.9
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17
vs. Controls	p > 0.05 all factors										

source, as compared with 50% of the Black middle class group and 65% of the control group. Only one female reported having a sex education course at school.

All the figures of attendance in a sex education course ran higher than the comparable figures in Table 13, concerning information obtained from this source, and may be explained by Table 14, which indicates that less than 12% of all the courses taken by all groups except the controls taught about sexual intercourse or birth controls. The Black middle class sample was slightly higher at 18% with regard to learning about intercourse. None of the female users reported learning about sexual intercourse or birth control in such a course.

Self sex attitudes

Comfort talking about sex. The male-oriented pedophiles reported the least comfort in talking about sex at about 52%, which was significantly less than the controls ($p < .01$). The rapists ran a close second in lack of comfort ($p < .05$) compared to the controls. All of the homosexuals reported being comfortable in talking about sex, as did almost all of the users, male and female. About 80% of the controls reported being comfortable, and the same held for the Black groups.

Best source of sex education. The primary source of sex information for all groups was learning from friends and reading independently. However, when asked their opinion on the best source of sex information for boys or girls, all groups most often designated parents and frequently mentioned school as well. Apparently none of the groups thought their own experience was the best way to learn. A slight departure from this trend was the response of the Blacks, who suggested friends after parents as the best source of sex information for boys.

Opinion on homosexuality and prostitution. The homosexuals and lesbians were unanimous in their opinion that there was nothing wrong with homosexuality, while only about 30% of the controls expressed that opinion ($p < .01$). However, only 11% of the controls considered it a perversion, the majority believing that therapy was needed. The user group was rather high in approval of homosexuality, the three separate groups reporting approval at 78%, 48%, and 75%, respectively ($p < .01$), as compared to the controls. Only one user thought of homosexuality as a perversion. It is interesting to compare these figures with those set forth later in this report on homosexual experiences of the users. Less than 10% of all users had had any homosexual experience as compared to 15% of the controls; thus, the users gave greater approval but were unlikely to report engaging in overt homosexual acts. The female users were also high in approval (75%), and none referred to it as a perversion. None of the female users later reported homosexual contacts. Interestingly, only 70% of the transsexuals expressed the opinion that homosexuality was acceptable.

There were no other groups showing a significant difference from the controls in opinion of homosexuality. However, the male-oriented pedophiles tended more often to say nothing was wrong with it, and the Black ghetto group tended more often to label it a perversion. At least half of all groups other than the homosexuals and male-oriented pedophiles believed therapy was needed for homosexuals. About 80% or more of each group found nothing wrong with prostitution. However, the transsexuals favored therapy for prostitutes a little more

strongly than the other groups, and the Black ghetto group significantly differed from the controls ($p < .01$) in believing that prostitution was a perversion and that prostitutes were in need of therapy.

Opinion on appropriate standard of sexual behavior. Over 75% of the male and female users approved of premarital sex for all persons. This finding was considerably higher than the 55% approval by controls and more than twice that of any institutionalized group of sex offenders. The percentage of approval was about the same as in the homosexual and lesbian groups. Almost all of the other users (25%) indicated approval for all consenting adults regardless of ties of affection; only six required affection or love; none required engagement; and none stated that it was absolutely wrong. Those controls and homosexuals who did not consider premarital intercourse acceptable for all felt that premarital sexual intercourse was acceptable between consenting adults or persons having ties of affection. The rapists put some emphasis on engagements, while 15% to 20% of the two groups of pedophiles and the transsexuals indicated that they believed it to be absolutely wrong for all persons. The Black ghetto group had the severest standard of any group as compared to the controls ($p < .01$), except for the female-oriented pedophiles.

The female-oriented pedophiles presented a curious picture. Their sex offense obviously involved premarital relations on the part of their sex object. Nevertheless, the female-oriented pedophiles were the least permissive as compared to the controls in their opinion on premarital sexual intercourse ($p < .02$) and in their opinion on the appropriate standard of extramarital sexual behavior ($p < .01$). It may be recalled that this group reported relatively little information from friends and much information from clergymen, which may suggest that they developed restrictive attitudes which interfered with mature sexual relations and tended to require other outlets.

When asked to choose an appropriate standard of sexual behavior, 95% ($p < .01$ vs. controls) of the homosexuals and 85% ($p < .05$ vs. controls) of the male and female users stated that everyone should be free to decide for himself, and over 62% of the controls agreed. About half of the male-oriented pedophiles and transsexuals agreed, but only 41% of the rapists and 31% of the female-oriented pedophiles agreed. Controls, rapists, and transsexuals who did not believe in complete freedom were about evenly divided between those who stated that premarital and extramarital intercourse was wrong and those who condoned premarital but not extramarital intercourse. In the overall picture it seems that the institutionalized sex offenders had the strictest attitudes toward appropriate sexual behavior.

It is interesting to note that the Black samples were close to the controls in overall opinion, but neither of the Black groups distinguished between premarital and extramarital intercourse. Most of the Blacks stated either that people should be free to decide or that there should be no premarital or extramarital intercourse.

The female transsexuals were less permissive in their attitudes toward premarital intercourse than were the lesbians ($p < .05$) and female users ($p < .05$), suggesting once again that the transsexuals differed from homosexuals in their sex attitudes.

SEX HISTORY AND CURRENT SEX PRACTICES

Sex history

Age at first heterosexual intercourse. As shown in Table 15, none of the institutionalized sex offender groups differed from controls in age at the time of their first intercourse. The homosexuals, as might be expected, differed from controls in reporting a later age for first heterosexual intercourse. While the two Black samples tended to report a higher percentage of subjects with first intercourse at age 14, distribution does not differ significantly from controls.

Partner for first heterosexual experience. The partner for the first heterosexual intercourse ranged from steady friend to acquaintance. No more than 10% of any group reported having their first intercourse with their spouse or fiancé. The controls reported no instance of having had their first intercourse with their spouse. Between 10% and 15% of all the sex offender groups and the controls stated that a relative was the first.

It is noteworthy that none of the Blacks reported having had their first sexual experience with a prostitute or with a spouse. Two female users reported having their first experience with a prostitute, but the female-oriented pedophiles were that group of 12 persons. A considerable number of the users reported having their first experience with a prostitute but the female-oriented pedophiles were the only group reporting a relatively high number (31%) of such contacts as their first experience. These data may be related to the factors noted above concerning the sex attitudes and sources of sex information of the female-oriented pedophiles. Compared to the male-oriented pedophiles the female-oriented pedophiles reported having their first intercourse at a significantly earlier age ($p < .05$).

The transsexuals showed a pattern which varied from the controls ($p < .05$) in that the controls showed a total of 21% who had had their first heterosexual intercourse with a prostitute or a relative and the transsexuals showed none. Also, the transsexuals reported 18% as never having had intercourse, while the controls had no such reports.

Premarital and extramarital intercourse. The only group showing a significant difference ($p < .01$) from the controls with regard to the extent of premarital intercourse was the transsexual group, which reported little experience. The homosexuals and male-oriented pedophiles also reported a small amount of premarital intercourse. (The significance of difference from the controls almost reached the $p < .05$ level.)

The groups showing the highest level of extensive premarital intercourse (more than seven instances) were the two Black groups (about 82% each) with the male and female users somewhat lower at about 70%. About 60% of the controls and about 50% of the rapists and female-oriented pedophiles so reported.

Extensive experience of extramarital intercourse (over seven instances) was significantly higher for the rapists ($p < .01$) and the Black middle class group ($p < .01$) as compared to the controls. The users showed more extramarital affairs than the controls. About 2½ times as many users had had more than seven extramarital affairs than was the case with the controls, and somewhat fewer users reported never having had an extramarital affair. The Black groups showed somewhat more extramarital intercourse than either the user or the control groups, both with regard to those who had had more than seven and those who had had

Table 15

FIRST HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

	Male object			Female object			Homosexual			Transsexual			Users			Blacks		
	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyer	Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class							
1-14	37.7	47.4	40.0	40.0	16.2	7.7	26.9	35.3	33.3	54.5	52.9							
15-17	41.5	21.1	20.0	35.7	16.2	23.1	32.7	29.4	22.2	31.8	23.5							
18-20	13.2	21.1	10.0	15.0	13.5	15.4	25.0	23.5	11.1	9.1	5.9							
21-23	5.7	5.3	5.0	5.0	8.1	15.4	9.6	11.8	11.1	0.0	0.0							
24 +	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.8	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0							
None	0.0	5.3	0.0	5.0	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0							
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17							
vs. Controls	-	-	-	-	.02	-	-	*	*	-	-							

* Not computed.

none. Thus, the Black groups tended to have high frequencies of both premarital and extramarital intercourse. The male-oriented pedophiles reported very little extramarital intercourse and the homosexuals and transsexuals reported almost none.

The female users reported relatively little extramarital intercourse. Over 50% had had none, although about 20% reported over seven experiences, which was about the same as for the male users. However, the female users had had significantly more premarital intercourse than the female transsexuals.

Again, it is interesting to note the smaller amount of interpersonal sex activity of the transsexuals in that the female transsexuals reported significantly less ($p < .05$) premarital and extramarital intercourse than did the lesbians.

There appeared to be somewhat of a polarization within all the groups of persons having either a great deal of extramarital intercourse or relatively none.

Age at first homosexual experience. The male-oriented pedophiles were the only group reporting over 50% as having had their first homosexual experience at age 14 or younger (58%), while 32% of the homosexuals reported such experiences by that age. About 26% of the homosexuals reported having their first experience at age 15 to 17 and 16% by age 18 to 20. The rapists were the only other group with significant reports of homosexual experience—over 40% having had their first homosexual intercourse by age 17. Only 16% of the controls reported such activity at any age. Generally, the partners involved in the homosexual experience were either casual acquaintances or strangers, with equal percentages reported for each category by the homosexuals, male-oriented pedophiles, and rapists.

The users showed very little homosexual experience; less than 10% of the male users and none of the female users reported any homosexual intercourse. This finding was also true of the Black groups, as none of the ghetto Blacks reported homosexual experience and only one middle class Black reported any.

Age at first masturbation and source of discovery. Only the Black ghetto group showed a significant difference from the controls ($p < .01$) in reporting an earlier age of first masturbation. The homosexuals appeared to be the most precocious group with 95% reporting that they had masturbated by the age of 13. The majority of the homosexuals reported self-discovery of masturbation (58%), as did 43% of the transsexuals and 33% of the controls. The great majority of the other groups learned about it from friends. Only one person (a homosexual) reported finding out about masturbation from his parents. The male-oriented pedophiles were significantly higher than the controls ($p < .05$) in having found out about masturbation from friends rather than self-discovery. It is very likely that early masturbation learned from friends was part of the early homosexual experience reported above. Although the female transsexuals showed little interpersonal sex activity as compared to the lesbians, they masturbated at a significantly earlier age ($p < .05$).

Steady sex partners. The only two groups showing significant differences from the controls with regard to having a steady sex partner were the homosexuals and transsexuals, both of whom had fewer ($p < .01$). The male-oriented pedophiles and Black ghetto group stood out as being significantly different ($p < .05$) from the controls in having more than one steady sex partner during the past year. More than one-half of all the groups reported having a steady sex partner (except the

transsexuals and homosexuals). Each of the sex offender groups and the two Black groups tended to have more than one steady sex partner. Only 30% of the male and female users and controls, 21% of the homosexuals, and 14% of the transsexuals indicated more than one steady partner. The transsexuals were very high in reporting no steady sex partner in the past year ($p < .02$ vs. controls). About 35% of the rapists indicated no steady sex partner in the past year, which was higher than the other groups. Only the homosexuals (47%) reported a significant number as having attended an orgy recently as compared to the controls ($p < .05$). Other groups having subjects who reported attending an orgy recently were male-oriented pedophiles (25%), male users (24%), female users (33%), Black ghetto (18%), middle-class Blacks (6%), lesbians (one person), and rapists (two persons).

Frequency of intercourse. The rapists were the only group (see Table 16) reporting that over 50% averaged more than four instances of sexual intercourse per week. Eighty-two percent of the rapists averaged more than two per week, the corresponding figures for the controls being 35% and 72%, respectively. The male-oriented pedophiles appeared to have the lowest rate of all groups of sex offenders.

The users tended to parallel the controls with regard to frequency of intercourse, but few respondents reported intercourse only once a week or less than once a week. The Black ghetto group closely paralleled the control group, with the middle class Blacks showing considerably less frequency of intercourse.

The transsexuals showed a significantly lower frequency of intercourse than the controls ($p < .02$).

Orgasm achieved for partner or self other than through intercourse. In the various modes of obtaining orgasm without intercourse reported in Table 17, there were no significant differences among any of the Atascadero groups or between these groups and the controls.

The homosexuals, as might be expected, were high in obtaining orgasm through modes other than intercourse, reporting significantly higher than the controls in all categories except heavy petting.

The users also reported a significantly higher frequency of orgasm than the controls through light petting ($p < .01$), anal means ($p < .01$), and oral-genital means ($p < .05$).

The Black ghetto group reported significantly more orgasm through light petting than the controls ($p < .01$) but significantly less through oral-genital means ($p < .01$). The Black middle class also showed significantly less frequency through oral-genital means ($p < .01$) than the controls. No Blacks reported orgasm through anal means.

All the lesbians (but none of the female transsexuals) reported orgasm through oral-genital contact.

Nature of the experience. The transsexuals continued to show their confusion in the sexual area as less than one-third reported sexual intercourse to be a pleasant experience ($p < .01$ vs. controls). It was found that less than one-half of the male-oriented pedophiles enjoyed the experience ($p < .01$ vs. controls and $p < .01$ vs. female-oriented pedophiles). See Table 18.

Considering their high frequency rate per week, it was especially surprising that the rapists reported enjoying intercourse significantly less than did the controls ($p < .02$). Responses of the homosexuals were the most surprising in that 92%

Table 16
 FREQUENCY OF INTERCOURSE

Times per week	Users										Blacks	
	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyer	Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class	
6 +	9.4	15.8	10.0	10.0	10.8	0.0	25.0	0.0	11.1	9.1	5.9	
4-5	22.6	31.6	5.0	35.0	16.2	0.0	15.4	17.6	22.2	22.7	11.8	
2-3	39.6	31.6	20.0	25.0	37.8	23.1	23.1	29.4	11.1	36.4	52.9	
Once	7.5	5.3	20.0	5.0	27.0	23.1	15.4	29.4	33.3	13.6	11.8	
Less than once	17.0	15.8	30.0	20.0	8.1	33.3	13.5	23.5	22.2	13.6	5.9	
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17	
vs. Controls	—	—	—	—	—	.02	—	*	*	—	—	

* Not computed.

Table 17

NONINTERCOURSE ORGASM FOR PARTNER OR SELF

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Homosexual	Transsexual	Users			Blacks		
							Flyer	Ad	Mail	Ghetto	Middle class	
Light petting												
No	28.3	5.3	15.0	10.0	24.3	23.1	13.5	11.8	22.2	22.7	11.8	
Yes	18.9	36.8	30.0	35.0	54.1	30.8	55.8	58.8	33.3	68.2	29.4	
vs. Controls	—	—	—	—	.01	—	.01	*	*	.01	—	
Heavy petting												
No	7.5	5.3	10.0	0.0	16.2	15.4	11.5	0.0	0.0	40.9	5.9	
Yes	62.3	57.9	40.0	60.0	70.3	38.5	61.5	76.5	66.7	40.9	47.1	
vs. Controls	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	*	—	—	
Oral-genital												
No	13.2	10.5	0.0	5.0	8.1	15.4	11.5	11.8	11.1	72.7	11.8	
Yes	47.2	52.6	30.0	30.0	81.1	53.8	67.3	82.4	66.7	0.0	5.9	
vs. Controls	—	—	—	—	.02	—	—	*	*	.01	.01	
Anal												
No	28.3	10.5	10.0	5.0	18.9	15.4	26.9	17.6	11.1	72.7	11.8	
Yes	5.7	21.1	20.0	15.0	70.3	23.1	26.9	23.5	44.4	0.0	0.0	
vs. Controls	—	—	—	—	.01	—	.01	*	*	—	—	
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17	

* Not computed.

Table 18

NATURE OF EXPERIENCE OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

	Control	Rapist	Male object pedophile	Female object pedophile	Blacks															
					Homosexual	Transsexual	Flyers	Users												
Enjoy	92.5	73.7	45.0	90.0	91.9	30.8	90.4	94.1	100.0	77.3	88.2									
Neutral	3.8	15.8	35.0	5.0	2.7	23.1	3.8	5.9	0.0	13.6	0.0									
Unpleasant	0.0	5.3	15.0	0.0	2.7	23.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0									
N	53	19	20	20	37	13	52	17	9	22	17									
vs.																				
Controls	—	.02	.01	—	—	.01	—	*	*	—	—									

*Not computed.

reported intercourse to be a pleasant experience (referring most likely to homosexual experiences).

The users appeared to be about the same or perhaps a little higher than the controls in reporting enjoyment. None of the users or the Blacks reported it to be an unpleasant experience, although three of the Blacks, three of the users, and one of the female users found it to be a neutral experience.

DISCUSSION

The present investigation was carried out to determine whether sex deviates, users of pornography, and representatives of a cultural group (Blacks) differed from a randomly selected group of Caucasian controls. Evidence concerning differential history of exposure and reaction to exposure could then provide some clues as to the effects of pornography on the development of sexual attitudes and behavior. Our samples have been largely male, as we hypothesized that exposure and impact would be greatest in that group.

Generally, the reports of frequency during the adolescent years indicated that institutionalized sex offenders, homosexuals, transsexuals, and users of pornography reported less frequent exposure than the controls. The two Black samples unselected for sexual deviation did not differ from controls and, in a sense, these two groups represented additional control samples. While the Black samples and controls differed in sex attitudes and practices, their reports of adolescent exposure to pornography were virtually identical, which suggests that sex attitudes and practices are more likely to be influenced by cultural and familial factors than by exposure to pornography.

The reports of frequency of exposure during the year prior to the interview were consistent with adolescent data for the institutionalized sex offenders, transsexuals, controls, and Black samples in that the controls continued to show more exposure. The differences between institutionalized sex offenders and controls were more marked in the recent data than in the adolescent data, although the trend of low exposure for sex offenders was present in both sets of data.

In contrast, the homosexuals and users showed a marked crossover relative to controls in comparing their adolescent and recent reports. The lesser exposure during adolescence for these groups and the higher recent exposure in the past year differed at significantly high levels from control reports. It appeared that both groups showed an obsessive interest in erotica: the homosexuals in homosexual erotica and the users in both heterosexual and homosexual erotica. The pattern for the homosexuals suggested a high sensitivity and awareness for sexual stimuli of which erotica was but one subclass. It is very likely that their marked interest in homosexual erotica reflected an active involvement in the "homosexual community" (Hooker, 1962), which is likely to interest members of a homophile organization such as One, Incorporated. Coleman (1964) suggests:

Where the homosexual has become affiliated with an organized homosexual group, there is a tendency for him to think of his problem as a group problem. . . . In such cases, there may be little feeling of fear or conflict and the individual may accept his homosexual behavior as a perfectly natural form of sexual expression; he may even take pride in his homosexual behavior and consider himself "emancipated" from conventional heterosexual morality.

Possibly one way to demonstrate emancipation is to encounter, as often as possible, homosexual erotica. Since our data were based on a sample of homosexuals willing to join a homophile organization and to be publicly identified with this deviant sex role, it was difficult to know whether the trends found could be generalized to the "silent majority" of homosexuals not willing to be publicly identified.

The users did not ordinarily belong to some organized subculture in society, so it was hard to interpret their behavior in this way. Clearly, they indicated a compensatory interest in erotica following limited adolescent exposure, coupled with the broadest range of sexual practices of all groups. They seemed motivated to experience heterosexual relations in all possible ways, either symbolically in pornography or realistically in sexual contacts. The data on sex attitudes and practices of the users suggested more permissive sexual attitudes, but generally a later age for first heterosexual intercourse. Thus, while sexual interest and curiosity were tolerated, the users had a limited exposure to erotica and went through the greater part of their adolescence without experiencing heterosexual intercourse. Two possibilities which are not mutually exclusive are suggested: First, the users' extensive interest in all varieties of sexuality, symbolic and real, may have represented an attempt to "make up for lost time"; and second, high parental tolerance for sexual activity, little contact with erotica, and little sexual experience may have permitted certain infantile fantasies concerning sexuality to go unchecked by actual experience. These fantasies may have persisted into adulthood, where greater opportunity for sexual outlets exists, and may have colored the experiences desired. These hypotheses were consistent with the users' reported high rate of masturbation associated with erotic stimuli, especially as adults. This erotica-masturbation cycle may have been part of the effort to compensate for lost social sexual opportunities through fantasies and self-stimulation.

The low exposure to erotica reported by the institutionalized sex offenders was compatible with many aspects of their sexual history and attitudes. For the rapists, the data suggested a very repressive family background regarding sexuality. They uniformly reported that sex was never a topic of discussion in their homes and that when family members were aware of their interest in erotica they were highly punitive. The pattern of inhibition of sexual curiosity and punitiveness found in their families appeared to be consistent with rapists' reports of extensive heterosexual and homosexual activity with little enjoyment. They gave "fear of sex" as the reason that pornography did not stimulate them to engage in or even to desire sexual activity. This presents a contrast with their reporting the highest level of stimulation to desire sexual activity in adolescence as a result of exposure to pornography. It is also interesting that the rapists were no more likely to encounter material combining sexuality and aggression (sado-masochistic themes) than were controls; therefore, the idea for the aggressive sexual act did not appear to derive from pornography. The high percentage of rapists reporting frequent homosexual activity suggested the possibility that the aggressive sexual act could at times represent an attempt to cover homosexual tendencies.

For the pedophiles, the data indicated that the groups were quite different depending upon their preferred sexual object. The male-oriented pedophile was

usually single, while the group preferring females contained a sizable percentage of married men. The male-oriented pedophiles reported low permissiveness for nudity in their homes, little sex information from their fathers and extremely low exposure to pornography as teenagers. In contrast, 58% of this sample reported that their first experience with homosexual intercourse (either oral or anal) occurred before age 14, which suggests that they were sexually immature at the time of their first homosexual contact. Unfortunately we did not obtain data for the age of the partner in the first homosexual act. This would provide evidence for the very intriguing hypothesis that they represented "second generation" pedophiles, first as victims and later as perpetrators of the pedophilic act. The low exposure of the male-oriented pedophiles to erotica reported for adolescence and recently suggested that their sexual development more likely was influenced by actual childhood sexual contacts than by erotica.

The data for female-oriented pedophiles suggested a pattern of poor sexual education, restrictive sexual attitudes, and a tendency to have had their first heterosexual experience with a prostitute. In addition, they reported significantly less exposure to erotica during adolescence and in the past year. It appeared that this group developed highly restrictive attitudes that interfered with their ability to obtain or to enjoy mutual sexual relations and which required them to seek other sexual outlets. Given their restrictive and intolerant attitude toward premarital sex, it seemed reasonable to suppose that they associated sex with sin and dirtiness. Perhaps their choice of immature girls represented a search for sex partners who were innocent and free from the connotation of sin.

The data for the transsexuals were most interesting as they suggested a marked difference between this group and homosexuals. Their reports of exposure to erotica suggested very limited experience both in adolescence and during the past year. Their actual sexual behavior was very limited (heterosexual and homosexual), and they expressed very restrictive sexual attitudes. In many of their interviews, it was clear that they did not think of themselves as homosexuals, despite the fact that 23% of the sample reported more than four homosexual experiences in their adult life. Rather, they felt that they were actually members of the opposite sex and desired the heterosexual object appropriate to their "true" sex. Their pattern of reports suggested very limited sexual knowledge and experience which might operate to counteract their self-concept as the opposite sex. There were a number of similarities between our data on the male transsexuals and a report by Pomeroy (1969) on a sample of 25 male transsexuals. Their extreme social isolation, suggested by our data, and the very low level of heterosexual activity throughout their lives were both reported by Pomeroy. The limited contact with erotica seemed to be just a special case of the low heterosexual interest. Pomeroy also reported a special relationship with sisters in three of his cases in which extensive sex play was present. This finding was particularly interesting in view of the present data in which male transsexuals reported sisters to be a significant source of sex information.

One finding reported by Pomeroy did not agree with data in this study. He reported that over half of his sample had been exclusively homosexual throughout their adult lives. We did not find such a high percentage (23% had four or more homosexual experiences). Possibly the fact that some of Pomeroy's 11 subjects had already had a sex change operation, while none of our subjects had yet

undergone surgery, accounted for differences in the findings of the two research groups.

A comparison of all reports shows that all groups of sex deviates reported less than average exposure to erotica than did controls. This finding suggests that a reasonable exposure to erotica, particularly during adolescence, reflects a high degree of sexual interest and curiosity. Sexual curiosity is correlated with an adult pattern of acceptable heterosexual practice. Less than average adolescent exposure, as in the sex deviate sample, reflects either avoidance of heterosexual stimuli (as suggested by the consistently low figures for stimuli representing heterosexual intercourse) or childhood development in an extremely restrictive atmosphere in which contact with such stimuli was prohibited and punished. It appears that the degree of exposure to erotica is a manifestation of the total pattern of sexual development. If the pattern of sexual development proceeds along a deviant track, then deviant sexual behavior in later life may be correlated with either underexposure to erotica or an obsessive interest in it.

For demographic variables, the differences between the controls and the comparison groups raised the question of whether the differences in reports of exposure to erotica reflected these socioeconomic, age, and educational factors. The match between the rapists and controls was very good and little needs to be said regarding contrasts between these two groups. The pedophile groups differed from controls in age distribution, education, and occupational level which raised the question of whether the pedophile sample was typical of all sex offenders of that type. Data provided by Revitch and Weiss (1962) suggested that the older age level of the pedophile sample was very typical. Their study of 836 pedophilic offenders in the State of New Jersey showed an average age of 40, for pedophiles, which was very close to the average age of our sample.

It is interesting to consider whether the marked differences in exposure reflected generational differences in the availability of pornography.

The Black middle class sample showed an age distribution similar to the pedophiles, and their exposure reports were identical to the controls. This finding suggested that generational differences could not fully account for differences in reported exposure. The pedophiles and transsexuals represented markedly contrasting educational and occupational levels, yet they had similar patterns of infrequent exposure to erotica. Similarly, the homosexuals had a high educational level, and their reports for adolescence paralleled those of the pedophiles. It appeared that all groups of sex deviates varying in age, education, and occupation shared the common characteristic of low exposure to erotica during adolescence. While it was virtually impossible to rule out variables other than sexual deviation which accounted for the reports of lower exposure to erotica (particularly for adolescence), it was difficult to see how the differences reported in this paper could be explained by age, educational, or socioeconomic differences.

The present report deals primarily with reports of sex attitudes and practices and frequency of exposure to erotic stimuli. However, frequency of contact with erotic stimuli did not tell the whole story. Certain experiences of a particularly vivid nature need only occur once or twice in order to produce significant effects on sexual attitudes and behavior. In the clinical research instrument, there were questions dealing with "peak" experiences with erotica suggested by the respondent. These questions dealt with the nature of the experience and subsequent

shifts in attitudes and behavior. While these data have been only partially analyzed, the results suggest that sexual arousal following exposure to erotica does not lead to any specific pattern of sexual action. The availability of a sex partner and internal attitudes and values concerning sexuality determined the mode of sexual expression. Clearly, in adolescence erotic materials suggest a variety of sexual behaviors, but the behavior most typically engaged in was masturbation. In adult life only the users and sex offenders appear to continue this pattern of arousal and masturbation, as their fearful sexual attitudes prevent the use of normal sexual outlets. It appears that unresolved sexual conflicts in adolescence relate to adult sexual patterns in which erotica is a necessary stimulant (in the case of users, homosexuals, sex offenders, for example) to obtain gratification. In the normally developed male, the adolescent use of erotica as an adjunct to sexual actions declines, and the sexual partner becomes the primary source of arousal and gratification.

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APPENDIX A

LEGAL AND BEHAVIORAL INSTITUTE

1225 Westwood Blvd., Suite 6
 Los Angeles, California 90024
 Telephone (213) 479-2457

January-March, 1970

YOU ARE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN A
 RESEARCH STUDY BEING CONDUCTED BY
 THE LEGAL AND BEHAVIORAL INSTITUTE.

YOU WILL BE PAID \$10.00 FOR YOUR TIME.

The Legal and Behavioral Institute, a research organization headed by noted psychiatrists, psychologists and lawyers, is conducting a research project for the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography aimed at finally achieving *enlightened* legislation on this subject. Participants will be asked to appear at the Institute for an interview. Your privacy will be guaranteed; no names will be requested.

PLEASE CALL FOR AN INTERVIEW.

APPENDIX B

Table 1-B

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN RESPONSES BETWEEN CONTROL GROUP AND EACH TEST GROUP TO DEMOGRAPHIC, SEX ATTITUDE, AND SEX HISTORY QUESTIONS

Response differences	Pedophile, Rapist	Pedophile, male object	Pedophile, female object	Homo- sexual	Trans- sexual	User	Black ghetto	Black middle class
regional origin urban-rural							.01	.01
age		.05	.01	.01		.05		.01
marital status times married			.01	.01				
education			.01	.01	.02	.01	.02	
present occupation	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.02	.01	.01
best occupation		.01		.01	.01	.01		.02

Table 1-B (Continued)

Response differences	Rapist	Pedophile, male object	Pedophile, female object	Homo- sexual	Trans- sexual	User	Black ghetto	Black middle class
best salary								
feel current job	.01							
feel current salary				.02				
present annual income								
religion raised in		.05					.05	
religion now		.02						
church attendance				.01				
nudity, home—child		.05		.05	.02	.01		.05
nudity, home—teen		.02				.01		
sex in family conversation	.05		.05					
erotic materials around house while growing up								
cartoons								
med. leg.						.05		
books, commercial								
books, pornographic								
photos, commercial								
photos, pornographic								
photos, private								
movies, commercial								
movies, pornographic								
mechanical aids								
nothing	.02							
parents' reaction								
parents' punishment								
parents' church attend- ance							.05	
SOURCES OF SEX INFORMATION								
father							.05	
mother								
brother								
sister					.01			
relative								
male friend			.01				.01	.01
male friend's age								
female friend		.05		.01			.01	.05
female friend's age								
teacher							.05	
clergyman			.02					
doctor					.01			
reading independently							.01	.01
age, reading independently		.02				.01		.05
school								
wife	.05							
sex education course								
course taught intercourse								
course taught birth con- trol								
ATTITUDE								
comfortable talking about sex	.05	.01						
best source—girls								
best source—boys								
opinion on homo- sexuality				.01		.01		
opinion on prostitution							.01	
opinion on premarital sex			.02				.01	

Table 1-B (Continued)

Response differences	Rapist	Pedophile, male object	Pedophile, female object	Homo- sexual	Trans- sexual	User	Black ghetto	Black middle class
standard sexual behavior			.01	.01		.05	.05	
SEX HISTORY								
age first heterosexual intercourse				.02				
person first hetero- sexual intercourse					.05			
number of premarital experiences					.01			
number of extramarital experiences	.01							.01
number of homosexual premarital experiences				.01				
age first masturbation							.01	
how discovered mastur- bation		.05						
steady sex partner				.01	.01			
more than one steady sex partner		.05					.05	
no steady sex partner					.02			
orgy recently				.05				
frequency of inter- course					.02			
orgasm self or partner								
light petting				.01		.01	.01	
heavy petting								
oral-genital				.02			.01	.01
anal				.01		.01		
intercourse unpleasant	.02	.01			.01			

Note: This table sets forth probable significant differences of $p \leq .05$ based on chi-square test comparisons of control group to each test group. Only p 's $\leq .05$ are listed and all blank spaces signify $p > .05$.

APPENDIX C

Table 1-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF PARTIALLY NUDE WOMEN

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	0	13	7	13	18	2	12	0	2
1-10	40	33	23	8	9	8	0	0	8
11-50	7	27	31	35	27	19	19	43	20
50+	53	27	39	45	46	71	69	57	70

Table 2-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF FULLY NUDE WOMEN

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	38	34	22	45	54	25	17	0	7
1-10	12	20	28	19	23	28	11	20	22
11-50	19	33	28	23	8	25	17	50	18
50+	31	13	22	13	15	22	55	30	51

Table 3-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF PARTIALLY NUDE MALES

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	20	39	29	30	42	38	24	30	23
1-10	33	22	35	24	8	32	11	40	23
11-50	27	22	18	15	8	15	24	10	23
50+	20	17	18	30	42	15	41	20	31

Table 4-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF FULLY NUDE MALES

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	33	54	35	41	42	47	18	37	28
1-10	27	13	35	21	25	28	12	36	21
11-50	20	13	12	17	0	12	29	9	27
50+	20	20	18	21	33	13	41	18	24

Table 5-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	38	47	44	57	67	40	22	28	15
1-10	38	24	17	14	8	40	22	27	28
11-50	5	11	22	26	8	10	6	18	21
50+	19	18	17	3	17	10	50	27	36

Table 6—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE
TO PHOTOS OF HOMOSEXUAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	59	65	68	86	85	76	28	58	49
1-10	29	18	21	3	7	6	22	17	23
11-50	6	12	5	2	0	12	22	8	13
50+	6	6	5	9	8	6	28	17	15

Table 7—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE
TO PHOTOS OF ORAL-GENITAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	53	57	65	71	83	53	42	42	25
1-10	24	31	18	9	0	33	21	33	35
11-50	18	6	12	17	8	6	11	8	19
50+	5	6	5	3	8	8	26	17	21

Table 8—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE
TO PHOTOS OF SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	77	95	80	85	83	68	55	92	57
1-10	6	5	15	9	8	24	10	8	25
11-50	12	0	5	6	0	4	20	0	7
50+	5	0	0	0	8	4	15	0	11

Table 9—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE
TO MOVIES CONTAINING NUDE WOMEN

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	56	50	67	81	62	42	24	60	29
1-10	28	39	22	11	23	42	48	33	41
11-50	11	5	5	8	15	16	24	7	18
50+	5	6	6	0	0	0	4	0	12

Table 10-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES CONTAINING NUDE MALES

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	82	80	90	78	69	57	40	77	59
1-10	18	20	5	8	23	37	40	23	25
11-50	0	0	0	14	8	6	15	0	8
50+	0	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	8

Table 11-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES PORTRAYING HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	56	83	85	83	62	64	63	73	46
1-10	33	11	15	6	15	30	32	20	34
11-50	6	6	0	8	15	6	5	7	10
50+	5	0	0	3	8	0	0	0	10

Table 12-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES PORTRAYING HOMOSEXUAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	84	85	95	83	85	82	63	80	68
1-10	16	15	5	11	7	16	26	20	18
11-50	0	0	0	6	8	2	11	0	12
50+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Table 13-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES PORTRAYING ORAL-GENITAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	78	75	89	83	77	74	79	92	58
1-10	22	20	11	6	8	25	16	8	30
11-50	0	5	0	11	15	1	5	0	8
50+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4

Table 14—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES PORTRAYING SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	79	90	100	91	92	96	89	93	68
1-10	21	10	0	9	8	4	11	0	28
11-50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	4
50+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 15—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING NUDITY OR SEX

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	32	33	41	46	50	6	18	38	8
1-10	47	50	33	33	20	50	59	44	49
11-50	10	11	13	18	30	23	18	13	25
50+	11	6	13	3	0	21	5	5	18

Table 16—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	41	79	53	34	58	13	19	42	20
1-10	41	21	21	50	25	57	63	58	51
11-50	12	0	16	16	17	15	13	0	18
50+	6	0	10	0	0	15	5	0	12

Table 17—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING HOMOSEXUAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	68	82	74	79	58	51	74	67	63
1-10	32	12	21	6	33	43	10	33	28
11-50	0	6	5	15	8	6	16	0	6
50+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

Table 18-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING ORAL-GENITAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	65	88	63	64	77	45	56	92	30
1-10	29	6	21	33	15	38	38	8	52
11-50	6	6	11	3	8	11	6	0	12
50+	0	0	5	0	0	6	0	0	6

Table 19-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED ADOLESCENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	61	84	68	85	75	67	68	75	45
1-10	33	16	26	15	25	25	26	25	45
11-50	0	0	5	0	0	4	5	0	10
50+	6	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0

Table 20-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF PARTIALLY NUDE WOMEN

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	11	8	33	14	9	0	6	0	2
1-10	18	34	7	11	18	2	29	25	9
11-50	18	33	40	20	27	2	18	33	24
50+	53	25	20	55	46	96	47	42	65

Table 21-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF FULLY NUDE WOMEN

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	24	29	38	21	31	0	18	0	8
1-10	23	36	12	12	23	2	35	17	22
11-50	24	21	31	18	23	10	12	33	28
50+	29	14	19	49	23	88	35	50	42

Table 22—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO PHOTOS OF PARTIALLY NUDE MALES

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	37	20	53	0	25	8	28	10	14
1-10	26	40	7	0	25	15	39	40	34
11-50	26	20	40	14	25	20	22	30	24
50+	11	20	0	86	25	57	11	20	28

Table 23—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO PHOTOS OF FULLY NUDE MALES

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	44	27	50	2	39	8	28	20	20
1-10	22	47	7	6	23	20	44	40	33
11-50	28	6	43	9	15	22	17	10	27
50+	6	20	0	83	23	50	11	30	20

Table 24—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO PHOTOS OF HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	61	75	63	29	47	25	29	62	29
1-10	11	13	19	14	23	19	29	8	39
11-50	17	6	5	31	15	25	18	23	12
50+	11	6	13	26	15	31	24	7	20

Table 25—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO PHOTOS OF HOMOSEXUAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	75	63	65	13	50	12	61	77	47
1-10	19	19	29	17	16	23	33	8	22
11-50	0	5	6	31	17	27	6	15	22
50+	6	13	0	39	17	38	0	0	9

Table 26—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF ORAL-GENITAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	74	53	65	15	54	21	47	42	47
1-10	11	35	29	24	23	21	41	33	26
11-50	4	6	6	29	15	28	6	25	18
50+	11	6	0	32	8	30	6	0	9

Table 27—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS OF SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	72	81	74	51	62	34	78	85	59
1-10	17	13	16	19	15	28	11	8	27
11-50	11	6	10	19	8	17	11	7	10
50+	0	0	0	11	15	21	0	0	4

Table 28—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES CONTAINING NUDE WOMEN

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	22	50	53	17	27	4	45	39	16
1-10	61	39	41	61	73	41	45	54	65
11-50	0	6	6	19	0	35	5	7	16
50+	17	5	0	3	0	20	5	0	3

Table 29—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES CONTAINING NUDE MALES

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	53	69	71	3	38	26	53	64	36
1-10	40	26	24	53	62	45	42	36	51
11-50	0	0	5	36	0	14	0	0	13
50+	7	5	0	8	0	15	5	0	0

Table 30—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES PORTRAYING HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	67	80	71	33	54	24	54	46	35
1-10	22	15	24	50	46	50	41	46	56
11-50	5	0	5	14	0	20	5	8	9
50+	6	5	0	3	0	6	0	0	0

Table 31—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES PORTRAYING HOMOSEXUAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	67	80	63	18	54	31	78	58	55
1-10	33	15	32	40	46	49	22	42	43
11-50	0	0	5	36	0	14	0	0	2
50+	0	5	0	6	0	6	0	0	0

Table 32—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES PORTRAYING ORAL-GENITAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	83	85	71	40	85	32	83	60	50
1-10	17	10	24	34	15	46	17	30	44
11-50	0	0	5	20	0	20	0	10	6
50+	0	5	0	6	0	2	0	0	0

Table 33—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO MOVIES PORTRAYING SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User—flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	78	80	85	46	85	58	81	69	79
1-10	22	15	15	49	15	38	14	31	21
11-50	0	5	0	2	0	4	5	0	0
50+	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0

Table 34-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING NUDITY OR SEX

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	22	37	26	15	25	18	37	54	26
1-10	50	37	48	47	75	40	37	33	53
11-50	28	16	26	32	0	22	10	13	20
50+	0	10	0	6	0	20	16	0	1

Table 35-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	41	42	47	20	31	25	42	65	33
1-10	41	42	35	51	69	43	32	21	46
11-50	12	5	18	26	0	18	10	14	19
50+	6	11	0	3	0	14	16	0	2

Table 36-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING HOMOSEXUAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	78	45	61	9	33	35	74	79	52
1-10	22	45	33	56	67	59	26	21	35
11-50	0	0	6	32	0	4	0	0	13
50+	0	10	0	3	0	2	0	0	0

Table 37-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING ORAL-GENITAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User-flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	Controls
Never	59	63	53	9	58	29	70	71	35
1-10	29	21	35	50	42	44	30	29	46
11-50	6	5	12	38	0	17	0	0	17
50+	6	11	0	3	0	10	0	0	2

Table 38—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO BOOKS DESCRIBING SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	67	63	47	40	69	50	79	83	54
1-10	33	32	53	54	31	40	21	17	42
11-50	0	5	0	6	0	6	0	0	4
50+	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0

Table 39—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO LIVE SHOWS CONTAINING TOPLESS DANCERS

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	29	32	21	31	54	29	35	19	19
1-10	47	58	58	66	39	34	35	69	46
11-50	12	5	5	3	0	29	30	6	23
50+	12	5	16	0	7	8	0	6	12

Table 40—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO LIVE SHOWS CONTAINING BELLY DANCERS

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	78	84	72	69	77	59	57	47	65
1-10	17	16	17	31	23	35	33	53	29
11-50	5	0	5	0	0	4	5	0	6
50+	0	0	6	0	0	2	5	0	0

Table 41—C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO LIVE SHOWS CONTAINING NUDE WOMEN

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User— flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	77	80	85	53	62	47	68	65	45
1-10	11	20	10	47	31	35	26	29	43
11-50	0	0	5	0	0	16	6	6	10
50+	12	0	0	0	7	2	0	0	2

Table 42-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO LIVE SHOWS CONTAINING HOMOSEXUAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User- flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	94	80	95	38	77	84	77	93	90
1-10	6	20	5	53	23	12	23	7	8
11-50	0	0	0	9	0	4	0	0	2
50+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 43-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO LIVE SHOWS CONTAINING HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User- flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	94	95	100	67	100	84	80	87	86
1-10	6	5	0	33	0	8	20	13	8
11-50	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6
50+	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0

Table 44-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO LIVE SHOWS CONTAINING ORAL-GENITAL ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User- flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	88	95	90	83	100	82	75	93	92
1-10	12	5	10	17	0	12	25	7	8
11-50	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
50+	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0

Table 45-C

PERCENT FREQUENCIES OF REPORTED RECENT EXPOSURE
TO LIVE SHOWS CONTAINING SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY

Exposure frequency	Pedophile					Black			Controls
	Rapist	Male target	Female target	Homosexual	Transsexual	User- flyer	Ghetto	Middle class	
Never	94	100	100	81	100	92	95	100	92
1-10	6	0	0	19	0	8	5	0	8
11-50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX D

STAGE I – INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

With the freer expression of sex in public today, such as in magazines and movies, we have all had some experience with erotic material in which sex is shown or described openly. Some people find this material interesting and others do not. We are carrying out a research survey to find out what people have seen or read and their reactions. We would like to ask you some questions about your experiences with erotic material. If we are going to find out people's views on this matter, your answers to these questions are important. Of course, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers.

Your answers will not be identified with you in any way. Your responses will be tabulated with those of other people questioned, with no reference to you. The interview will take approximately one hour of your time.

STAGE II – DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Where were you born?
2. What is your birthdate?
3. Where have you been living for the past year?
4. How many years have you lived in (3)?
5. How large a place is (3)?
 - a. large city (over 1 million)
 - b. suburb of a large city
 - c. medium sized city (100,000-1,000)
 - d. small town
 - e. rural or farm area
6. Are you married?

If yes, ask (a-c).

- a. How long have you been married?
- b. How many times have you been married?
- c. How long did each last?

If no, ask 7.

7. Are you divorced, separated or widowed?

If yes, ask (a-c).

- a. How long have you been divorced (separated, widowed)?
- b. How many times have you been married?
- c. How long did each last?
8. Do you have any children?

If yes, ask (a-c).

- a. How many?
- b. What are their ages?
- c. Are they boys or girls?

9. How far did you go in school?
 - a. less than eighth grade
 - b. eighth grade
 - c. some high school
 - d. high school graduate
 - e. some college (freshman, sophomore, junior, senior)
 - f. college graduate
 - g. some graduate work (no degree)
 - h. graduate degree (M.A., Ph.D.)
 - i. professional degree (M.D., lawyer, etc.)
10. What do you do for a living?
11. How many different jobs have you had within the past five years?
12. What is the best job you ever had (the one you liked the best)? What was your salary?
13. How do you feel about your current job? (*If unemployed, ask about last job.*)
 - a. satisfied
 - b. all right, but would like to change
 - c. boring
 - d. unsatisfied
14. *If (c or d):* What about your job bores you or is unsatisfying?
15. How do you feel about the salary you are earning in your present (or last) job?
 - a. satisfied
 - b. unsatisfied
16. What is your average yearly income? (*If married, include spouse's income.*)
17. What religion were you raised in? (*Probe for denomination.*)
 - a. Protestant
 - b. Roman Catholic
 - c. Jewish
 - d. Atheist, Agnostic
 - e. other
18. What church do you now belong to, if any?
 - a. Jewish
 - b. Protestant
 - c. Roman Catholic
 - d. Atheist, Agnostic
 - e. other
 - f. none
19. How often have you gone to church or church-sponsored activities during this year?
 - a. once a week or more
 - b. several times a month
 - c. about once a month
 - d. several times a year
 - e. about once a year or less
 - f. not at all

STAGE III – PREADOLESCENCE, ADOLESCENCE, AND RECENT EXPERIENCE WITH EROTIC MATERIAL

A. General

20. Which magazines do you read regularly?
21. About how often do you go to the movies?
22. How often do you go out and see live entertainment in theaters or in night-clubs or bars?
23. Tell me what you have seen or read within the past year in which nudity or sex acts were shown or described?
24. Could you tell me what was shown or described?

If no response to 23, ask 25.

25. Well, for example, tell me about any scenes that you have seen in movies recently, in which nudity and sexual acts were portrayed?
26. Often when kids are growing up, that is in their preadolescent period (anywhere between 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10), they come across materials in which nude people are shown or described. What did you come across?
27. What was it?

If no response to 26, ask 28 and 29.

28. For example, did any kids or grownups ever show you a book, cartoons, or pictures of nude people?
29. Who showed it to you?
30. Where were you?
31. Who were you with?
32. When was the first time you saw _____ ?
33. What did you learn from _____ ?
34. Did you learn anything about sex from _____ ?
35. *If yes:* What was it?
36. Was there anything you found out about sex that you later learned was not so?
37. *If yes:* What was it?
38. Did you do anything of a sexual nature after seeing _____ ?
39. Would you have liked to?
40. How about materials in which sex acts were shown or described?

If yes, ask 41-48.

41. Where were you when you saw _____ ?
42. When was the first time you saw _____ ?
43. What did you learn from _____ ?
44. What did you learn about sex from _____ ?
45. Was there anything you found out about sex that you later learned was not so?
46. What was it?
47. Did you do anything of a sexual nature after seeing _____ ?
48. Would you have liked to?

B. *Specific erotic scenes, adolescence (photographs)*

In case a yes response is given to any of the following questions, ask: How many _____ have you seen?

49. Now, thinking about your adolescent period, do you remember having seen photographs, drawings, cartoons of nude women?
50. What about photographs of nude women showing their sex organs?
51. How about photographs of nude males?
52. What about photographs of nude males showing their sex organs?
53. How about pictures of sexual intercourse?
54. What about photographs of couples in mouth-genital contact?
55. How about photographs in which people were shown to whip, spank or force each other to do something, or other similar activities?
56. How about pictures of homosexual acts (or lesbian acts)?
57. Any other kind of photographs that we have not covered?
58. Generally, how did you come across these pictures?

B. *Specific erotic scenes, adolescence (movies)*

If a yes response is given to any of the following questions, ask:

- a. How many _____ have you seen?
- b. What was their name?
- c. Was that a commercial or private film?
59. Now, let us talk about movies that you saw in your teens. Do you remember having seen movies in which there were nude women?
60. How much nudity was shown?
61. What about nude males?
62. How much nudity was shown?
63. What about movies in which sexual intercourse was shown?
64. How about movies in which couples were shown in mouth-genital contact?
65. How about homosexual activity (or lesbian activity)?
66. What about movies in which people were shown to whip, spank or force each other to do something or other similar activities?
67. Any other kind of movies that we have not covered?
68. Generally, how did you come across these films?

B. *Specific erotic scenes, adolescence (books)*

If a yes response is given to any of the following questions, ask:

- a. How many _____ did you come across?
- b. What was their name?
69. Now let us talk about the books you have read in your teens. Have you read any books in which nudity or sexual acts of any type was described?
70. How about books describing sexual intercourse?
71. How about books describing homosexual acts (or lesbian acts)?
72. Books in which people were described as having mouth-genital contact?
73. How about books describing people whipping or spanking or forcing each other to do something, or other similar activities?

74. How about any other sexual scenes described which we did not cover?
75. Generally, how did you come across these books?

C. Intensive questions for adolescence

76. Of all these photographs, films and books that you have mentioned seeing during your teens, which really stands out in your mind the most? (*If no response: If I were to say the word "erotic" what would be the first thing that comes to your mind?*)
77. What about _____ makes it stand out in your mind so strongly?
78. Could you tell me what was shown or described?
79. Where did you see it?
80. Were you using alcohol, pot or other stuff at the time?

If yes, ask 81 and 82.

81. When? (before, during, after)
82. Which one? In what way did this affect your reaction to _____?
83. What about it was sexually exciting?
84. People often have more than one reaction, both pleasant and unpleasant, what were your other feelings?
85. Did anything about it disgust you?
86. *If yes: What was it?*
87. What about it made you angry?
88. What about it shocked you?
89. How old were you when you saw it?
90. Who was with you at that time? (*Probe for males and/or females; how many of each.*)

If other people present, ask 91-93.

91. Whose idea was it to see or read _____?
92. What was their reaction?
93. In what way did their reaction affect you?
94. a. Was there anything about sex in _____ that you had never heard of before?
b. Was there anything in _____ that you had never seen before?
95. Did you understand what was going on?

If no, ask 96-98.

96. Who did you ask for some information, if anyone?
97. What kind of an answer did you get?
98. Did you believe what you were told?
99. What about sex did you learn from _____?
100. Was there anything you found out about sex from _____ that later in life you learned was not so?
101. *If yes: What was it?*
102. Did you think about it later?
103. Was there anything shown or described in _____ that you wished you could later try? (i.e. new techniques, new ways of having sex, e.g. oral-genital, many partners)

104. What was it?
105. Did you try it?
106. *If no*: What prevented you from doing it?
107. *If yes*: How did you feel afterwards?
If subject does not report having engaged in sexual activity to 103, then ask 108.
108. What kind of sexual activity did you feel like engaging in after seeing _____?
109. Did you do it?
110. *If no*: What prevented you from doing it?
111. *If yes*: How did you feel afterwards?
112. How often have you seen _____ like this during your teens?
113. Most people after seeing _____ of this kind want to obtain some of their own; were you able to find your own?

If yes, ask 114-116.

114. How did you obtain it?
115. How many?
116. How often did you look at or read _____?
117. Every kid thinks about sex and daydreams about it. How often did you think about sex during your teens?
a. almost never
b. good part of the time
c. always
118. In what ways did scenes from these movies, books or photographs come to be a part of your daydreams or thoughts? Would any specific scenes come to mind while daydreaming?
119. We know from Kinsey and other similar studies that almost all kids masturbate during their teens. How often did thinking or daydreaming about any of these materials excite you to masturbate?

If subject reports masturbation, ask 120.

120. Did you usually masturbate while looking at the material or just thinking about it?
121. Of all these pictures, films and books that you have seen during your teens, which one did you find the most sexually exciting?
122. Could you tell me why?
123. Which one did you find the most disgusting?
124. Why?
125. During your teens, in addition to these photographs, films and books, what other things did usually turn you on? (You know, like clothing or objects of same or opposite sex.)
126. When was the first time you became aware of this kind of excitement?
127. How did you try to repeat this experience?

D. Specific erotic scenes, recent experience (photographs)

In case a yes response is given to any of the following questions, ask:

How many _____ have you seen?

128. Now, let us talk about your recent experience, let us say within the past year. Have you seen photographs, drawings, cartoons of nude women?
129. How about nude women in which their sex organs are revealed?
130. What about pictures of nude males?
131. How about nude males in which their sex organs are revealed?
132. What about pictures of sexual intercourse?
133. How about pictures of homosexual activity (or lesbian activity)?
134. What about pictures of couples in mouth-genital contact?
135. How about pictures in which people were shown to whip, spank or force each other to do something?
136. Any other kind of pictures about sex which we did not cover?
137. Generally, how did you come across these pictures? (*Probe for where.*)

D. Specific erotic scenes, recent experience (movies)

If a yes response is given to any of the following questions, ask:

- a. How many _____ have you seen?
- b. What was their name?
- c. Was it a commercial or private film?
138. Within the past year, have you seen movies in which nude women appear?
139. How much nudity was shown?
140. What about movies in which nude men appeared?
141. How much nudity was shown?
142. How about movies in which sexual intercourse was shown?
143. Have you seen movies in which homosexual activity (or lesbian activity) was shown?
144. What about movies of couples in which mouth-genital contact was shown?
145. How about movies in which people were shown to whip, spank or force each other to do something or other similar activities?
146. Any other kind of movies which we did not cover?
147. Generally, how did you come across these films?

D. Specific erotic scenes, recent experience (books)

If a yes response is given to any of the following questions, ask:

- a. How many _____ have you read?
- b. What were their names?
148. During the past year have you read any books in which nudity or sexual acts of any type was described?
149. What about books describing homosexual activity (or lesbian activity)?
150. How about books describing sexual intercourse in detail?
151. What about books in which people were described as having mouth-genital contact?
152. How about books in which people were described as spanking, whipping or other similar activities?

153. Any other books describing sexual activities which we have not described?

154. Generally, how did you come across these books?

D. Specific erotic scenes, recent experience (live shows)

If a yes response is given to any of the following questions, ask:

a. How many _____ have you seen?

b. Was this a private or public show?

155. Within the past year have you seen live entertainment with topless women?

156. How about belly dancers?

157. Live shows in which women appeared completely nude?

158. What about shows of homosexual activities (or lesbian activities)?

159. How about shows in which sexual intercourse was shown?

160. What about shows in which people engaged in mouth-genital contact?

161. How about shows in which people engaged in whipping or spanking or other similar activities?

162. Any other kind of live entertainment which we have not covered?

163. Generally, how did you come across shows like this?

E. Intensive questions for recent experience

164. Of all these photographs, movies, books and live shows that you have seen within the past year, which really stands out in your mind the most? (*If no response: How about in recent years? If no response: How about in your lifetime? If no response: If I were to say the word "erotic" what would be the first thing that comes to your mind?*)

165. What about _____ makes it stand out in your mind so strongly? (*Probe for specific scenes.*)

166. Could you tell me what was shown or described? Which scene or episode particularly stands out in your mind? What makes it stand out?

167. Where did you see it?

168. Were you using alcohol, pot or other stuff at the time?

If yes, ask 169 and 170.

169. When? (before, during, after)

170. Which one? In what way did this affect your reaction to _____?

171. a. Was there anything in what you saw that you had not heard of before?

b. Was there anything you hadn't seen before?

172. *If yes:* What was it?

173. What about sex did you learn from this?

174. Was there anything shown or described in _____ that you wished you could later try? (i.e., new techniques, new ways of having sex, etc.)

175. *If yes:* What was it?

176. Did you later try it?

177. *If no:* What prevented you from doing it?

178. *If yes:* How did you feel afterwards?

If no sexual response is reported to 174, ask 179.

179. What kind of sexual activity did you feel like engaging in after seeing _____?

180. Did you do it?
181. *If no*: What prevented you from doing it?
182. *If yes*: How did you feel afterwards?
183. What about _____ was sexually exciting, you know, really turned you on?
184. As we mentioned before, people often have more than one reaction, both pleasant and unpleasant, what were your other feelings?
185. Did anything in _____ disgust you?
186. *If yes*: What was it?
187. What about it made you angry?
188. What about it shocked you?
189. How often have you seen _____ like this recently?
190. As we said before, most people after seeing _____ like this want to acquire some for their own use, did you want to obtain some for yourself?
191. *If yes*: Were you able to obtain any?
192. *If yes*: How did you get?
If yes, ask 193 and 194.
193. How many _____ do you have?
194. How often do you look at it?
195. Who were you with when you saw _____?

If other people present, ask 196-198.

196. Whose idea was it to see _____?
197. What was their reaction?
198. In what way did their reaction affect you?
199. People usually think and daydream about sex. How often do you find your thoughts or daydreams drifting around topics of sex?
200. What parts or scenes from _____ appeared in your daydreams?
201. How do you feel when these thoughts reappear in your mind?
202. During the past year, how often did thinking or daydreaming about any of these sexual materials which we have discussed excite you to masturbate?

If subject reports masturbation, ask 203.

203. Did you usually masturbate while looking at the material or just thinking about it?
204. How frequently would you masturbate when not thinking about these materials? What were you thinking about?
205. How often did these thoughts excite you to have sexual relations?
206. *If yes*: What kind of sexual activity did you engage in? (homosexual, heterosexual)
207. *If yes*: How often were these thoughts present during your sexual activity?
208. Of all these pictures, films, books, and live shows that you have seen recently, which one did you find the most sexually exciting?
209. Could you tell me why?
210. Which one did you find the most disgusting?
211. Could you tell me why?

212. In addition to these materials, what other things have usually turned you on recently? (Such as clothing or objects of the same or opposite sex.)
213. When was the first time you became aware of this kind of excitement?
214. In what ways did you try to repeat this experience?
215. Do you own any erotic material?
216. *If yes:* Could you tell me what you own (pictures, books, films) and how many of each?

F. The role of fantasy

Now let us talk more generally about imagination and its role in sex.

Most people find it more exciting to have daydreams or fantasies about sex. You know, thinking about sexual experiences that have happened or making up experiences that have not happened. Some people find it exciting to daydream about these things before having sex and others like to continue imagining throughout the sex act.

217. Are your sex fantasies or daydreams always pretty much the same or do they vary?

If subject reports no fantasy, ask 232, then go to 228 if response is still negative.

218. Do you have sex fantasies when you are alone? What is happening in the fantasy?
219. Do you have sex fantasies during the sex act?
220. In your fantasies do you think about your sex partner or some other person?
221. Could you tell me what's happening in the fantasy?
222. Are you one of the persons involved?
223. What are you doing?
224. What else is going on in your imagination?
225. Who else is in the fantasy?
226. Do you find daydreaming more exciting during the sex act or before?
227. How often do you daydream during sex acts?
228. As part of your current sexual life, in what ways do you use books, pictures, films or other materials to arouse yourself?
229. In what way do you use these for the purpose of arousing your partner?
Does your partner use these to arouse you?
230. In what way does this help to sexually stimulate your partner?
231. How about yourself?

If a yes response is given to any of the following, ask:

- a. Did you come across this idea in any erotic material?
 - b. How old were you when you started having this fantasy?
232. Do you ever have fantasies about:
- a. heterosexual intercourse with your partner?
 - b. oral-genital activity?
 - c. homosexual acts?
 - d. whipping and spanking or forcing people to do something they don't want to do?

- e. being whipped or spanked or being forced to do something you don't want to do?
- f. being dressed in clothing of other sex?
- g. how about sex with a person other than the person that you are making it with?
- h. sex involving many different people (orgies)?
- i. animals?

If subject has reported having sex fantasies, ask 233.

- 233. To what extent have you been able to find books, pictures or films which vividly portrayed your favorite sexual daydreams?
- 234. Have you learned any new sex techniques from the erotic materials you have seen?
- 235. Have these erotic materials had any effect on your attitudes toward sex?
- 236. Do you feel that you enjoy sex more as a result of the erotic materials you have seen?
- 237. Do you think that your experience with erotic materials has increased the frequency of your sexual activity?
- 238. If you had Aladdin's Lamp and the Genie could create the most arousing erotic material for you, what would you ask him to create?
- 239. Do you regard these erotic materials that you have seen or read as being what people actually do or are they just a figment of somebody's wild imagination?
- 240. Which ones are real and which ones are not?

Now I would like to ask you some general questions about your background. For most of these questions I'll give you a card and ask you to read the answer you choose.

STAGE IV – PARENTAL AND SELF SEX ATTITUDES

A. Parental sex attitudes

- 241. (a) What was the attitude toward nudity in your home when you were a child? (b) When you were a teenager?
 - a. very casual, much nudity
 - b. casual, some nudity
 - c. concerned that people were properly covered
 - d. very concerned, no nudity
- 242. How often was sex the subject of general family conversation?
 - a. frequently
 - b. occasionally
 - c. seldom
 - d. never
- 243. What kind of erotic material was available to you around the house? Did your parents know you saw them? What was their reaction?
- 244. How often would you say your parents attended religious services or church sponsored activities?
 - a. once a week or more

- b. several times a month
- c. about once a month
- d. several times a year
- e. about once a year or less
- f. not at all

245. Which of the following have given you a good deal of information about sex, and when was this?

- | | good deal | some | little | none
at all | age at
the time |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-------|--------|----------------|--------------------|
| | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| a. father | | | | | |
| b. mother | | | | | |
| c. brothers | | | | | |
| d. sisters | | | | | |
| e. other relatives | | | | | |
| f. male friends | | | | | |
| g. female friends | | | | | |
| h. teachers | | | | | |
| i. clergymen | | | | | |
| j. doctors | | | | | |
| k. reading on your own | | | | | |
| l. sex education course in school | | | | | |
| m. wife | | | | | |
| n. husband | | | | | |

246. When did you have a course in school in which you received any sex education?

- a. junior high school
- b. high school
- c. college
- d. never

If had sex education in school, ask 247.

247. Was the material presented in the course new to you or you already knew most of it?

248. Did you learn anything about the act of sexual intercourse?

249. Did the course contain any instruction about birth control methods?

B. Self sex attitudes

250. How comfortable do you generally feel when talking about sex?

- a. comfortable
- b. somewhat comfortable
- c. somewhat uncomfortable
- d. uncomfortable
- e. never talk about it

251. Who do you think should have access to explicit manuals of sexual intercourse?

- a. anyone

- b. anyone over 21
 - c. anyone over 18
 - d. anyone over 13
 - e. only married couples or about to be married
 - f. no one
252. What about materials in which nudity or sex acts are shown or described?
- a. anyone
 - b. anyone over 21
 - c. anyone over 18
 - d. no one
253. What do you think is the best source of sex education for girls? Boys?
- a. books
 - b. friends
 - c. school
 - d. parents
 - e. church
 - f. other (please specify)
254. What is your opinion about homosexuality?
- a. There is nothing wrong with; there is an element of homosexuality in everyone.
 - b. It is a character disorder, a kind of mental illness and homosexuals need therapy.
 - c. It is a perversion and should be suppressed.
255. What do you think of prostitution?
- a. It is a matter of individual choice and should be liberalized with some degree of governmental control.
 - b. It is a character disorder, some kind of sickness and they need therapy.
 - c. It is a perversion and should be suppressed.
256. How do you feel about premarital sexual intercourse?
- a. It is all right for both young people and adults.
 - b. It is all right for consenting adults.
 - c. It is all right for couples who share affection.
 - d. It is all right for couples who are in love.
 - e. It is all right for couples who are engaged.
 - f. It is wrong; couples should wait until they are married.
257. What would you feel to be an appropriate standard of sexual behavior?
- a. Men and women should be free to decide for themselves about premarital and extramarital sexual intercourse.
 - b. Men and women should be free to engage in premarital intercourse, but not extramarital.
 - c. Women should not agree to extramarital intercourse, but it is reasonable to expect that men will.
 - d. Premarital relations are permissible for either sex.
 - e. Women should not engage in either premarital or extramarital intercourse, but men may.
 - f. Men, but not women, may engage in premarital intercourse, but neither should have extramarital intercourse.
 - g. Neither men nor women should have sexual relations outside of marriage.

STAGE V – SEX HISTORY AND CURRENT SEX PRACTICES

A. Sex history

258. How old were you at the time of your first heterosexual intercourse?

- a. 14 or younger
- b. 15-17
- c. 18-20
- d. 21-23
- e. 24-28
- f. 29-33
- g. 34-38
- h. 39-older
- i. none

259. With whom was your first intercourse?

- a. spouse after marriage
- b. fiancé
- c. steady date
- d. someone you had known for a while but not dated steadily
- e. casual acquaintance
- f. stranger
- g. prostitute
- h. relative
- i. none

260. With how many persons have you had premarital sexual intercourse?

- a. none
- b. one
- c. two
- d. three
- e. four
- f. five
- g. six
- h. seven or more

If ever married, ask 261.

261. With how many different persons have you had extramarital sexual intercourse?

- a. none
- b. one
- c. two
- d. three
- e. four
- f. five
- g. six
- h. seven or more
- i. never married

262. How old were you at the time of your first masturbation?

- a. 5 years and younger

- b. 6 years
 - c. 7 years
 - d. 8 years
 - e. 9 years
 - f. 10 years
 - g. 11 years
 - h. 12 years
 - i. 13 years
 - j. 14 years
 - k. 15 years
 - l. 16 years
 - m. 17 years
 - n. 18 and over
 - o. never
263. How did you find out about masturbation?
- a. told by a friend (same age)
 - b. told by a friend (older)
 - c. parents
 - d. books
 - e. formal sex education in high school or college
 - f. observed a friend (same age)
 - g. observed a friend (older)
 - h. observed a stranger

B. Current sex practices

264. Do you have a steady sex partner?
265. Do you have more than one?
266. How many during the past year?
267. Are these partner(s) of the opposite sex?
268. Are these partners of the same sex?
269. Have you attended an orgy recently?
270. How often do you have sexual intercourse each week, on the average?
- a. 6 or more times a week
 - b. 4-5 times a week
 - c. 2-3 times a week
 - d. once a week
 - e. less than once a week
271. In what other ways do you achieve or help your partner to achieve orgasm, other than intercourse?
- a. light petting (deep kissing and breast touching)
 - b. heavy petting (touching sex organs)
 - c. mouth-genital
 - d. anal intercourse
 - e. other
272. Which of the following describes your experience of sexual intercourse?
- a. very enjoyable
 - b. neither pleasant nor unpleasant
 - c. very unpleasant

STAGE VI – CONCLUSION

273. How do you feel or what is your reaction to the fact that sexual matters are expressed more freely and openly in public these days?
274. Do you feel that people could get hurt by seeing movies or pictures or books about sexual acts?
275. How do you feel about kids seeing these kinds of materials?
276. Do you feel there should be laws regulating what people see and read?

NOTES

1. Dr. Goldstein is professor of psychology at UCLA. Mr. Kant is an attorney and director of the Legal and Behavioral Institute, Los Angeles. Dr. Judd is an associate professor of child psychiatry at the University of California, San Diego. Mr. Rice is director of the Community Skills Center in Los Angeles, and Dr. Green is an assistant professor of psychiatry and director of the Gender Identity Clinic at UCLA.

2. This study could not have been carried out without the kind and generous cooperation of a number of individuals. Dr. John Vanasek, chief of research, and Dr. Paul Bramwell, chief psychologist at Atascadero State Hospital gave generously of their time and wisdom. They made it possible for us to obtain the sample of institutionalized sex offenders and coordinated the interviews at the hospital. Mr. Dorr Legg, president of One Incorporated, was of great assistance in supporting this research to his membership and in locating respondents. Michael Walton, director of UCLA Survey Research Center, was helpful in locating samples of controls.

3. All tables are stated in percentages unless otherwise indicated. The percentages in several tables do not add up to 100% primarily due to absence of responses through various types of interview error or difficulty in hearing taped responses.

Erotic Stimuli and the Aggressive Sexual Offender

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INTRODUCTION

As is well known, there are two main points of view regarding the relation of erotic or pornographic stimuli to aggressive sexual offenses (*Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality*, 1968 and 1969). One line of reasoning is that observation and contact with such stimuli incite people to commit sexual offenses which they would not otherwise commit. People who take this position refer to most forms of erotic stimuli as dirty, filthy, and smutty. They frequently refer to police cases and records in which an arrested sexual offender was found to possess a considerable amount of such material in the form of magazines, novelties, books, and so on. These people contend that this material significantly contributes to the moral decay and delinquency of the person involved and is therefore a menace to society (e.g., Hall, 1964; Hoover, 1961 and 1965). Comments such as the following are typical of this point of view:

A tide of printed filth is advancing across the land in a way which should give every wholesome-thinking person cause to wonder whether it may not erode the very foundations of the basic morality upon which our nation and our Constitution were founded (Musmanno, 1965, p. 1).

When you read in the newspapers about a girl being raped and stabbed to death, you can't help wonder if the boy or man who committed that crime had read . . . [a pornographic book] Chances are great that he did—it is a fact that most violent sex offenders are collectors of pornography. Law enforcement officials cite many cases in which sex criminals tell them that they were incited to the crime by reading sexually stimulating material (Fink, 1966, p. 6).

On the other hand, a significant number of people (especially professionals in the areas of clinical psychology, psychiatry, and social work) consider this material, at worst, harmless. In fact, many feel that it is beneficial and may actually reduce the incidence of sex crimes. Their line of reasoning is that erotic materials provide a vicarious outlet for some people, thereby lessening their sexual

drive and the necessity of releasing it in antisocial ways. They feel that if such materials were suppressed and not available to certain individuals, they would become so agitated that they would be more likely to commit sexual offenses than if they had had access to them. Therefore, erotic materials, by providing a release for pent-up drives, actually lessen the number of sex crimes committed and may be thought of as having a purgative effect on society (e.g., Foster, 1968; Kronhausen & Kronhausen, 1964; and Young, 1966). Comments such as the following represent this point of view:

In summary, then, as psychologists, we assert that there is no reliable evidence that reading or other fantasy activities lead to antisocial behavior.

There is evidence that such reading or fantasy activity is not an important contributor to delinquent behavior. Shall we then allow our freedoms to be interfered with because of the *possibility* that it may be an influence in some cases? This is a value judgment we must make. We further assert that there are other salient influences in the creation of delinquency (sexual or other) which might better merit our attention. As citizens we object to organized (extra-familial) censorship (Levy, Lipsitt & Rosenblith, 1958, p. 1).

I have for the past 12 years worked extensively with adolescents—emotionally disturbed, delinquents, brain injured—the whole range. I have yet to encounter a single case where harm was done to a child because he was reading pornographic material. As a matter of fact, the children I have seen who were the worst cases of sexually acting out, i.e., those who have committed sexual crimes or exposed themselves in public or who were sexual deviants to the point of being harmful to others, had little or no contact with pornography. They started to get better when they began to read pornography (Gordon, 1967).

A review of the history of empirical research regarding the relationship between pornography and aggressive sexual offenses reveals an inadequate and undistinguished effort. Male inmates in a penal institution and female delinquents in a state training school for girls were interviewed in an early study (Blumer & Hauser, 1955). Numerous statistics, primarily in the form of percentages of the sample, were presented which indicated that the respondents felt, in retrospect, that they were sexually aroused or more inclined to participate in various kinds of sexual behavior following the viewing of pictures or movies of an erotic nature. The general conclusion of this study was that the subjects were aroused by such stimuli and frequently participated in antisocial sexual behavior following exposure. In a more recent study (Haines, 1955), inmates at the Cook County prison in Illinois were interviewed. Again, percentages of respondents who indicated that they were sexually aroused after viewing pornographic material were reported and the conclusion was drawn that these materials were dangerous and contributed to the delinquency of the subjects interviewed in the study. However, as Cairns, Paul, and Wishner (1962) have pointed out, these studies were scientifically very naive. The departures from accepted scientific procedures for gathering data were sufficient to make any conclusions extremely questionable. The general manner in which these studies were conducted and reported clearly reveals that the interviewers were anything but unbiased and objective in gathering and compiling their data. For example, in both of the studies mentioned

above the questions were asked in such a manner as to prompt the desired answer from the subject. In the Blumer and Hauser study, subjects were asked questions such as "How important do you think movies were in getting you into trouble?" In addition, no attempt was made to obtain responses from a noncriminal or a normal group for purposes of comparison. Thus, in general, the basic principles of good sampling, good interview technique, adequate statistical analysis, and objective presentation of data were sadly lacking in the studies mentioned above.

Various case reports have been presented from time to time suggesting a relationship between pornography and sexual behavior of one sort or another. Many of these appear in brief comments or brief paragraphs in articles discussing crime or delinquency and there is not sufficient data or information to make any assessment of the legitimacy of the interpretation. More extensive case analyses have occasionally been presented (e.g., Willie, 1961). However, the data presented in these case analyses are usually fragmentary and biased by the personal opinion and reactions of the author. As is well known, individual case analyses are an extremely ineffective means of supplying scientific data or information on a problem. The biases, preconceptions, background, and interpretations of *one individual* (usually a psychotherapist) are presented regarding the nature of the disturbance and reactions of *one other individual* (the patient). It is difficult to make generalizations on the basis of such statements or to assess accurately their reliability or validity. In most cases, they are recorded and published because they describe an unusual situation or an exception to the rule (the routine, run-of-the-mill case does not make startling enough reading to be accepted for publication). Thus, while such reports make interesting reading, no general conclusions can be drawn from them.

Another line of research concerning the relationship between pornography and sexual offenses involves questionnaire studies of professionals in such fields as psychology, psychiatry, and social work. In an early study, Ramsey and Varley (1951) questioned psychologists regarding the availability of the Kinsey reports to the public. They classified their respondents into four categories: those who felt the report should be freely available; those who thought it should be available but included some qualifications; those who thought it should be censored for some; and those who gave no response to the question. Ramsey and Varley were surprised to find that, even among professional psychologists, 19% felt that there definitely should be censorship of the report for some groups of people, and an additional 6% (though they checked "freely available") felt compelled to add some qualifying statement to their response. Thus, one-fourth of the sample presumably felt that the data from the Kinsey report was potentially dangerous or harmful to some individuals.

A more recent study by Lipkin and Carns (1969) surveyed psychologists and psychiatrists in active practice of psychotherapy regarding their opinion as to whether or not pornography had harmed any of the patients they had treated. Eighty percent of the psychiatrists and psychologists indicated that they had never encountered any cases in which pornography was a cause of antisocial sexual behavior. In addition, 62% did not believe that pornography which described or depicts violence was any more likely to lead to antisocial sexual behavior than "nonviolent" pornography, and 64.9% believed that censorship is socially harmful because it contributes to a climate of oppression and inhibition.

Thus, the overwhelming majority of these professionals did not believe that pornography posed any significant threat to the patients whom they had seen or caused them to engage in antisocial behavior. However, it is necessary to point out that 7.4% of the group did encounter cases in which they were somewhat convinced of a link between pornography and antisocial behavior, and an additional 9.4% had cases in which they suspected but were not convinced that there might be a link between the two.

A study of psychiatrists and psychologists in the state of New Jersey yielded percentages almost identical to those quoted above (New Jersey Committee for the Right to Read, 1967). For example, in response to the question, "In your own practice have you ever had a patient or patients whose behavior is otherwise within a normal range and who was (were) provoked into antisocial behavior primarily as a result of exposure to sexually oriented literature?", 84.3% indicated that they had not; 5.4% indicated that they had; 9.4% failed to answer the question; and 1% qualified their responses. Examination of the responses to other questions asked of these psychiatrists and psychologists indicates that most professionals in the field do not feel that explicit sexual materials have any relationship to the commission of sexual offenses. However, a small minority indicated that it is their belief that such materials have affected their patients in some such manner. It is, of course, important to point out that these data, while interesting and having some bearing on the subject, do not qualify as scientific evidence for the establishment of a connection between pornography and antisocial behavior. They are simply opinions of large numbers of professionals in the field who have had a great deal of experience. While suggestive, their opinions must be borne out by actual data before it can be concluded with any degree of certainty that there is a connection between exposure to explicit sexual materials and antisocial behavior. Unfortunately, *expert opinions* are subject to erroneous impressions, misinterpretations, and personal biases as are any other *opinions*.

The first study concerning the relationship between pornography and sex offenses that was conducted with any degree of scientific sophistication and care appeared in the book *Sex Offenders, An Analysis of Types* (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, & Christenson, 1965). This report was based on a carefully constructed and controlled interview administered to 1,356 white males convicted of sex offenses and two control groups. One control group consisted of 488 white males from the general population and the second of 888 white males who were in prison but who had never been convicted of a sex offense. The general conclusion drawn by Gebhard and his associates from the data they collected was that there was essentially no observable relationship between pornography and sex offenses. In fact, sex offenders were found to be less responsive to and less interested in pornography than other groups. For example, among the men in the normal control group, 32.8% reported little or no arousal while viewing pornographic material while 30.7% indicated that they were strongly aroused by it. Study of the sex offender groups, however, indicated that 42.8% reported little or no arousal and only 27.7% indicated that they were strongly sexually aroused by viewing such material. Much of the other data presented by Gebhard supports the general conclusion that sex offenders are less responsive to, and more often react negatively to, pornography than the normal person. Gebhard and his associates speculate that the sex offender has relatively little imagination, and lacks the

ability to fantasize sexual behavior vividly. He is a person of action rather than thought, which is why he gets into trouble for his sexual behavior. Gebhard indicates that the typical response of this type of person to pornography is "Why get worked up about a picture? You can't do nothing with a picture." The following quotation indicates the flavor of the conclusion reached by Gebhard and his associates:

... strong response to pornography is associated with imaginativeness, ability to project, and sensitivity, all of which generally increase as education increases, and with youthfulness, and . . . these qualities account for the differences we have found between sex offenders, in general, and non-sex offenders. Since the majority of sex offenders are not well educated nor particularly youthful, their responsiveness to pornography is correspondingly less and cannot be a consequential factor in their sex offenses unless one is prepared to argue that the inability to respond to erotica in general precludes gaining some vicarious stimulation and satisfaction and thereby causes the individual to behave overtly which, in turn, renders him more liable to arrest and conviction (p. 673).

The only other study of sufficient scientific merit to warrant mention here was conducted by two German researchers, who reported that when murderers, swindlers, thieves, and sexual offenders were given an opportunity to choose books that they would like to read, sex offenders tended to prefer sex books, while swindlers preferred light novels, thieves preferred books on practical culture, and murderers preferred high grade information books and adventure stories (Von Bracken & Schafers, 1935). This study would seem to conflict, to some extent, with the Gebhard data. However, to our knowledge, this study has not been replicated and was much less extensive and ambitious than the Gebhard study. A good many studies (e.g., Fisher & Osofsky, 1967; Galbraith, 1968; Galbraith & Mosher, 1968; Leiman & Epstein, 1961; and Thorne, Haupt, & Allen, 1966) tend to support the idea that people with significant signs of guilt, conflict, and maladjustment in sexual areas tend to be more conservative, more constricted, and less responsive in the area of sexual behavior and erotic stimulation than the normal individual. These data, while not directly comparable to data obtained from actual sex offenders, would tend to support the Gebhard conclusions.

In sum, it must be concluded that the data do not clearly establish whether or not pornography is related to sexual offenses. Some studies and case reports suggest that there is a relationship. However, the best scientific studies available, and a good deal of peripherally related research, suggest that the opposite is true—that the sex offender is less responsive to pornography than the average person. In the absence of more definitive data it is difficult to make a choice between the two.

In view of the importance of the problem of censorship versus free availability of material in our society and the related problem of sexual offenses, the most striking thing about this review of the research literature is the rather distressing paucity of available evidence, which extends to the general area of sexual arousal and erotic stimuli as well. In recent years various trail blazers such as Kinsey, Masters and Johnson, and others, have added significantly to our information

regarding sexual behavior. However in 1962, Cairns, Paul, and Wishner, after an extensive review of the literature on the effects of erotic stimuli, listed several questions which they felt needed to be answered before a decision could be made regarding censorship versus freedom of distribution for this material. They concluded, "We cannot offer empirical evidence to answer such questions because no such evidence exists. The data simply stop short of the critical point" (p. 1034). In a more recent review (1968), Cairns was forced to state, "In conclusion, we must be aware that in 1968—as in 1962—our data 'stop short of the critical point.' Definitive answers on the determinants and effects of pornography are not yet available. But the research that has been completed over the past seven years confirms that some of the unanswered questions are not unanswerable" (p. 25).

PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The purpose of the present research was to provide more definitive information regarding the relationship between pornography and sexual offenses. Specifically, answers were sought to two questions. First, "Is the sex offender a person who has been exposed to pornography more frequently than the non-sex offender?" Secondly, "Does the sex offender have different thoughts, fantasies, and ideas occur to him as he views pornography than those of the average person?" This and other studies funded by the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography mark the first published reports of investigations on the relation between pornography and aggressive sexual offense in which pornographic or erotic stimuli were actually presented to offenders and their reactions elicited.

PROCEDURE

The basic procedure for this research was to administer a structured interview and three psychological tests (one objective, two projective in nature) to selected samples of adult males.

The structured interview. Following an extensive review of the literature regarding attitudes, opinions, and data bearing on sexual offenses and pornographic material, as well as examination of questionnaires previously used in research in this area along with several new questionnaires devised for the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, a structured interview was prepared for use in this study. Items were selected primarily with reference to their bearing on the two questions indicated above. The questions were then examined and revised to insure clarity and precision. In addition, new questions were written to cover gaps where no questions from previous work were available. The interview thus constructed was given to several hospital patients at the Veterans Administration Neuropsychiatric Hospital in Waco, Texas, on a trial basis. On the basis of these interviews, the materials were revised for clarity and patient vocabulary level. The revised edition of the interview was then administered to several patients at Terrell State Hospital, Terrell, Texas, for further trial. Following this trial the interview was once again revised, and this revision constituted its final form. A copy of the interview appears as Appendix A. There are minor variations in the wording of a few of the questions since there were some cases in which wording used with one group would have been confusing or inappropriate for another. A

list of these alterations is included in Appendix B. The interviews were conducted by six graduate students in Psychology at Baylor University, all of whom were trained in proper interview techniques and followed the same procedure throughout the experiment.

The projective tests. Two projective tests were constructed for use in the study. One consisted of five inkblots (three black and white, two color). The other was made up of five TAT-type pictures (four color, one black and white) varying in their degree of sexual explicitness. The inkblots were constructed by graduate student assistants involved in the project. Out of a pool of 40 inkblots, 15 were chosen for further study and pretesting. Likewise, a pool of 40 potential pictures was selected, including lingerie advertisements of the type typically found in a Montgomery Ward or Sears Catalog, a few *Playboy*-type nudes, girlie magazine nudes (with genitals exposed), photographs depicting various degrees of oral-genital contact, pictures of heterosexual intercourse, sadistic sexual behavior, and so on. From this pool, 15 pictures were selected by the research staff for further study. All the pictures and inkblots were administered to graduate students in the Psychology Department for a pretrial and then followed the same sequence of refinement and revision as indicated above for the structured interview.

The inkblots and pictures finally decided upon and used in the study are described in Appendices C and D. Basically, the inkblots suggested outlines of genital organs and couples in various forms of embrace. The pictures included a lingerie ad, a *Playboy*-type nude, a girlie magazine nude with genitals exposed, a heterosexual fellatio scene, and a sadistic scene in which a male was whipping a partially nude female.

The objective test. Following examination of several sex attitude and information tests available and a series of pretests as outlined above for the other materials, a brief test consisting of five true-false and five multiple choice items was constructed for administration as part of the research project. The five true-false items dealt with attitudes and opinions regarding various types of sexual behavior. The five multiple choice items dealt with factual information regarding sexual anatomy and functioning. This test is included as Appendix E.

Subjects. Two experimental groups consisting of sex offenders and five control groups were used in this study. Group one, an experimental group, was composed of male sex offenders hospitalized in the maximum security ward of Rusk State Hospital, Rusk, Texas. All of these men had been convicted of an aggressive sexual offense (primarily rape) against another person and placed in the hospital for treatment. Group two consisted of a control group of Rusk State Hospital male mental patients who had not been charged with a sex offense but who were on the same maximum security ward as the sex offenders. These men were matched as closely as possible with the first experimental group in terms of race and educational level. Group three, the second experimental group, consisted of male sex offenders (primarily rapists) imprisoned at the Texas Department of Corrections, Huntsville, Texas. All subjects in this group were in the Diagnostic Center and had just recently been imprisoned. Group four consisted of a control group of male prisoners at the Diagnostic Center who had not been charged with a

sex offense. This group was matched with the Huntsville experimental group with respect to age, race, educational age, and IQ. Group five consisted of a group of undergraduate male students at Baylor University, Waco, Texas, who were 21 years of age or older. Group six consisted of undergraduate males at Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas, who were 21 years of age or older. (Paul Quinn College is a small church-supported institution with a predominately Negro enrollment.) Group seven consisted of volunteers from various men's service clubs in the Waco area. Thirty subjects were obtained for each group. Tables 1-3 present descriptive information regarding the exact characteristics of each group.

Interview and testing sequence. The same interview and testing sequence was followed for all subjects. Each subject was first asked all of the questions contained in the structured interview. Following this, he was presented with the inkblots and asked to indicate what they looked like to him. The inkblots were

Table 1

DESCRIPTIVE DATA, RUSK EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL SUBJECTS

Descriptive data	Experimental (N=30)	Control (N=30)	t-test
Age			
Range	19-73	18-72	
Mean	32.7	34.1	-.40ns
Educational level ^a			
Range	2-17	2-14	
Mean	8.7	9.4	-.77ns
Race (in frequencies)			
Caucasian	19	19	
Negro	11	11	
Offense (in frequencies)			
Rape, theft, kidnapping	1		
Rape, sodomy, burglary	1		
Rape, burglary	1		
Rape, fondling	1		
Rape and incest	1		
Rape and murder	3		
Rape	22		
Assault w/deadly weapon, burglary, attempted murder		1	
Assault w/intent to murder		1	
Assault w/deadly weapon		2	
Armed robbery		1	
Burglary		8	
Car theft		1	
Murder		16	

Note—The alpha level for these t-tests was set at .25 in order to maximize the probability of locating any differences that may have existed between the groups.

a. Years of school completed.

Table 2

DESCRIPTIVE DATA, HUNTSVILLE EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL SUBJECTS

Descriptive data	Experimental (N=30)	Control (N=30)	t-test
Age			
Range	17-57	18-57	
Mean	27.2	27.1	.04ns
Educational level ^a			
Range	0-20	4-12	
Mean	9.5	8.5	1.18ns
Educational age ^b			
Range	0-11.6	0-11.3	
Mean	6.7	6.7	.00ns
IQ ^c			
Range	49-121	49-122	
Mean	91.1	93.1	-.46ns
Race (in frequencies)			
Caucasian	16	17	
Negro	7	7	
Mexican-American	6	6	
Oriental	1	0	
Offense (in frequencies)			
Assault w/intent to rape	7		
Rape, armed robbery	1		
Rape, fondling	1		
Rape, robbery	2		
Rape	19		
Forgery, theft, swindling		1	
Parole violation, forgery		1	
Breaking & entering		1	
Narcotics, robbery		1	
Robbery, assault		1	
Embezzlement		1	
Theft (auto)		3	
Narcotics		2	
Swindling		1	
Burglary		9	
Forgery		1	
Robbery		6	
Murder		2	

Note.—The alpha level for these t-tests was set at .25 in order to maximize the probability of locating any differences that may have existed between the groups.

a. Years of school.

b. Gray-Votaw-Rogers Test of Education Achievement.

c. Otis-Beta.

presented in a prescribed order which was the same for all subjects. The instructions used and order of presentation are indicated in Appendix C. A brief inquiry was made on all responses having obvious sexual connotations after all of the inkblots had been presented for initial response. The inquiry simply asked the patient to elaborate on or explain further what he saw. This was followed by a

Table 3

DESCRIPTIVE DATA, NONINSTITUTIONALIZED COMPARISON GROUPS

(Baylor students, Paul Quinn College students, men's club members)

Descriptive data	Baylor students (N=30)	Paul Quinn students (N=30)	Men's club members (N=30) ^a
Age			
Range	21-30	21-29	21-71
Mean	22.7	22.8	36.3
Educational level ^b			
Range	13-17	13-16	12-19
Mean	15	14.6	15.6
Race			
Caucasian	29		29
Mexican-American	1		
Negro		30	1

a. Lions (N=3); Toastmasters (N=11); Kiwanis (N=2); JC's (N=14).

b. Years of school.

presentation of the pictures. The subject was asked to make up a story using the scene in the picture as a starting point. The pictures were presented in a prescribed order which was the same for all subjects. A description of the pictures and instructions used appears in Appendix D. Following this, he completed the objective test and was given an opportunity to ask questions or make additional comments if he desired.

RESULTS

Due to the large amount of data accumulated in the present project it will be impossible to report a detailed analysis of all the findings in this report. However, basic analyses will be presented in each area. Future reports will discuss the findings in more detail and from different points of view.

Variance, chi-square tests, and *t*-tests appropriate to the nature of the data received from each question were used in the analyses. Specifically, analyses of variance were performed on questions 1 and 3 and for the ratings of the projective protocols. Appropriate transformations were performed on the data when necessary to reduce heterogeneity. In some cases it was necessary to use a conservative *F* test due to problems in symmetry and equivalence. Notations to this effect appear in the ANOV tables for the analyses in which statistical significance was achieved. *T*-tests were used in the analyses of the following data: the age of the subject; the answers to questions 4a, 7b, 7c, 18, and 21; the scores on the multiple-choice test; and the IQ and educational age (available for Huntsville samples only). All other questions (marital status, number of children, educational level, questions 4c, 4d, 5, 6a, 6b, 6c, 7a, 8a, 8b, 9a, 9b, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, and each of the true-false items) were analyzed by use of chi-square

tests. No statistical analyses were attempted on clarification and context items (2, 12, 22, and 23), which were designed to prepare subjects for questions to follow. In addition, analyses were not attempted for certain parts of other items because of difficulties in the data (e.g., small numbers, inability to classify accurately, etc.). Included among these were occupational level, 3b, 4e, 10b, 10c, and 11b. The analyses of the data for questions 1 and 3 compared each experimental group (Rusk sex offenders and Huntsville sex offenders) with its own matched control group (Rusk non-sex offenders and Huntsville non-sex offenders) and with each of the three normal comparison groups (Baylor students, Paul Quinn students, and men's club members).

All of the *t*-tests and chi-square tests were performed by first combining the Rusk experimental group with the Huntsville experimental group, the Rusk control group with the Huntsville control group, and the Baylor student group with the Paul Quinn student group. This was done to increase the sample size for these tests. The tests then compared the combined experimental groups with the combined control groups, the combined student groups, and the men's club group, in that order. In addition, for certain chi-square tests, response categories were collapsed where necessary to eliminate small expected cell frequencies. (These will be pointed out at appropriate times in the presentation.)

The results will be presented in the following order: the structured interview, the objective test, and the projective tests. The reader may find it helpful to turn to the interview format in Appendices A, C, D, and E in order to compare the questions asked with the results reported here. On a logical basis it was possible to organize the structured interview into four sections: biographical data; experience with pornography; reported effects of exposure to pornography; and general sexual experience. Discussion of the results will be organized around these themes in order to make the findings easier to follow.

The ratings of the projective protocols were analyzed by use of three overall analyses of variance encompassing all of the groups at once. In addition, certain correlations were computed for these data. Since a very large amount of verbatim response data were obtained from each subject in response to the projective stimuli, it was not possible to analyze all of the data obtained. Instead, a random sample of 25 protocols for each card or blot was selected from each of the seven groups. This made a total of 350 protocols to be rated (175 inkblot and 175 picture protocols). These protocols were then arranged in random order and presented to judges for rating. Each judge received an identical set of 175 inkblot protocols and 175 picture protocols.

The judges were all doctoral level clinical psychologists with several years of experience.¹ One judge had 21 years of experience, the second, 28, and the other, 8. Two of the judges had taught graduate courses in interpretation of projective techniques for many years. The other was the psychologist on the maximum security ward at Rusk Hospital from which a number of the subjects were obtained. This judge had had considerable experience with patients of this type.

The protocols were identifiable by the judges only with respect to the blot or picture to which the subject was responding. All other identifying data were removed. Each judge had a set of the blots and pictures used so that he could

1. Appreciation is expressed for Drs. Verner Baugh, Mac Sterling, and Jerry Landrum who served as the judges for this phase of the research.

refer to them as necessary to evaluate the subject's response. The judges rated each protocol on three dimensions: degree of pathological sexual content present; degree of sexual arousal experienced by the testee; and presence of aggressive sexual fantasies. The ratings were made using a Likert scale with 40 points ranging from "none" through "very much" of the dimensions being rated.

Hospital and prison offenders versus matched controls

Since the most crucial tests concern those between the two experimental groups and their respective control groups, these will be discussed first. Following presentation of these data, the data comparing the experimental groups with the three comparison groups (Baylor students, Paul Quinn students, and men's club members) will be presented.

Biographical data. Examination of the appropriate *t*-tests indicated that the Rusk experimental subjects did not differ significantly from the Rusk control subjects on any of the variables on which they were matched. These data are presented in Tables 1 and 2. In addition, examination of comparisons between the combined experimental groups (Rusk and Huntsville sex offenders) and the combined control groups (Rusk and Huntsville non-sex offenders) indicated no significant differences between the two. Examination of the relevant *t*-tests and chi-square data for the Rusk experimentals versus Rusk controls and Huntsville experimentals versus Huntsville controls, as well as for the experimental groups combined versus the control groups combined, indicated that these groups also did not differ with regard to number of children, marital status, and educational level. For all of these tests, alpha level was set at .25 to maximize the power of the test and insure that if there were differences in the groups, they would be apparent. Thus, the experimental groups and control groups appeared to be well matched with respect to the several biographical variables that were examined.

Experience with pornography. Questions 1, 3a, 4a, 6a, 6b, 6c, 7a, 7b, 7c, 8a, 8b, 10, and 11 all may be thought of as dealing with the subject's experience with pornography.

Question 1 on the questionnaire dealt with the amount of time spent by the subjects reading newspapers, reading books and magazines, listening to the radio, or watching television. This question was asked to determine whether or not one group had significantly more exposure to the various media than did the other. The data for this question were analyzed by means of two separate split-plot factorial analyses of variance (one for the Rusk data and a second for the Huntsville data). The analyses employed two levels of A (experimental subjects versus control subjects) and four levels of B (newspaper reading, magazine or book reading, radio listening, and television watching). Examination of the analysis of variance tables for these data for the Rusk experimentals versus the Rusk controls and for the Huntsville experimentals versus the Huntsville controls indicated that there were no significant A or AB interaction effects. The B effect, however, was significant in both analyses. The crucial test, of course, in these analyses of variance is the A main effects and the AB interaction effect. The lack of significance for these tests indicates that there was no difference between the experimentals and the controls in terms of the total amount of time they spent

watching television, listening to the radio, reading magazines or books, or reading the newspaper, when compared with each other. The significant B main effect indicates that both groups did spend more time doing some of these activities than others. Since this test is of little significance, no probing was done of the means. However, visual inspection indicated that they tended to listen to the radio and watch television more than they read.

Item 3a dealt with the frequency of exposure to various kinds of pornography. This was analyzed in a manner similar to that used for question 1. Separate split-plot factorial analyses of variance were performed (one for the Huntsville data and one for the Rusk data). The analyses employed two levels of A and 15 levels of B. The two levels of A referred to experimental versus control subjects. The 15 levels of B referred to various kinds of pornography as indicated on card B in Appendix A. Again, examination of the analysis of variance tables indicated that for both comparisons (Rusk experimentals versus Rusk controls and Huntsville experimentals versus Huntsville controls) there were no significant A effects and no significant AB interactions. Thus, the experimental subjects were not found to have been exposed to pornography more or less frequently than the control subjects. There were significant B effects indicating that both groups were exposed more to certain kinds of pornography than to others. However, since this test is of little interest, further probing of these means was not done. The items comprising the 15 levels of B were specifically selected to present a range of pornographic material from very mild material seen by most everybody to rather extreme materials seen by very few. Therefore, the significant B main effect is of little importance in the present analysis.

Item 3b on the questionnaire asked the subject if he had seen any kind of pornography that was not included in the list of 15 types mentioned above. Since very few subjects had seen anything that was not in the list, these data were not amenable to statistical analysis. However, the few who did see things that were not in the list saw live shows depicting various kinds of sexual behavior, often between animals and humans. This was seen mostly in Mexico. The fact that this was mentioned at all is undoubtedly due to the proximity of Texas to the Mexican border.

Statistical analysis of the data from item 4a indicated only one significant difference between the combined experimental groups and the combined control groups. The controls saw "cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a male and a female having sexual intercourse" at a significantly younger age ($t = -2.91$, df 68, probability less than .01) than did the experimentals.

Questions 6a, 6b, 6c, 7a, 7b, 7c, 8a, 8b, 10, and 11 indicated no significant differences between the experimental groups and the control groups. These questions dealt in general with areas such as browsing and buying material in a store that sells pornographic material, collecting pornography as a hobby, interest in viewing pornographic material, and so forth.

Thus, with the exception of the fact that the control subjects saw pornographic material depicting heterosexual intercourse at a significantly younger age, there were no significant differences in the amount of experience the groups had with this material. It should, of course, be pointed out that the one significant finding which was obtained may have been a chance finding due to the large number of statistical tests performed.

Reported effects of pornography. Questions 4b, 4c, 4d, 5, 9a, 9b, 13, and 14 deal with the effects of pornography on behavior, as reported by the subject. Examination of these data for the experimental subjects and control subjects indicated that there were no significant differences between the groups on the item (9a) that dealt with the reactions of other people to this material. That is, neither group was more likely than the other to feel that adults or teenagers would be more prone to commit crimes, be sexually promiscuous, and so on after viewing pornography. However, both groups felt that some of these effects could be expected.

On three of the questions (9b, 13, and 14) which asked if they personally were influenced by pornography, significant differences were obtained. For example, on question 9b which asked the subject if he personally had experienced any of the consequences mentioned on the card, the chi-square test was significant (chi-square = 9.05, probability less than .01). Examination of the cell frequencies for these data indicated that the experimental group reported more frequently than the control group that pornography had led them to commit a sexual crime (Table 4).

Further, on question 13 the chi-square test was significant (chi-square = 5.52, probability less than .05). Examination of the cell frequencies indicated that the experimental group reported more frequently than the control group that pornography had something to do with their being in the hospital or prison (Table 5).

Table 4

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9b, "Have you personally experienced any of these consequences from these materials?", Part 2, "Leads to sexual crime."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	14	4
No	22	42

*Chi-square = 9.06, df = 1, sig. at .01 level.
 a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
 b. Huntsville and Rusk non-sex offenders.

Table 5

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 13, "Did pornographic material have anything to do with [your being in the hospital or prison]?"

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	11	2
No	49	58

* Chi-square = 5.52, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.
 a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
 b. Huntsville and Rusk non-sex offenders.

Question 14 yielded a chi-square value of 5.15 which also was significant at the .05 level. Examination of the cell frequencies indicated that the experimental group reported more frequently that their sexual behavior had been affected by viewing erotic materials (Table 6). Examination of their comments in connection with this question indicated that they thought that their sexual activity had been increased by these materials.

Thus, some of the offenders did feel that they had been affected by pornography. Further examination of the cell frequencies indicated that it was a small number who reported such effects (14, 11, and 22 respectively for the three significant differences noted above); however, the number was sufficient that a statistically significant difference was obtained.

General sexual experience. Questions 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 deal with the subject's general sexual behavior and experience. Examination of these data revealed only one significant difference between the experimental and control groups. For question 20, which dealt with the subject's usual experience with sexual intercourse, the chi-square test was significant (chi-square = 5.4, probability less than .05), with the experimentals more frequently indicating that their experience with intercourse was "very enjoyable" (Table 7).

Table 6

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 14, "Do you think that your experience with erotic materials has increased or changed your sexual activity in any way?"

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	22	10
No	38	50

* Chi-square = 5.16, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Huntsville and Rusk non-sex offenders.

Table 7

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 20, "Which of these describes your general (usual) experience with sexual intercourse?"

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Very enjoyable	35	21
Other ^c	20	31

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Huntsville and Rusk non-sex offenders.

c. Categories 2, 3, 4, and 5 on card H (enjoyable, neither enjoyable nor unenjoyable, unpleasant, very unpleasant) were collapsed to form this row.

* Chi-square = 5.74, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

The objective test. Since the content of the true-false items on the objective test was heterogeneous, each dealing with a different attitude, these items were analyzed separately. The five multiple-choice items were all sex knowledge type items. Each subject was assigned a score from 0 to 5 depending on the number he answered correctly. There was no significant difference between the groups in terms of their response to true-false questions 1, 2, 3, and 4. However, on question 5 a significant chi-square value was obtained (chi-square = 5.03, probability less than .05). This question read, "Most people do not get all of the sex that they need." There was a tendency for the control subjects to say "true" to that question more often (Table 8). There was no significant difference for the experimental or control groups with respect to their scores on the multiple = choice test.

*Hospital and prison offenders
versus college and men's club groups*

Biographical data. The biographical data comparing the experimental groups with the two college samples and the men's club sample indicated several significant differences. The differences noted were as follows. The combined experimental group was significantly older than the college group ($t = 4.74$, $df 64$, probability less than .001) and had significantly fewer years of school ($t = 11.14$, $df 65$, probability less than .001). There was no difference between the combined experimental group and the combined college group with respect to the number married versus the number single; however, among those who were married, the experimental group did have significantly more children ($t = 3.97$, $df 39$, probability less than .001), possibly because they had been married longer. Significantly fewer of the experimental group had a high school or advanced degree than the college sample (chi-square = 60.82, probability less than .001). Comparing the combined experimental group with the men's club sample indicated that the former were significantly younger ($t = -2.84$, $df 88$, probability less than .01); had significantly fewer years of education ($t = -9.53$, $df 88$, probability less than .001); had significantly fewer who were married (chi-square = 26.01, probability less than .001); and significantly fewer with high school or advanced degrees (chi-square = 40.09, probability less than .001). There was no significant difference between the two with respect to the number of children

Table 8

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

True-False Item 5, "Most people do not get all of the sex that they need."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
True	30	43
False	30	17

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Huntsville and Rusk non-sex offenders.

* Chi-square = 5.04, $df = 1$, sig. at .05 level.

those who were married had fathered. Tables 9 and 10 present the data described above and the significance tests associated with them.

Table 9

COMPARISONS OF DESCRIPTIVE DATA FOR COMBINED EXPERIMENTAL GROUP AND COMBINED COLLEGE GROUP

Descriptive data	Experimental	College	t-test	Chi-square test
Age				
Range	17-73	21-30		
Mean	29.98	22.75	4.742***	
Educational level ^a				
Range	0-20	13-17		
Mean	9.11	14.78	-11.138***	
Marital status (in frequencies)				
Married	22	22		
Single	38	38		ns
Number of children				
Mean	2.14	.32	3.97***	
Earned degrees (in frequencies)				
None	46	1		
High school +	14	59		60.82***

a. Years of school.
 *** Sig. at .001 level.

Table 10

COMPARISONS OF DESCRIPTIVE DATA FOR COMBINED EXPERIMENTAL GROUP AND MEN'S CLUB GROUP

Descriptive data	Experimental	Men's club	t-test	Chi-square test
Age				
Range	17-73	21-75		
Mean	29.98	36.3	-2.84**	
Educational level ^a				
Range	0-20	12-19		
Mean	9.11	15.6	-9.53***	
Marital status (in frequencies)				
Married	22	28		
Single	38	2		26.01***
Number of children				
Mean	2.14	2.32	-.21 ns	
Earned degrees (in frequencies)				
None	46	1		
High school +	14	29		40.09***

a. Years of school.
 ** Sig. at .01 level.
 *** Sig. at .001 level.

Experience with pornography. Question 1 dealing with exposure to the various media was analyzed for these groups in the same manner as described for the comparison between the experimentals and controls earlier. Essentially, six separate split-plot factorial analyses of variance were performed with two levels of A (a given experimental group versus a given comparison group) and four levels of B (newspaper reading, magazine or book reading, radio listening, and television watching). Examination of the analyses of variance for the Rusk sample versus the Baylor sample, the Rusk sample versus the Paul Quinn sample, and the Rusk sample versus the men's club sample indicated no significant A effects. There was a significant B effect in all three of these analyses, but as noted above, this is of no interest in the present investigation. There was one significant AB interaction. This was for the ANOV involving the Rusk experimental group and the men's club sample. Probing of the means by use of the Tukey test failed to indicate any differences between any of the individual means of interest in the present investigation.

Examination of the analysis of variance data for the Huntsville experimental group versus the Baylor sample, versus the Paul Quinn sample, and versus the men's club sample revealed no significant A effects. The B effects in all three analyses were significant but of no interest in the present study. In all three analyses a significant AB interaction was found. Probing the means by use of Tukey tests failed to reveal any differences between the individual means of interest in the present study for the Huntsville versus Baylor and the Huntsville versus Paul Quinn comparisons. However, the Tukey procedure did indicate that the men's club group spent significantly less time listening to the radio or watching television and significantly more time reading the newspaper than did the experimental group.

Item number 3a on the questionnaire dealt with the frequency of exposure to various kinds of pornography. As in the earlier analyses reported, these data were analyzed by means of six separate split-plot factorial analyses of variance with two levels of A and 15 levels of B. The two levels of A referred to an experimental versus a given comparison group. The 15 levels of B referred to the various kinds of pornography as indicated on Card B in Appendix A. Examination of these analyses of variance indicated a significant A effect for the Rusk experimental versus the Baylor sample and the Rusk experimental versus the men's club sample and a trend in that direction for the Rusk experimental versus the Paul Quinn sample. Examination of the means indicated that the Baylor and men's club groups were exposed to pornography more frequently than were the Rusk experimental subjects. The trend in the Paul Quinn data was in the same direction. However, there was a significant AB interaction in the ANOV involving the Rusk experimentals versus the Baylor sample. Examination of the individual means revealed only one case (category 15) in which the experimentals were exposed to a type of pornography more often than the controls. The Tukey procedure did not indicate a significant difference between these means. Additional probing by means of the Tukey procedure indicated that in all individual comparisons of interest in the present research 12 were found to be significant and the other two approached significance. In each case the Baylor group reported seeing the category more frequently. All B effects were significant but of no interest. These data are shown in Tables 11-13. Table 17 presents the means and standard deviations on frequency of exposure to pornography for all groups employed in the research.

Table 11

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR QUESTION 3a:
FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHY

Rusk experimental subjects versus Baylor College students

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F
1. Between subjects	30.874	59		
2. A (subject groups)	6.178	1	6.178	(2/3) = 14.51***
3. Subj w groups	24.696	58	.426	
4. Within subjects	51.950	840		
5. B (types of pornography)	19.473	14	1.391	(5/7) = 36.34***
6. AB	1.393	14	.100	(6/7) = 2.60***
7. B x Subj w groups	31.084	812	.038	
8. Total	82.824	899		

Note.—A square root transformation was performed on the data in this analysis.
*** Sig. at .001 level.

Table 12

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR QUESTION 3a:
FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHY

Rusk experimental subjects versus Paul Quinn College students

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F
1. Between subjects	18.379	59		
2. A (subject groups)	.603	1	.603	(2/3) = 1.97
3. Subj w groups	17.776	58	.306	
4. Within subjects	59.564	840		
5. B (types of pornography)	20.706	14	1.479	(5/7) = 31.67***
6. AB	.933	14	.067	(6/7) = 1.43
7. B x Subj w groups	37.926	812	.047	
8. Total	77.943	899		

Note.—A square root transformation was performed on the data in this analysis.
*** Sig. at .001 level.

Examination of the analysis of variance data for the Huntsville experimental subjects versus the Baylor students, versus the Paul Quinn students, and versus the men's club sample on frequency of exposure to pornography revealed a significant A effect in the comparison with the Baylor group, and a trend in the same direction for the Paul Quinn and men's club samples. Examination of the means for the ANOV involving the Huntsville experimentals and Baylor students indicated that the latter were exposed to pornography more frequently. There were significant AB interactions in the ANOVs involving the Huntsville experimental subjects versus the Paul Quinn students and versus the men's club sample. Probing of the individual means at different levels of B for the ANOV involving the Huntsville experimental subjects and Paul Quinn students was accomplished by use of the Tukey procedure. No significant differences were found in these comparisons.

Similar probings of the means for the ANOV involving the Huntsville experimental subjects and men's club members revealed three significant differences. In all three cases, the men's club members saw the types of pornography more frequently. Examination of the means indicated that only for category 15 did the experimentals have a higher mean, though not significantly so. All of the B effects in the above analyses were significant, but of no interest. These data are presented in Tables 14, 15, and 16. See Table 17 for the means and standard deviations.

Table 13

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR QUESTION 3a:
FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHY

Rusk experimental subjects versus men's club members

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F
1. Between subjects	332.483	59		
2. A (subject groups)	24.668	1	24.668	(2/3) = 4.65*
3. Subj w groups	307.816	58	5.307	
4. Within subjects	700.267	840		
5. B (types of pornography)	275.200	14	19.657	(5/7) = 38.88** ^a
6. AB	14.582	14	1.042	(6/7) = 2.06 ^a
7. B x Subj w groups	410.484	812	.506	
8. Total	1032.750	899		

a. For the B and AB effects a conservative F test was used (F .05; df = 1.58) due to the lack of symmetry in the variance-covariance matrix.

* Sig. at .05 level.

** Sig. at .001 level.

Table 14

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR QUESTION 3a:
FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHY

Huntsville experimental subjects versus Baylor College students

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F
1. Between subjects	34.702	59		
2. A (subject groups)	6.701	1	6.701	(2/3) = 13.88*
3. Subj w groups	28.000	58	.483	
4. Within subjects	71.824	840		
5. B (types of pornography)	28.520	14	2.037	(5/7) = 39.29*
6. AB	1.206	14	.086	(6/7) = 1.66
7. B x Subj w groups	42.099	812	.052	
8. Total	106.526	899		

Note.—A log transformation was performed on the data in this analysis.

* Sig. at .001 level.

Table 15

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR QUESTION 3a:
FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHY

Huntsville experimental subjects versus Paul Quinn College students

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F
1. Between subjects	15.665	59		
2. A (subject groups)	.296	1	.296	(2/3) = 1.12
3. Subj w groups	15.369	58	.265	
4. Within subjects	63.219	840		
5. B (types of pornography)	22.678	14	1.620	(5/7) = 33.59**
6. AB	1.377	14	.098	(6/7) = 2.04*
7. B x Subj w groups	39.164	812	.048	
8. Total	78.884	899		

Note.—A square root transformation was performed on the data in this analysis.

* Sig. at .05 level.

** Sig. at .001 level.

Table 16

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR QUESTION 3a:
FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHY

Huntsville experimental subjects versus men's club members

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F
1. Between subjects	294.422	59		
2. A (subject groups)	17.084	1	17.084	(2/3) = 3.57
3. Subj w groups	277.338	58	4.782	
4. Within subjects	746.800	840		
5. B (types of pornography)	309.722	14	22.123	(5/7) = 42.33**
6. AB	12.682	14	.906	(6/7) = 1.73*
7. B x Subj w groups	424.395	812	.523	
8. Total	1041.222	899		

* Sig. at .05 level.

** Sig. at .001 level.

With respect to the age at which the subjects first saw various kinds of pornography (question 4a) examination of the *t*-tests between the combined experimental subjects versus the combined student groups (Baylor and Paul Quinn) and versus the men's club sample indicated no significant differences. Visual inspection of the means revealed a tendency, though not statistically significant, for the comparison groups to be exposed to pornography at an earlier age (Table 18).

Examination of the data for question 7b indicated no significant difference between the experimental subjects and the college sample. However, there was a significant difference between the experimental subjects and the men's club

Table 17

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR EXPERIMENTALS AND CONTROLS ON QUESTION 3a:
 FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO VARIOUS TYPES OF PORNOGRAPHY

Category	Rusk experimentals (N = 30)		Rusk controls (N = 30)		Huntsville experimentals (N = 30)		Huntsville controls (N = 30)		Baylor students (N = 30)		Paul Quinn students (N = 30)		Men's club members (N = 30)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1. "...[materials with] 4-letter words"	2.7 ^a	1.0	2.7	1.1	2.9	1.0	3.0	.8	3.7	.5	2.8	.7	3.2	.7
2. "...nude females with breasts exposed"	2.9	.9	3.1	1.0	3.0	.8	3.4	.5	3.7	.4	3.1	.8	3.4	.6
3. "...nude females showing sex organs or hair between...legs"	2.6	.8	2.6	1.0	2.5	1.0	3.0	.7	2.8	.8	3.0	.8	2.8	.9
4. "...nude males [with] sex organs"	2.2	.9	2.4	1.1	2.0	1.0	2.1	.9	2.4	.9	2.5	1.0	2.4	.9
5. "...nude or partially nude couple kissing"	2.3	.9	2.5	1.1	2.7	.9	2.9	1.0	3.1	.9	2.7	.9	2.8	.9
6. "...male and female having intercourse"	2.0	.9	2.1	1.1	1.9	1.0	2.5	1.0	2.6	1.0	2.6	1.0	2.7	.9
7. "...homosexual activities"	1.5	.8	1.7	.7	1.5	.8	1.8	.9	2.4	1.0	1.9	.7	2.0	.9
8. "...humans and animals having sex relations"	1.4	.6	1.3	.5	1.4	.7	1.6	.9	2.0	1.0	1.5	.7	1.5	.8
9. "...sexual activity with whips, belts or ropes"	1.5	.8	1.4	.8	1.5	.8	1.8	.9	2.0	.9	1.4	.6	1.6	.9
10. "...mouth-sex organ contact"	1.6	.9	1.8	1.1	2.0	1.0	1.9	1.1	2.5	.9	1.8	.9	2.0	1.0
11. "...a sex activity involving a group of people"	1.8	1.0	1.7	1.0	1.8	1.0	2.1	1.1	2.3	.9	2.0	.9	2.3	1.0
12. "...a male or female masturbating"	1.4	.8	1.5	.8	1.4	.7	1.5	.7	2.1	.9	1.7	.9	1.5	.8

13. "... advertisements [of various sexual material] sent [in] the mail"	1.9	1.1	2.0	1.0	1.9	1.1	1.9	1.1	2.5	1.0	1.9	1.2	2.3	1.1
14. "... live burlesque, striptease, etc."	2.1	1.1	2.4	1.1	2.2	1.1	2.5	1.1	2.6	1.1	2.0	1.0	2.6	.8
15. "... live show [with] a sex act"	1.4	1.0	1.4	.8	1.3	.7	1.5	.9	1.3	.5	1.2	.7	1.1	.4

a. 1 = Never; 2 = Rarely; 3 = Sometimes; 4 = Often.

Table 18

MEAN AGES AT WHICH VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF PORNOGRAPHY WERE FIRST SEEN

Category	Experimentals (N=60)	Controls (N=60)	College (N=60)	Men's club (N=30)
1. "... [materials with] 4-letter words"	13.19	13.11	11.88	13.50
2. "... nude females with breasts exposed"	14.83	15.09	13.51	13.90
3. "... nude females showing sex organs or hair between ... legs"	17.76	15.87	16.00	16.64
4. "... nude males [with] sex organs"	16.15	16.25	15.74	16.67
5. "... nude or partially nude couple kissing"	17.50	16.12	15.11	16.67
6. "... male and female having intercourse"	18.19	14.95	16.45	16.78
7. "... homosexual activities"	17.70	17.85	16.91	20.28
8. "... humans and animals having sex relations"	16.94	17.50	15.89	19.09
9. "... sexual activity with whips, belts or ropes"	20.05	18.13	17.67	20.91
10. "... mouth-sex organ contact"	17.46	17.57	17.54	19.17
11. "... a sex activity involving a group of people"	19.96	18.09	18.02	21.00
12. "... a male or female masturbating"	18.67	17.73	16.21	19.50
13. "... advertisements [of various sexual material] sent [in] the mail"	18.64	20.00	16.18	23.77
14. "... live burlesque, strip-tease, etc."	20.46	18.73	18.51	21.48
15. "... live show [with] a sex act"	18.00	19.18	19.36	24.33

sample, with the experimental group collecting pornography for a significantly longer time than the men's club group ($t = 3.03$, $df = 15$, probability less than .001).

The only other significant differences in this area occurred in response to question 8b where more of the experimental subjects indicated that pornography was *not* easy to obtain (Tables 19 and 20). This was undoubtedly due to the fact that they were incarcerated and the institution officials made an effort to suppress such material. Thus, overall, the college students and men's club members tended to have had more experience with pornography than did the aggressive sexual offenders.

Reported effects of pornography. Numerous differences were noted between the experimental subjects and the college student sample and between the experimental subjects and the men's club sample on the reported effects of pornography on behavior. Examination of the data revealed the following.

The college sample had a more positive reaction to seeing “cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed a nude, or partially nude couple kissing,” and to “cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a male and female having sexual intercourse” (Tables 21 and 22). The men’s club sample had a less positive reaction to “advertisements of sexual magazines, books, pictures, movies, sex aids, potions, or artificial sex organs which are sent to people through the mail” (Table 23).

Table 19

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 8b, “Is this material easy to get here in the hospital/prison/town?”

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	7	28
No	49	28

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- * Chi-square = 16.62, df = 1, sig. at .001 level.

Table 20

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 8b, “Is this material easy to get here in the hospital/prison/town?”

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	7	13
No	49	16

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Men’s club sample.
- * Chi-square = 9.39, df = 1, sig. at .01 level.

Table 21

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 4b, “Which of the words on this card best describes your reaction?”, Part 5 on Card B, “Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a nude or partially nude couple kissing?” Subject’s reaction was:

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Positive ^c	29	45
Other ^d	22	11

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- c. Categories 1, 3, and 4 on Card B (interesting, beautiful, sexually arousing) were collapsed to form this row.
- d. Categories 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 on Card B (disgusting, sinful, funny, dangerous, neutral) were collapsed to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 5.86, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 22

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 4b, "Which of the words on this card (Card C) best describes your reaction?" Part 6 on Card B, "Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a male and a female having sexual intercourse?" Subject's reaction was:

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Positive ^c	26	47
Other ^d	10	4

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.

c. Categories 1, 3, 4 on Card B (interesting, beautiful, sexually arousing) were collapsed to form this row.

d. Categories 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 on Card B (disgusting, sinful, funny, dangerous, neutral) were collapsed to form this row.

* Chi-square = 4.84, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 23

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 4b, "Which of the words on this card (Card C) best describes your reaction?", Part 13 on Card B, "Advertisements of sexual magazines, books, pictures, movies, sex aids, potions, or artificial sex organs which are sent to people through the mail?" Subject's reaction was:

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Positive ^c	17	6
Other ^d	11	17

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Men's club sample.

c. Categories 1, 3, 4 on Card B (interesting, beautiful, sexually arousing) were collapsed to form this row.

d. Categories 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 on Card B (disgusting, sinful, funny, dangerous, neutral) were collapsed to form this row.

* Chi-square = 4.82, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

There was a slight tendency for the college student sample to report some sort of sexual activity such as stroking the genital organs or masturbation while "reading cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. in which four-letter words were used" (Table 24).

There also was a tendency for the college sample to feel more like involving themselves in some sort of sexual activity while viewing "cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a nude or partially nude couple kissing" (Table 25) or while viewing "live-burlesque, strip-tease, topless, bottomless, etc. shows" (Table 26). In addition, the college sample more frequently reported that they learned something from pornography (Table 27).

Table 24

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 4c, "How did you use it? Did you masturbate or do anything sexually while looking at/reading it? Did you show it to anyone or do anything with it?", Part 1 on Card B, "Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. in which four-letter words were used?" Subject's activity was:

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Some ^c	7	18
None	47	42

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.

c. Categories 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (touched or stroked genitals, masturbated, intercourse, activity with animal, other) from the answer sheet were combined to form this row.

* Chi-square = 3.88, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 25

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 4d, "What kinds of sexual activity did you feel like engaging in during or after seeing this?", Part 5 on Card B, "Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a nude or partially nude couple kissing?" Subject felt like:

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Some ^c	16	36
None	33	20

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.

c. Categories 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (touched or stroked genitals, masturbated, intercourse, activity with animal, other) from the answer sheet were combined to form this row.

* Chi-square = 9.24, df = 1, sig. at .01 level.

Table 26

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 4d, "What kinds of sexual activity did you feel like engaging in during or after seeing this?", Part 14 on Card B, "Live burlesque, strip-tease, topless, bottomless, etc. shows?" Subject felt like:

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Some ^c	15	32
None	21	13

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.

c. Categories 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (touched or stroked genitals, masturbated, intercourse, activity with animal, other) from the answer sheet were combined to form this row.

* Chi-square = 5.98, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

The college students affirmed more often that pornography may lead to sexual crime among adults; that pornography provides a safety valve for antisocial impulses for teenagers; that pornography may lead to preoccupation with books and pictures among teenagers; that pornography would provide useful information about sexual matters for teenagers; and that it may encourage sexual misbehavior among teenagers. Data for these conclusions are presented in Tables 28-32.

Examination of the relevant data comparing the experimental group versus the men's club sample indicated that more of the experimental group felt that pornography might lead to nonsexual crime among adults; more of the men's club sample was of the opinion that pornography leads to a general breakdown in the morals of teenagers; the experimental group felt more strongly that pornography might lead to nonsexual crime among teenagers; and more of the men's club sample felt that pornography appeals to and sexually arouses teenagers. These data are presented in Tables 33-36.

Table 27

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 5, "Did you learn anything about sex from these materials?"

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	27	39
No	33	21

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn college males.
- * Chi-square = 4.85, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 28

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for adults." Part 2 on Card E, "Leads to sexual crime."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	26	38
No ^d	34	22

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
- d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 4.05, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 29

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for teenagers." Part 3 on Card E, "Provides a safety valve for antisocial impulses."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	23	35
No ^d	37	25

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
- d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 4.04, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 30

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for teenagers." Part 4 on Card E, "Leads to preoccupation with books and pictures."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	32	44
No ^d	28	16

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
- d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 4.34, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 31

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for teenagers." Part 8 on Card E, "Provides useful information about sexual matters."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	32	44
No ^d	28	16

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
- d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 4.34, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 32

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for teenagers." Part 12 on Card E, "Encourages sexual misbehavior."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	39	50
No ^d	21	10

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
- d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 4.35, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 33

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for adults." Part 7 on Card E, "Leads to nonsexual crime."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	19	3
No ^d	41	27

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Men's club sample.
- c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
- d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 3.98, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 34

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for teenagers." Part 6 on Card E, "Leads to general breakdown in morals."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	30	23
No ^d	30	7

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Men's club sample.
- c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
- d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 4.82, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 35

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for teenagers." Part 7 on Card E, "Leads to nonsexual crime."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	21	3
No ^d	39	27

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
 - b. Men's club sample.
 - c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
 - d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- * Chi-square = 5.18, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

TABLE 36

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS

Question 9a, "Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for teenagers." Part 9 on Card E, "Appeals to and sexually arouses."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes ^c	47	30
No ^d	13	0

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
 - b. Men's club sample.
 - c. Categories "likely" and "possible" are combined to form this row.
 - d. Categories "unlikely" and "not sure" are combined to form this row.
- Note.—Fisher's exact yielded $p = .006$ (2-tail).

With respect to their personal reaction to pornography (question 9b) the experimentals were more convinced that exposure to pornography had contributed to their sexual crime (Tables 37-40). However, more of the college sample indicated that pornography appealed to them and sexually aroused them (Table 41).

In summary, the college sample tended to have a stronger and more positive reaction, while the men's club group had a more negative reaction to pornography than did the experimental subjects. All three groups expressed some concern that some people might be harmed by this material, and the experimental subjects affirmed that they believed they personally had been adversely affected by such material.

General sexual behavior. The following differences were noted for the comparisons between the experimental subjects and the college student sample and between the experimental subjects and the men's club sample.

Table 37

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9b, "Have you personally experienced any of these consequences from these materials?" Part 2 on Card E, "Leads to sexual crime."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	14	1
No	22	48

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- * Chi-square = 21.61, df = 1, sig. at .001 level.

Table 38

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9b, "Have you personally experienced any of these consequences from these materials?" Part 2 on Card E, "Leads to sexual crime."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	14	1
No	22	21

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Men's club sample.
- * Chi-square = 6.70, df = 1, sig. at .01 level.

Table 39

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS

Question 13, "Did pornographic material have anything to do with it?"

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	11	0
No	49	60

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- Note.—Fisher's exact yielded p = .0006 (2-tail).

The experimental subjects were more likely than the men's club sample to report that they were little or not at all interested in sex in their teens (Table 42). The college sample was more likely to report that they had had a course in high school dealing with sex (Table 43).

Table 40

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS

Question 13, "Did pornographic material have anything to do with it?"

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	11	0
No	49	30

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Men's club sample.

Note.—Fisher's exact yielded $p = .04$ (2-tail).

Table 41

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 9b, "Have you personally experienced any of these consequences from these materials?" Part 9 on Card E, "Appeals to and sexually arouses."

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	30	45
No	17	7

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.

* Chi-square = 5.76, $df = 1$, sig. at .05 level.

Table 42

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 15, "Thinking back now to the time you were entering your teens, how interested in sex were you?"

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Very	25	12
Somewhat	16	14
Little ^c	19	4

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Men's club sample.

c. Categories 3 and 4 (little, not at all) were combined to form this row.

* Chi-square = 5.04, $df = 2$, sig. at .05 level.

The subjects in the experimental group tended to have had intercourse earlier than the subjects in the men's club sample ($t = -3.09$, df 67, probability less than .001). They were also significantly more likely than the college sample to report (Table 44) that they had had intercourse with a prostitute (chi-square = 20.44, probability less than .001).

The objective test. There were no significant differences on the true-false questions between the experimental group and the college sample. However there were two significant chi-square values for the comparisons between the experimental sample and the men's club sample. Examination of the cell frequencies indicated that the experimental group was more likely to say "true" to the statement "A feeling of sexual guilt usually follows sexual intercourse" (chi-square = 9.87, probability less than .001), and less likely to say "true" to "Prostitution should be legalized" (chi-square = 9.87, probability less than .01). These data are presented in Tables 45 and 46.

There was a significant difference in the comparison of the multiple-choice test scores for the experimental group versus the college sample. The college sample tended to be better informed on sexual matters than the experimental group ($t = -3.17$, df 117, probability less than .001). Likewise a significant difference was found in this comparison between the experimental group and the men's club group with the men's club group being significantly better informed on sex than the experimental group ($t = -5.94$, df 62, probability less than .001).

Table 43

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 17, "Did you have a course in school which dealt with human sex?"

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	8	18
No	52	42

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- * Chi-square = 3.98, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 44

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

Question 19, "Have you ever had intercourse with a prostitute?"

Answer to question	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
Yes	40	15
No	20	45

- a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.
- b. Baylor and Paul Quinn College males.
- * Chi-square = 20.44, df = 1, sig. at .001 level.

Table 45

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

True-False Item 2, "A feeling of guilt follows most sexual intercourse."

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
True	19	3
False	40	27

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Men's club sample.

* Chi-square = 4.16, df = 1, sig. at .05 level.

Table 46

OBSERVED FREQUENCIES AND CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS*

True-False Item 4, "Prostitution should be legalized."

Response	Experimental ^a	Control ^b
True	36	7
False	23	23

a. Huntsville and Rusk sex offenders.

b. Men's club sample.

* Chi-square = 9.87, df = 1, sig. at .01 level.

Judge's ratings of the protective protocols

The judges' ratings of the protocol from the inkblots and pictures were correlated by means of Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients in order to determine inter-rater reliability. Each judge's ratings on each of the three variables were systematically correlated with the similar set of ratings from the other judges. The correlations thus obtained were extremely low, ranging from .02 to .17 with most of them less than .10 and not differing significantly from chance. Examination of the data as well as comments from two of the raters suggested that the 40-point Likert scale was too sensitive for the gross nature of the discriminations they were able to make regarding the data. Therefore, phi-coefficients were computed for the data by dichotomizing the ratings (none and some versus much and very much). The coefficients thus obtained are presented in Tables 47 and 48. These coefficients tended to be low but significant.

Six separate analyses of variance were performed on the ratings. A separate analysis was performed for ratings of inkblot and picture protocols for each of the three variables. The data were analyzed by assigning a score of 1 for a rating of 1-10, 2 for 11-20, 3 for 21-30, and 4 for 31-40, in keeping with the gross nature of the ratings noted above. The analyses performed were split-plot factorial ANOVs with the seven levels of A corresponding to the groups employed in the study; three levels of B corresponding to the three judges; and five levels of C corresponding to the five specific stimuli (inkblots or pictures). Examination of

Table 47

PHI COEFFICIENT INTERCORRELATIONS OF RATERS FOR
INKBLOT PROTOCOL RATINGS

Scale 1, "Degree of pathological sexual content present"			
Rater	1	2	3
1	1.00	.06	.21**
2		1.00	.17*
3			1.00
Scale 2, "Degree of sexual arousal experienced by the testee"			
Rater	1	2	3
1	1.00	.08	.35**
2		1.00	.19**
3			1.00
Scale 3, "Presence of aggressive sexual fantasies"			
Rater	1	2	3
1	1.00	.34**	.45**
2		1.00	.27**
3			1.00

* Sig. at .05 level.

** Sig. at .01 level.

the ANOV tables indicated that there were no significant A main effects. All B main effects were significant and very large. There were scatterings of significant interaction effects. Where appropriate, simple main effects tests, simple-simple main effects tests, and simple interaction effects tests were performed. Error rate was controlled per family of comparisons. Where these tests were significant, further probing was accomplished by the Tukey procedure. However, such probing yielded results which indicated no meaningful or interpretable pattern among the means. Thus, it must be concluded that experienced clinicians were able to rate the projective protocols on the variables employed with only minimal reliability and essentially no validity.

DISCUSSION

Due to the fact pointed out in the review of the literature that very little research has been done in this area, it was necessary to use rather crude methods and approaches to the problem. No carefully validated tests or techniques for precise, sensitive measurement in this area were available. As a result, each

Table 48

PHI COEFFICIENT INTERCORRELATIONS OF RATERS FOR PICTURE
PROTOCOL RATINGS

Scale 1, "Degree of pathological sexual content present"			
Rater	1	2	3
1	1.00	.10	.24**
2		1.00	.19*
3			1.00
Scale 2, "Degree of sexual arousal experienced by the testee"			
Rater	1	2	3
1	1.00	-.02	.32**
2		1.00	.05
3			1.00
Scale 3, "Presence of aggressive sexual fantasies"			
Rater	1	2	3
1	1.00	.31**	.17*
2		1.00	.24**
3			1.00

* Sig. at .05 level.

** Sig. at .01 level.

question and each bit of data had to be analyzed separately. Such analysis involves performing a large number of tests of significance. As is well known, when this is done the probability that significant differences will be found remarkably increases. Many of the differences noted under such circumstances tend to be spurious and uninterpretable. Some of the differences noted in the present data undoubtedly fall into this category. However, certain patterns were observed in the significant differences that occurred. It was felt that these patterns are meaningful and may be felt to reflect true rather than spurious differences among the groups. These patterns will be discussed in the same order in which they occurred in the results.

First, the strongest test of the hypotheses of this research occurs when the experimental groups (sex offenders from Huntsville and Rusk) are compared with the control groups from these same institutions. It is in these tests that we have men of roughly the same socioeconomic, cultural, educational, and experiential background compared with each other—the only major difference being that one group has been convicted of a sex offense while the other has not. Examination of the biographical and life history data for these subjects confirmed that the

subjects were well matched on a number of variables having to do with age, race, level of education, and marital status. No significant differences were found for these groups with respect to the amount of influence they received from the various media. That is, there were no differences between the experimentals and controls in the amount of time they spent watching television, listening to the radio, reading magazines or books, or reading the newspaper. Concerning their experience with pornography, there were essentially no statistically significant differences in frequency of exposure, age of first exposure, reactions to exposure, whether or not they collected pornography, and similar items dealing with general experience with such material. However, there was an observable trend in the data for the control group to have had more experience with this material than the experimentals. In view of this fact, it is somewhat startling to find that a small but significant minority of the experimental subjects did state that pornography had an effect on them and that it was partially responsible for their offense. This finding is rather difficult to interpret. Accepted at face value, it would lead to the conclusion that pornography might have something in common with a number of other social variables such as consumption of alcohol, driving, eating, and so on, which most people are able to handle with little trouble. However, some people are prone to abuse of these items and eventually suffer adverse effects. That is, only a small minority become alcoholics, only a small minority are involved in numerous traffic accidents, and only a small minority become obese. We might similarly conclude that most people have no trouble with pornography, but there are a few people who respond to pornography by becoming more prone to commit a sexual offense. It is impossible to stop with such a simple interpretation, however, because it is quite clear in much psychological research that the publicly expressed motivations, opinions, and attitudes of subjects do not always bear a direct relationship to their more covert impressions or to their actual behavior. Simply put, people often say things that they don't really believe and that have nothing to do with their behavior. Along this line, it is important to note that the items on which the subjects reported adverse consequences of pornography were very obvious, direct items that would have been easy to give false information in response to. One could explain this same finding by stating that the subject was perhaps trying to make some sense out of his plight of being in a hospital or prison convicted of a sex offense. Attributing it to pornography might seem to the subject like a convenient, ready-made explanation. In addition, it is quite possible that the subjects felt that to say that pornography had something to do with their offense might provide them with an excuse for their behavior and make things go easier for them in terms of the handling of their case and sentence by the authorities. Additional plausible explanations of this finding might also be given but, at any rate, a small but significant minority of sex offenders in the present study reported that pornography had led them to commit their offense.

This is a finding that deserves more careful and intensive study in the future. Should this finding be confirmed, it would have important implications both for the control of pornographic material and treatment of sex offenders.

The experimental group indicated significantly more often than the control group that viewing pornography had increased their sexual activity and that they found sexual intercourse "very enjoyable." There were essentially no differences

between the experimental and control groups in other areas of sexual behavior such as whether or not they had had intercourse with a prostitute, the age of which they first had intercourse, the age at which they first masturbated, their attitudes toward sex, or their sexual knowledge as measured by the multiple choice test. Thus, the picture that emerges from these data is that the sex offenders and controls were very similar on most of the variables studied. The controls tended to have had more experience with pornography. However, a small but significant minority of sex offenders reported that pornography tended to increase their sexual activity, that they found sexual intercourse very enjoyable, and that pornography had something to do with their having committed the offense they were convicted of.

Comparisons involving the experimental group versus the college sample and men's club sample indicated a number of expected patterns on the biographical variables. The college samples was significantly younger and the men's club sample was significantly older than the experimental group. Both the college sample and the men's club sample were of higher educational level. There were predictable differences regarding marital status, number of children, and similar variables among these groups. These data may be interpreted as indicating that the Rusk and Huntsville sex offenders had a different cultural and experiential background than the college students and men's club members in Waco. This does not necessarily mean that sex offenders in general have a different cultural background because there are very definite selective factors involved in whether or not a person is convicted of a sex offense and ends up in a public hospital or prison. Those of higher social status and economic means seldom end up in such circumstances. This may be partially because their training is such that they are not as frequently guilty of such offenses, but it also may be a result of the fact that they have the necessary means and connections to prevent their being convicted and incarcerated.

There were some minor, relatively unimportant differences among the groups with respect to their exposure to the various media. On questions regarding the frequency of exposure to pornography, the age at which they were first exposed, and similar questions, it was again found that the comparison groups had more experience with this material than the experimentals. In addition, the college sample tended to report more positive reactions and more sexual arousal in response to exposure than did the experimentals. All of the groups, but especially the college sample, appeared to be somewhat concerned about the effect this material might have on teenagers and others.

The experimental sample, however, affirmed significantly more often than either the college or the men's club sample that they had been influenced by pornography to commit a sexual crime.

There were only minor and scattered differences among the groups with respect to their sexual attitudes and experience. These differences were compatible with the differences frequently noted when data from one age group are compared with data from another age group. In general, the older the age of the subjects, the more conservative they were in their attitudes toward sex and the less they tended to be aroused by pornography. Such differences do not lead to any general conclusions relevant to the present study.

The ratings by the judges of the protocols from the inkblots and pictures were only minimally reliable and demonstrated essentially no validity. Thus, experienced clinicians did not judge the aggressive sexual offenders as responding to viewing pornography with greater sexual arousal, more pathological sexual ideation, or more aggressive sexual fantasies. Several possible interpretations might be given to this finding. It is possible that the groups did not differ on these variables. However, it is also possible that the stimuli used were not adequate to elicit differences which actually existed (though care was taken to see that they were); that the judges were not experienced enough with the stimulus material and the subject groups used to make adequate discriminations; or that there was some inherent problem in the variables and type of scale chosen for the ratings that made discrimination very difficult.

Thus, going back to the original questions posed for this research, the following general conclusions may be drawn. First, sex offenders, if anything, tend to have less experience with pornography than other groups. Regarding the second question, a small minority of sex offenders report that pornography did figure in as part of the motivation that led them to commit a sexual offense. However, expert clinical judges did not rate the fantasy productions of the sex offenders in response to projective stimuli as indicating significantly more pathological sexual thought, sexual arousal, or aggressive sexual inclinations.

SUMMARY

A review of the literature indicated very little empirical research dealing with the relationship between erotic or pornographic stimuli and sexual offenses. In fact, no studies were found where pornographic material was actually presented to sexual offenders and their reactions elicited. The purpose of the present study was to investigate two basic questions. First, has the aggressive sex offender had more experience with pornography than the non-sex offender (e.g., has he been exposed more frequently, at a younger age, etc.)? Second, are the fantasies and thoughts that occur to the sex offender as he views pornography different from those of the non-sex offender? A structured interview, a brief objective test, and two projective tests (one composed of specially constructed inkblots which were considered to be sexually provocative and the other consisting of TAT-type pictures with sexually provocative themes) were presented to seven groups of subjects. The subject groups included aggressive sex offenders hospitalized in a state mental hospital, a control group of non-sex offenders from the same ward of the same hospital, aggressive sex offenders imprisoned in a state penitentiary, a control group of prisoners from the same facility who had not committed a sex offense, two groups of college males, and one group of men's club members from the local community. The evaluation of that data revealed relatively minor and predictable differences among the groups in terms of their general sexual experience, knowledge, attitudes, and so on. In terms of their experience with pornography, the control groups tended to be exposed to pornography more frequently, to have been exposed at a younger age, and to respond more positively to this material than the sex offender groups. There were no discernible differences among the groups in terms of their fantasy productions to the

projective stimuli. However, a small but significant minority of subjects in the sex offender groups affirmed that viewing pornography had contributed, to some degree, to the sexual offense for which they were incarcerated. The validity of their affirmation, however, is open to question. Limitations and qualifications regarding the interpretation of these findings are presented in the Discussion section.

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APPENDIX A

Exhibit one: The interview questions

To be read in a warm, friendly, low-pressure manner. Interviewer may make a few extemporaneous remarks on the respondent's answers to establish better rapport (e.g., I'm from Houston too, we have a boy about the same age, etc.).

Hello / Good Morning / Good Afternoon. How are you today?

I'm Mr. __. I don't work for the hospital/prison, I'm from Baylor University. The reason I wanted to see you is, we're doing a research project on people's attitudes and ideas. I'd like to talk with you for a while and ask you some questions. Some of the questions deal with controversial areas but anything you say will be held strictly confidential. It will not become a part of your file here at the hospital/prison, and will not be revealed to anyone you know. In fact, it will be coded with a number and your name will not appear on it at any time. So, we would like you to give your honest answers to the questions. Do you have any questions? O.K. We need to have you sign this form in order to be able to interview you. Would you read it and sign it before we begin. If you don't understand anything, ask me and I'll explain it to you. O.K. Thank you.

Now, first, when and where were you born? Let's see, you'd be __ years old. Right?

Are you married? How many children do you have?

Have you ever been divorced, separated or deserted? Once, Twice, __.

What kind of work do you do?

How far did you go in school? (e.g. Did you graduate from high school or get a high school diploma by taking the test? Did you ever go to any other school after high school/grade school?)

Probe for high school graduate, advanced degrees, etc.

1. *Read and record each time in minutes.*

In general when you are out of the hospital/prison, about how much time do you spend each day:

- a. Reading a newspaper?
- b. Reading a magazine or book?
- c. What about listening to the radio?
- d. Watching television?

2. *Read question. After he answers, if correct say, "Right" and give clarification. If correct, give clarification, then ask "Do you follow what I mean?" If yes, go on. If no, offer further clarification as appropriate.*

Many materials dealing with nudity and sex are described by some people as "pornographic." Often people use this word to mean all kinds of things and to describe lots of different things. What do you mean when you use the word pornographic?

CLARIFICATION: In the questions I'll be asking you, pornographic material will mean books, pictures, movies and things that show people without clothes on, involved in sex acts, and things like that. Do you understand?

3. *Read question, show card B, record answer. Offer clarification as needed.**

- a. I'd like you to look at this card and tell me the amount of experience you've had with each of these. For example, for number 1 which of these four

*The content of the cards used and the list of approved clarifications appears at the end.

would apply? (*Point to continuum on card and explain use if necessary.*) O.K.
Now, number 2. Number 3, etc.

b. Are there any things of this sort that you have seen which aren't in the list there? What? (*Record.*) Have you seen this rarely, sometimes or often, etc. (*Record.*)

4. *For each item marked rarely or more on #3 ask:*

a. At about what age were you when you first saw_____.

b. Which of the words on this card (Card C) best describes your reactions? Tell me the number.

c. How did you use it? Did you masturbate or do anything sexually while looking at/reading it? Did you show it to anyone or do anything with it? (*Probe for details.*)

d. What kinds of sexual activity did you *feel* like engaging in during or after seeing this?

e. What prevented you from doing it?

5. *Read question, record answer.* Did you learn anything about sex from these materials? If yes, what?

6. *Read question, show Card B, record answer.*

a. In your community, do you know of a store or bookshop where a person can buy books, magazines, films, or pictures that depict most of the types of sexual activity on these cards?

b. Have you ever been in this kind of a store or bookshop to browse or buy something?

(*If yes, show Card D and ask c.*)

(*If no, go to 7.*)

c. To browse?

To buy?

7. *Read question, record answer.*

a. Do you or have you ever collected pornographic material? (*If yes, ask b and c.*)

b. How long did you/have done this?

c. How much money would you estimate you typically spend in a year on pornographic material?

(*Clarification of collect: Do you save this material for a long time and add to it most every chance you get?*)

8. *Read question, record answer.*

a. During the past 6 months, have you seen or read anything which you regarded as pornographic?

(*If yes, ask "what" and list.*)

b. Is this material easy to get here in the hospital/prison/town?

9. *Read question, record answer. For each "likely" or "possible" response, ask b immediately.*
- Some people think that looking at or reading pornographic material has some kind of effect on people. Other people say that there are no effects. Look at this card (*show Card E*) and tell me if you think it has any of these effects for adults or teenagers. For instance, what about providing entertainment for adults—would you say likely, possible, unlikely or not sure? O.K. What about teenagers? Now what about sexual crime among adults, likely, possible, etc.
 - Read question, record answer.* Have you personally experienced any of these consequences from these materials?
10. *Read question, record answer.*
- Is there anything which you have seen or read which you would not recommend to either teenagers or adults?
(*If yes*)
 - What material? (Teenagers, adults, both?)
 - Why would you not recommend it?
11. *Read question, record answer.*
- Considering all the materials we have talked about, is there anything you have seen or read which you wish you had not?
 - (*If yes, what and why?*)
12. *Read question, record answer (one or two sentences).* Why are you in the hospital/prison?
13. *Read question, record answer.* Did pornographic material have anything to do with it?
14. *Read question, record answer.* Do you think that your experience with erotic materials has increased or changed your sexual activity in any way?
15. *Read question, show Card G and record answer.* Thinking back now to the time you were entering your teens, how interested in sex were you? What number?
16. *Read question, record answer.* Compared to most of your friends at that time, did you know more about sex or less about sex than they did?
17. *Read question, record answer.* Did you have a course in school which dealt with human sex?
18. *Read question, record answer.* How old were you at the time of your first heterosexual intercourse?
19. *Read question, record answer.* Have you ever had intercourse with a prostitute?
20. *Read question, show Card H. Record answer.* Which of these describes your general (usual) experience with sexual intercourse?

21. *Read question, record answer.* How old were you at the time of your first masturbation?
22. *Read question, record answer.* Do you have anything to add or any questions about anything we've talked about?
23. O.K. That was good.

Exhibit two: The card contents

Following is the exact wording that appeared in each of the cards used in the experiment. The cards are not lettered consecutively (A, B, C, D, etc.) because certain questions and their related cards were eliminated from the interview in the pretrials as described in the procedure section.

CARD B

	<u>Rarely</u>		<u>Often</u>
<u>Never</u> (zero times)	(once or twice)	<u>Sometimes</u> (3 to 10 times)	(11 or more times)

How often if ever have you seen each of the following:

- | | | | | |
|--|-------|--------|-----------|-------|
| 1. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. in which four-letter words were used? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |
| 2. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed nude females with breasts exposed? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |
| 3. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. with completely nude females showing their sex organs or hair between their legs? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |
| 4. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. of nude males so you could see their sex organs? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |
| 5. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a nude or partially nude couple kissing? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |
| 6. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a male and a female having sexual intercourse? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |
| 7. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described homosexual activities? | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |

8. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described humans and animals having sex relations?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
9. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described sexual activity with whips, ropes, or belts?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
10. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described mouth-sex organ contact?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
11. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a sex activity involving a group of people (3 or more)?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
12. Cartoons, books, magazines, films, etc. that showed or described a male or female masturbating?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
13. Advertisements of sexual magazines, books, pictures, movies, sex aids, potions, or artificial sex organs which are sent to people through the mail?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
14. Live burlesque, strip-tease, topless, bottomless, etc. shows?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
15. Live shows where the people did a sex act for the audience (if yes, what was the act(s)?)	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often

CARD C

1. Interesting
2. Disgusting
3. Beautiful
4. Sexually arousing
5. Sinful
6. Funny
7. Dangerous
8. Neutral

CARD D

	<u>Never</u> (zero times)	<u>Rarely</u> (once or twice)	<u>Sometimes</u> (3 to 10 times)	<u>Often</u> (11 or more times)
I have been in such a store to				
Browse	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Buy	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often

CARD E

	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
1. Provides entertainment and relaxation for				
A. Adults	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
B. Teenagers	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
2. Leads to sexual crime among				
A. Adults	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
B. Teenagers	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
3. Provides a safety valve for antisocial impulses for				
A. Adults	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
B. Teenagers	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
4. Leads to preoccupation with books and pictures among				
A. Adults	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
B. Teenagers	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
5. Can cure sexual impotence or weakness among				
A. Adults	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
B. Teenagers	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
6. Leads to general breakdown in morals of				
A. Adults	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
B. Teenagers	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
7. Leads to nonsexual crime among				
A. Adults	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure
B. Teenagers	Likely	Possible	Unlikely	Not Sure

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------|----------|----------|----------|--|
| 8. Provides useful information about sexual matters for | | | | | |
| A. Adults | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| B. Teenagers | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| 9. Appeals to and sexually arouses | | | | | |
| A. Adults | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| B. Teenagers | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| 10. Degrades status of women in the eyes of | | | | | |
| A. Adults | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| B. Teenagers | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| 11. Encourages anti-religious behavior among | | | | | |
| A. Adults | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| B. Teenagers | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| 12. Encourages sexual misbehavior among | | | | | |
| A. Adults | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |
| B. Teenagers | Likely | Possible | Unlikely | Not Sure | |

CARD G

I was

interested

1. Very
2. Somewhat
3. Little
4. Not at all

CARD H

It is generally

1. Very enjoyable
2. Enjoyable
3. Neither enjoyable nor unenjoyable
4. Unpleasant
5. Very unpleasant

Exhibit three: The approved clarifications

Instructions: For definitions with synonyms, read the definition first. If the subject still does not understand, then read the synonyms one at a time, pausing to see if he understands.

- Erotic: Having to do with sex or sexual arousal.
- Heterosexual: Liking, loving, or having sexual relationships with someone of the opposite sex.
- Homosexual: Liking, loving, or having sexual relationships with someone of the same sex, like men with men and women with women. Queer. Homo. Fairy. Lesbian. Gay.
- Masturbation: For a man or woman to stimulate his/her own sex organs with their hand or some object. Self stimulation. Jack off. Jerk off. Beat off. Beat your meat.
- Promiscuous: A person who has sex with most anybody, not caring who they do it with.
- Prostitution: Engaging in sexual activities for money, like a woman who charges somebody who wants to have sexual intercourse with her.

Exhibit four: The interview answer sheet

Before interview begins

Place code number on tape cartridge, informed consent-form, and on answer sheet. Write name and code number on index card and place out of sight.

Background data

Date of Birth _____ Age _____
(Month Day Year)

Place of Birth _____
(City) (State)

Married _____ Single _____

Children _____

(Circle)

Divorced 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Separated 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Deserted 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Occupation _____

Years of school completed 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17+

Trade schools and other 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Degrees HS GED BA MA PHD MD THD LLB

1. A _____ minutes B _____ minutes C _____ minutes D _____ minutes

2. XXXX

3.	(Circle)	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Age	Word No.
(1)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(2)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(3)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(4)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(5)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(6)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(7)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(8)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(9)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(10)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(11)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(12)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(13)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(14)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____
(15)		N	R	S	O	_____	_____

(15b) Specification of act(s) (Be sure to include frequency with specification.)

_____ (Age) _____ (Word No.)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 4. | 1. No activity | 4. Intercourse with _____ |
| | 2. Touched or stroked own genitals | 5. Activity with animal _____ |
| | 3. Masturbated | 6. Other _____ |

Use
(record no. & specification if needed)

Felt Like
(no. & specification)

Prevented
(specify)

1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____	_____
11.	_____	_____	_____
12.	_____	_____	_____
13.	_____	_____	_____
14.	_____	_____	_____

15. _____

16. _____

5. _____

6. a. (Circle)

Yes

No

b. (Circle)

Yes

No

c. (Circle)

Browse

N R S O

Buy

N R S O

7. a. (Circle)

Yes

No

b. _____ years

c. \$ _____

8. a. (Circle)

Yes

No

b. (Circle)

Yes

No

9.

	(Circle)	<u>Likely</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unlikely</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
(1)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(2)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(3)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(4)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(5)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(6)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(7)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(8)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS

	(Circle)	<u>Likely</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unlikely</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
(9)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(10)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(11)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS
(12)	Adults	L	P	U	NS
	Teenagers	L	P	U	NS

(Circle)
 Yes 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
 No

10. (Circle)
 No
 Yes _____ T, A, B (Circle)
 (specify material and reason)

 _____ T, A, B
 (specify material and reason)

11. (Circle) _____
 Yes (specify material and reason)

No _____

12. _____

13. (Circle)
 Yes _____
 (elaboration)

No _____

14. (Circle)
 Yes _____
 No _____

15. 1 2 3 4

16. (Circle) more less same

17. (Circle)
 Yes
 No

18. _____
19. _____
20. (Circle) 1 2 3 4 5
21. _____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW ALTERATIONS

The following changes were used in the interview procedure for Baylor and Paul Quinn students only:

1. Page 1, delete sentence, "I don't work for the hospital/prison, I'm from Baylor University."
2. Page 1, change to "...part of your file here at the University or College."
3. Page 1, change "How far did you go in school?" to "What year are you in college?"
4. Page 2, No. 1, delete "...when you are out of the hospital/prison," change to "In general, about how much time do you spend each day:"
5. Page 2, No. 1b, add "...book, *other than required for a course.*"
6. Page 3, No. 6, change "In your community" to "In Waco or your home community"
7. Page 3, No. 8b change from "here in the hospital/prison/town?" to "around campus"
8. Page 4, No. 12, delete "why are you in the hospital/prison?". Insert, "Have you ever been held in a mental hospital, prison, juvenile detention home or similar place?"
9. Page 4, No. 13, add "If yes, *read. . .*". Change "Did Pornographic material have anything to do with it?" to "...with you being there?"

The following changes were used in the interview procedure for Waco men's clubs *only*:

1. Page 1, delete sentence, "I don't work for the hospital/prison, I'm from Baylor University."
2. Page 1, delete "It will not become a part of your file here at the hospital/prison, and will not be revealed to anyone you know. In fact,..." Begin next sentence, "It will be coded. . . ."
3. Page 2, No. 1, delete "...when you are out of the hospital/prison," change to "In general, about how much time do you spend each day:"
4. Page 3, No. 6a, delete "In your community. . ." Begin sentence, "Do you know of a store or bookshop" and insert "In town, where a person can buy. . ."
5. Page 4, No. 12, delete "Why are you in the hospital/prison?". Insert, "Have you ever been held in a mental hospital, prison, juvenile detention home or similar place?"
6. Page 4, No. 13, add "If yes, *read. . .*". Change "Did Pornographic material have anything to do with it?" to "...with you being there?"

APPENDIX C

SEX INK BLOTS

Exhibit one: Instructions

Present cards one at a time, make brief note of each response to each card.

- A. Now, I'm going to show you each of these cards one at a time. I want you to use your imagination and tell me what they look like and everything they might be. It's sort of a test of your imagination. Most people see several things in each of these.
- B. *Inquiry (given after all five cards have been presented)*. For any unusual response involving sex content show card again and ask:
 - (1) You saw _____ on this card. Can you tell me what seems to be going on?
 - (2) *(If appropriate)* Why?/What's behind all that, do you think?
 - (3) *Any probe that the interviewer feels will elicit useful information.*

Exhibit two: Description of the blots

- Number One: Black and white, outline is suggestive of two nondescript figures touching each other, phallic symbol protruding in the middle.
- Number Two: Black and white, outline is suggestive of nude male buttocks and penis.
- Number Three: Black and white, outline suggestive of a nude female reclining with legs spread. Two black spots resembling sperm are between the legs.
- Number Four: Color (green and red), outline suggestive of female genitals.
- Number Five: Color (green, red, and yellow), general outline suggestive of female genitals and breasts. Part of the card is suggestive of two figures in an embrace.

APPENDIX D

SEX THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Exhibit one: Instructions

- A. Next, I'm going to show you some pictures. You are to make up a story using the picture as a starting point. Tell me what is going on, what led up to it, how the people feel, and how it comes out.
- B. *Probes for fuller details in story (use as needed)*
What's going on?
How does _____ feel?
- C. *Inquire (after story is complete)*
How do you feel about this picture?

Exhibit two: Description of the pictures

- Number One: Color picture of attractive model in half slip holding a pair of panties which cover her breasts. Typical lingarie ad of the type that generally appears in a Montgomery Ward or Sears Catalog.
- Number Two: Color picture of a *Playboy*-type nude.
- Number Three: Color picture of a girlie magazine type nude with genitals exposed.
- Number Four: Color picture of a nude male and nude female. Female is performing fellatio on the male.
- Number Five: Black and white. Clothed male is whipping a partially nude female who is tied by the arms.

APPENDIX E

THE OBJECTIVE TEST

Circle true or false:

- | | | |
|--|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Most women like sex to be a violent act. | <i>True</i> | <i>False</i> |
| 2. A feeling of guilt follows most sexual intercourse. | <i>True</i> | <i>False</i> |
| 3. Sex is enjoyed more if it includes inflicting pain on the other person. | <i>True</i> | <i>False</i> |
| 4. Prostitution should be legalized. | <i>True</i> | <i>False</i> |
| 5. Most people do not get all of the sex that they need. | <i>True</i> | <i>False</i> |

Circle the letter beside the answer you choose:*

1. What does the size of the male sex organs indicate?
 - a. Whether the man will be a good sex partner.
 - b. Whether the man will enjoy sex relations.
 - c. How much the man has masturbated.
 - d. Amount of sex experience.
 - e. Nothing of importance to a satisfactory sex life.
2. How many times is it necessary for a woman to have sex relations for pregnancy to be possible?
 - a. Many times if she is not passionate.
 - b. Many times unless the man is very passionate.
 - c. Once.
 - d. Many times.
 - e. Once if she is very passionate.
3. How can one tell whether a woman has ever had sex relations?
 - a. By the way she places her feet when standing.
 - b. By the way she looks at men.
 - c. By whether she has an unbroken hymen.

*Key for the multiple-choice items: 1E; 2C; 3E; 4A; 5C.

- d. A physician can always tell by a physical examination.
 - e. There is no sure way.
4. Usually, when is a woman most likely to become pregnant?
- a. About two weeks before menstruation begins.
 - b. About three days before menstruation begins.
 - c. The day before menstruation begins.
 - d. During menstruation.
 - e. About three days after menstruation ends.
5. How curable is syphilis?
- a. All cases can be cured easily.
 - b. All cases can be cured but the cure is worse than the disease.
 - c. Most cases can be cured.
 - d. Only those cases discovered early can be cured.
 - e. It can be checked, but it is never certain that a cure is permanent.

Pornography and the Sex Offender

Patterns of Exposure and Immediate Arousal Effects of Pornographic Stimuli

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ABSTRACT

One hundred twenty-nine inmates (63 sex offenders, 66 criminal code offenders) in the Wisconsin State Prison were shown a series of 26 slides depicting sexual behavior, then interviewed about previous exposure to pornography. No differences were found between the two groups on the measure of rated sexual arousal to the slides. Numerous differences were found between the two groups in their past exposure to pornography. Sex offenders generally experienced less frequent and milder exposure to pornography than did the criminal code offenders.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between pornography and the committing of a sex crime has been an issue of interest to psychology and the law for many years. The meager amount of research conducted on the effects of pornography has not served to explicate the relationship to any substantial degree. The recent large scale survey-interview studies which have addressed themselves to this question (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, & Christenson, 1965; Thorne, 1966) have yielded some useful data, but contain negative results and used dubious procedures: Cairns (1968) has criticized both studies for their lack of procedural and statistical rigor. In addition to the partial inadequacy of these survey-interview studies, there have been no reports of laboratory studies designed to measure the immediate effects of pornographic material on the arousal level of sex offenders.

The present research was designed to identify differences in exposure patterns and arousal levels between sex offenders (individuals incarcerated for sex crimes) and criminal code offenders (individuals incarcerated for crimes unrelated to sexual behavior). Of special interest were questions concerning (a) the type and frequency of the sex offender's exposure to pornography during childhood, and (b) the role that pornography may have played as an immediate contributor to the committing of the offense.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 129 inmates from the Wisconsin State Prison. All subjects were volunteers who were told beforehand that their participation was voluntary and that their responses were confidential. Eighteen inmates refused to participate; they were rather evenly distributed across offense types.¹ Sixty-six subjects had been convicted of offenses unrelated to sexual behavior (Criminal Code or CC group); 63 were sex offenders (SO group).

The CC group was selected from a population of 850 inmates; the SO group was selected from a population of 114 inmates. Subjects in the CC group were representative of the 850 criminal code offenders, that is, they were evenly spread over the four major offense groups.

An initial attempt was made to match the two groups as nearly as possible on relevant background variables – education, race, economic status, intelligence, and so on. In reality, time pressures and the limits of the subject pool made any precise matching impossible. Nevertheless, Table 1 shows that the two samples do not appreciably differ on any of the important background variables.

In practice, the only restrictions placed on subject selection were that all subjects were to be functionally literate (as indicated by educational level and abilities scores in Table 1), and that only the most recently incarcerated inmates were chosen. This latter requirement resulted in the large majority of subjects in both samples having been incarcerated for less than three years. This requirement was imposed to keep the deprivation effects minimal.

Apparatus and materials

The stimulus materials were 26 color slides taken from four 10-minute films supplied by the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. Table 2 describes the thematic content of the slides. A Kodak 850 Carousel projector presented the slides on a screen located approximately seven feet away from the subject. The image size was kept constant at 22½" x 15½".

Data were collected in either one of two experimental rooms located in the Clinical Services area of the prison.

1. The most prominent reason for refusal was an unwillingness to cooperate with "the system," the institutional authorities. A few of the sex offenders felt the experiment might have a bearing on their chances for parole, despite the experimenter's strong assurance to the contrary.

Table 1

DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLES

Offense	Indecent liberties w/females	Indecent liberties w/males	Attempted rape	Specific offense						Sum
				Rape	Burglary	Homicide	Forgery	Robbery	No info.	
SO	21	16	10	16	-3	-6	-5	-5	0	63
CC					17	18	14	17	0	66

Offense	Education (school grade)									Sum
	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	12-13	14-16	No info.	
SO	0	1	1	17	17	9	1	1	16	63
CC	5	0	0	11	15	11	5	2	17	66

Offense	General abilities (Culture Fair Test)									Sum
	40-50	51-61	62-72	73-83	84-94	95-105	106-116	117-127	No info.	
SO	0	0	3	3	30	9	0	1	17	63
CC	1	0	2	5	21	8	6	2	20	65

Offense	Age									Sum
	17-23	24-30	31-37	38-44	45-51	52-58	59-65	66-72	No info.	
SO	17	22	9	12	1	2	0	0	0	63
CC	12	23	14	7	2	0	0	0	8	66

Offense	Race			Sum
	White	Negro	Others	
SO	57	5	1	63
CC	50	15	1	66

Procedure

The experimental session consisted of two major parts. During the first half of the session, the subject viewed pornographic slides and rated his level of sexual arousal to each slide. In the latter part of the session, the subject was interviewed about his experience with pornography prior to incarceration.

Design

Four kinds of measures were used: (a) a mood descriptor given to the subject before and after slide viewing; (b) subject's rating of his level of sexual arousal to

each slide; (c) subject's response to 22 questions about his experience with pornography; and (d) a questionnaire given to the subject the morning after participation in the experimental session. This questionnaire gathered information along emotional and behavioral dimensions pertaining to the effects of the slide-viewing experience. The mood descriptor data are not presented in this report. Many subjects had difficulty understanding the semantic differential format and much of the data appeared invalid.

With regard to the immediate arousal effects of the slides, the two variables of Offense type and Presentation order (Story-line or Random) were of major interest. In the Story-line presentation, the slides were arranged in a narrative sequence; in the Random presentation, the subject saw one of three randomized arrangements of the slides. These variables were arranged in a 2 x 8 factorial design to permit an independent-groups analysis of variance on the ratings data.

Pretests

A pretest was conducted using seven staff members of the American Institutes for Research in order to test the rating procedures and to provide a basis for reducing the number of slides from 49 to 26. A second pretest was conducted at the Wisconsin Correctional Institution at Fox Lake, Wisconsin for the purpose of testing and refining the experimental instruments and procedures. Four subjects (2 CC, 2 SO) participated in this pretest.

Experimental procedures

The subject reported to the Clinical Services area and was escorted to the experimental room by one of the two experimenters. He was told the following:

“The President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography has asked us, a private research institute, to do a study of reactions to pornography among inmates. We simply want to find out how people react to pornography — pictures of sexual behavior. You will look at some pornographic slides and make some judgments about them. We would like you to serve as a subject.

“Read over this consent form carefully and if you would like to participate, sign the form at the bottom.”

After filling out the mood descriptor, the subject was told that he would see a series of 26 slides which he should rate according to a six-point scale (1=neutral, not exciting; 2=slightly exciting; 3=moderately exciting; 4=very exciting; 5=highly exciting; 6=extremely exciting). It was emphasized that he was to rate the slides according to *his* level of arousal, not as he thought someone else might rate them. The subject was shown five preview slides to establish a frame of reference, then was given a pad with a separate page for each slide rating. The experimenter set the projector so that each slide would be presented automatically for 15 seconds. He then left the room while the subject viewed and rated the slides. The experimenter returned after the last slide was presented, gave the subject another mood descriptor to fill out, then began the exposure interview.

RESULTS

Arousal effects

Mean ratings of individual slides for all subjects are displayed according to rank in Table 2. In terms of thematic content, most highly rated were those slides showing intercourse in which the female is over the male. Next are the nude petting scenes, followed by cunnilingus, then fellatio slides. Slides ranked 12 through 16 show a miscellaneous mixture of behaviors. Toward the bottom of the ranking are the partially clothed petting and undressing scenes.

Separate mean rankings for SOs and CCs revealed them to be nearly identical. Table 3 displays the means and standard deviations of arousal ratings, categorized according to Presentation and Offense. Differences between means as a function of presentation are very small. An analysis of variance revealed no significant effect of either Presentation ($F(1,113) = 0.15$) or Offense ($F(7,113) = 1.396$). The Presentation x Offense interaction was also nonsignificant ($F(7,113) = 0.77$). The overwhelming impression is one of similarity between arousal ratings of SOs and CCs, rather than differences.

Experience data

Subjects were asked 22 questions concerning their experience with pornography during childhood (adolescence and pre-adolescence) and during the year

Table 2

MEAN RATINGS OF SLIDES

Content	Mean rating
1. Intercourse, ventral-ventral, F over M	3.26
2. Intercourse, ventral-dorsal, F over M	3.23
3. Nude petting, M hand on F genitals	3.14
4. Nude petting, M hand on F genitals, kissing breast	3.04
5. Intercourse, ventral-dorsal, F over M	3.02
6. F masturbating	3.01
7. M approaching cunnilingus	2.90
8. Cunnilingus	2.89
9. Cunnilingus	2.86
10. M and F in underclothes, hands on genitals	2.86
11. Fellatio, M over F	2.85
12. Fellatio, F over M	2.84
13. Intercourse, ventral-dorsal, each on side	2.83
14. M over F, genitals on breasts	2.75
15. Intercourse, M over F, ventral-ventral	2.73
16. Fellatio, M over F	2.65
17. Nude F reclined on back	2.61
18. Petting, partially clothed, F hand on M genitals	2.60
19. F partially clothed, undressing M	2.37
20. F partially clothed, undressing M	2.19
21. F and M undressing each other	2.13
22. F and M with blanket over them	1.83
23. F and M dressed, about to kiss	1.66
24. F and M dressed, about to kiss	1.47
25. Nude M	1.29
26. Fully clothed couple	1.12

Table 3

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF AROUSAL RATINGS

Offense	Presentation		
	Story	Random	
Indecent liberties with females	Mean	2.32	2.06
	SD	1.28	1.53
Indecent liberties with males	Mean	2.62	2.54
	SD	1.59	1.52
Attempted rape	Mean	3.28	2.91
	SD	1.51	1.43
Rape	Mean	3.08	2.75
	SD	1.57	1.63
Burglary	Mean	2.64	2.49
	SD	1.60	1.63
Homicide	Mean	2.52	2.78
	SD	1.68	1.54
Forgery	Mean	2.49	1.93
	SD	1.52	1.20
Robbery	Mean	2.03	2.88
	SD	1.33	1.76

just prior to incarceration. (Interview questions are presented in the Appendix.) The interview responses were content analyzed and coded.

Contingency tables of coded responses indicating how many subjects answered the questions in a particular way are displayed in Tables 4-11.

Most of the data were analyzed by chi-square. With 2 x 2 contingency tables with N above 40, Yates' Correction for Continuity was used. Fisher's Exact Test was used on 2 x 2 tables with $N < 20$. Most of the data are simple counts of particular responses. The one exception was the use of a combined severity/frequency score. The severity/frequency score was derived by first assigning ratings according to the severity of the material. A rating of 1 was assigned if the subject had viewed no pornography. A 2 was given for exposure to live entertainment (burlesque girls, go-go dancers), erotic novels, semierotic movies shown in regular theaters, and magazines displaying seminude males or females (such as *Playboy*). A rating of 3 indicated exposure to hard-core pornography: photographs, drawings or films ("stag" films, "smokers") depicting explicit sex acts. The subject's severity/frequency score was obtained by adding up his ratings. Therefore, if a subject had seen a stag film, seen go-go dancers, and read *Playboy*, his severity/frequency score would be 7.

Chi-square analyses showed no significant differences between SOs and CCs in experience with pornography just before imprisonment (Table 4), although there was a tendency for SOs to have less exposure.

As can be seen from Table 5, there were significant differences between SOs and CCs with regard to type of exposure during pre-adolescence (6-10 years).

These differences carried through to adolescence: SOs experienced pornography less frequently and in milder forms than CCs (Table 6). When subjects were asked specifically how often they were exposed to pornography during childhood (Table 7), significant differences again occurred between SOs and CCs.

The data displayed in Table 8 are of more value for their descriptive nature than for the differences between the two groups. While there were no differences between SOs and CCs in terms of whether they learned anything about sex from pornography, it is interesting that 49 of the subjects felt they did learn something about sex. However, 19 of the SOs said that they learned information that was misleading.

Table 9 shows that most subjects in both groups did not feel that they would have been better off sexually if they had been exposed to more pornography

Table 4

EXPERIENCE WITH PORNOGRAPHY DURING YEAR BEFORE IMPRISONMENT

Type of experience	Offense	
	SO	CC
No hard-core pornography	40	36
Hard-core pornography	23	30
		N.S.
Severity/frequency	Offense	
	SO	CC
No pornography	10	6
Infrequent or mild pornography (erotic novels, magazines, regular movies)	16	11
Hard-core or several types of mild pornography	19	29
		N.S.

Table 5

EXPERIENCE WITH PORNOGRAPHY DURING PRE-ADOLESCENCE

Type	Offense	
	SO	CC
None	43	31
Occasional magazines	6	10
Hard-core pornography	11	22
	$\chi^2 = 6.54, p < .05.$	

Table 6

EXPERIENCE WITH PORNOGRAPHY DURING ADOLESCENCE

Severity/frequency	Offense	
	SO	CC
Infrequent or mild pornography	21	10
Frequent or hard-core pornography	33	46

$\chi^2 = 4.74, p < .05.$

Exposure to Hard-Core Pornography	Offense	
	SO	CC
No hard-core pornography in adolescence	20	10
Hard-core pornography in adolescence	35	47

$\chi^2 = 4.14, p < .05.$

Frequency	Offense	
	SO	CC
Pornography rare or non-existent in adolescence	24	9
Pornography experienced occasionally, often or very often in adolescence	20	27

$\chi^2 = 5.96, p < .02.$

Table 7

FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY DURING PRE-ADOLESCENCE AND ADOLESCENCE

Frequency per year	Offense	
	SO	CC
0 - 1	30	13
2 - 5	10	17
12 - 18	6	8
20 - 50	15	25

$\chi^2 = 11.92, p < .05.$

Table 8

EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION OF PORNOGRAPHY

Learned about sex from pornography	Offense	
	SO	CC
Yes	20	29
No	31	29
		N.S.
Sexual information from pornography misleading	Offense	
	SO	CC
Yes	19	14
No	36	51
		N.S.

Table 9

ADJUSTMENT FUNCTION OF PORNOGRAPHY

Think more pornography would have helped sexually	Offense	
	SO	CC
Yes	13	8
No	31	44
		N.S.
Other responses	Offense	
	SO	CC
Had plenty available	1	6
Prefer some sex education	11	2

Fisher's exact test: $p < .02$.

during their youth. But the additional responses to this question show that some of the CCs said that they "had plenty available" as youngsters while SOs more often said they would have preferred "some sex education." These differences were significant when analyzed by Fisher's Exact Test.

Table 10 indicates that both SOs and CCs viewed pornography mainly for curiosity/knowledge and for its arousing effects. The second set of data show that CCs more typically engaged in social sex (sexual relations) after viewing pornography while SOs more frequently mentioned masturbation.

Most subjects claimed not to have viewed pornography during the 24 hours before committing the offense (Table 11).

In addition to responses to the specific interview questions, the experimenter often wrote down subjects' spontaneous comments about pornography. Six of the

Table 10

MOTIVATIONS FOR EXPERIENCING PORNOGRAPHY

Why read or look at pornography?	Offense	
	SO	CC
Education	4	1
Curiosity, interest	14	29
Stimulation, enjoyment, arousal	23	21
No fear of rejection	3	0
Conformity, "go along with the crowd"	6	6
		N.S.
Sexual behavior after viewing pornography	Offense	
	SO	CC
Masturbation	16	9
Sexual relations	6	11
Both masturbation and sexual relations	4	13

$$\chi^2 = 7.47, p < .05.$$

Table 11

IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF PORNOGRAPHY ON
CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Viewed pornography within 24 hours before offense	Offense	
	SO	CC
Yes	6	5
No	52	57
		N.S.

SOs made explicit, often repeated, comments to the effect that pornography is "dirty," "bad," "filthy"; only two CCs made such statements. Five of the SOs spontaneously made reference to the puritanical, sexually repressive home environment; only one CC mentioned this.

Follow-up questionnaire

The results of the next day follow-up questionnaire are displayed in Table 12. These results showed no differences between the two groups. The overall impression is that viewing the slides had relatively little impact on the subjects even though they were incarcerated and therefore had little opportunity for recent heterosocial or heterosexual experiences.

Table 12

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE FREQUENCIES

	Offense	
	SO	CC
How often subject thought about slides?		
Not at all	4	2
1-2 times	26	26
3-5 times	13	8
more than 8 times	8	11
How excited upon leaving experiment?		
Not at all	23	18
Only slightly	16	15
Moderately	9	9
Very, highly, or extremely	3	5
Feel disgusted upon leaving experiment		
Yes	6	7
No	44	40
Sexual fantasies after experiment		
Yes	6	14
No	44	40
Engage in sexual behavior afterward		
Yes	6	4
No	45	43

DISCUSSION

Arousal rating

The arousal ratings were characterized by a lack of difference between the two samples. These results could be attributed to similar, conservative attitudes toward pornography by both samples. A large majority of subjects in both samples came from a low socioeconomic class (as shown by prison records indicating occupation, income, and father's occupation). Kinsey (1948) first pointed to the strong influence of socioeconomic class on an individual's sexual attitudes and behaviors.

Recently Thorne and Haupt (1966) compared the sexual attitudes and behaviors of college students, medical students, counseling clients, homosexuals, rapists, murderers, and property crime felons. They found that property crime felons held more conservative sex attitudes and behaviors than college students, medical students, homosexuals, and counseling clients; and that rapists and murderers were "extremely conservative, repressed, unadjusted and conflictual" in their sexual attitudes and behaviors. These data are highly compatible with the results of the present study. There were indications from the experience data that SOs more often come from sexually repressive home environments than the CCs. Therefore, when placed beside the above studies, it is likely that the finding of highly similar responses of the two samples resulted in large measure from their common experience with sexually conservative home environments.

An alternative explanation for the similarity between the arousal ratings of the two samples is that the measurement technique was vulnerable to distortion effects; that it was difficult for individuals who are low in verbal skills to place a verbal label on such a complex, fluid state as arousal.

The rankings of the slides closely parallel rankings of highly similar slides by college students (Brady & Levitt, 1966). The college students rated intercourse scenes as most stimulating, then petting, then oral-genital contact. This ranking generally corresponds with the rankings by the two samples in the present study, although the college students were less centrally compressed in their ratings: the range of ratings for the 19 photographs (on a scale of 0-5) was from 0.04 up to 4.13 for the college students.

Experience with pornography

In contrast to the criminal code offender, the sex offender had less frequent exposure to pornography as he was growing up, and when he was exposed, it was usually to milder forms of pornography. With regard to immediate behavioral effects, the sex offender more often engaged in "nonsocial sex"—masturbation—than the other felons after viewing pornography. This finding is compatible with other evidence (Thorne & Haupt, 1966) of the inability of the sex offender to express his impulses in socially accepted ways.

The results also lend support to the importance of early sex education in the achievement of healthy sexual adjustment. Eleven of the sex offenders spontaneously remarked that they would have liked "some sex education."

Consequently, the contention that pre-adolescent and adolescent exposure to pornography contributes to later commitment of a sexual offense is simply not supported by this research. On the contrary, if there is a relationship between early exposure to pornography and the tendency to commit a sex crime, it would appear to be negative.

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APPENDIX

EXPOSURE INTERVIEW

1. Which magazines do you read regularly?
2. About how often did you go to the movies prior to your imprisonment?
3. How often did you go out and see live entertainment in theaters or in night-clubs or bars prior to your imprisonment?
4. Tell me what you saw or read within the year prior to your imprisonment in which nudity or sex acts were shown or described.
If no response to 4, ask 5.
5. Well, for example, tell me about any scenes that you saw in movies prior to your imprisonment, in which nudity and sexual acts were portrayed.
6. Often when kids are growing up, that is in their pre-adolescent period (anywhere between 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10), they come across materials in which nude people are shown or described. What did you come across?
If no response to 6, ask 7 and 8.
7. For example, did any kids or grownups ever show you a book, cartoons, or pictures of nude people?
8. Who showed it to you?
9. Where were you?
10. Who were you with?
Ask questions 6-10 for adolescence.
11. How often did you come across pornography as a child?
12. Did you feel that pornography helped you learn something about sex?
13. Do you think that you might have been better off sexually if you had had more pornography available to you as a youngster?
14. (if 13 is "yes"): In what way would it have helped you?

15. Was there anything you found out about sex that you later learned was not so?

16. (if 14 is "yes"): What was it?

17. Did you ever do anything of a sexual nature after seeing pornography?

18. Would you have liked to?

19. People read or look at pornography for a lot of reasons. Why would you say you read or look at pornography?

20. Did you read or look at any pornography before committing the offense you were convicted for?

If yes, ask 21-22.

21. Did it arouse you?

22. Did it encourage you to commit the offense?

Sex Offenders' Experience with Erotica

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INTRODUCTION

The belief that reading or viewing explicit sexual materials causes sexual behavior of a criminal or antisocial nature is widespread among the American public. A recent survey of American adults found that 47% of the males and 51% of the females believed "sexual materials lead people to commit rape" (Abelson, Cohen, Heaton, & Slider, 1971). Although research in this area is scarce, available studies suggest that the link between erotic material and sexual deviance may be quite different than anticipated. Gebhard and his colleagues (1965), for example, analyzed the sexual histories of 1,356 white male sex offenders, over 800 non-sex offenders, and a control group of over 400 nonoffender males from the general population. The study found that (a) exposure to erotic materials was almost universal among all three groups; (b) there were no statistically significant differences in exposure between the two offender groups and the control group; and (c) sex offenders generally reported no more, and sometimes less, arousal from such materials.

The present study attempted to examine more closely the experience with erotic materials of a relatively small sample of sex offenders, and to compare these experiences with an age-matched group of males drawn randomly from the general population.

PROCEDURE

The sex offender sample consisted of 47 white males convicted of sex crimes in Philadelphia and placed on probation. At the time of the study, the offenders were participating in group psychotherapy sessions (see Peters, Pedigo, Steg, & McKenna, 1968) which were part of a larger experimental program designed to evaluate the effectiveness of alternative treatment procedures. Utilization of random assignment techniques in treatment group composition rendered the

group of 47 offenders as representative of all offenders probationed by the Philadelphia Criminal Court.¹

The comparison sample of nonoffender adults was obtained from the data file of a recent national probability survey (Abelson et al., 1971) funded by the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. Only data for males aged 21 to 49 were utilized.

Description of the sex offender sample

The group of 47 offenders included four offense types. Eighteen were convicted of sexual assault (or rape), 12 for homosexual offenses, 10 for exhibitionist offenses, and seven for pedophile offenses. The age range was 21 to 50, with over half of the sample between 21 and 39. Twenty-two of these offenders were currently married, and 15 had never married. The mean IQ of the sample was 95, with a range of 70 to 120. Over half ($N=35$) of the sample had completed three or four years of high school, and four offenders reported some college experience. Eight offenders reported fewer than nine years of formal education.

RESULTS

The data reported here pertain to comparisons of sex offenders and non-offender adults with respect to early and recent experience with erotic material, responses to such material, and opinions about the effects of viewing or reading these materials.

Early experience with erotica

The data in Table 1 indicate that, like most adult males in the general population, sex offenders seldom reported having no experience with erotic material. By age 14, substantial proportions of both nonoffenders (40%) and sex offenders (44%, $N=21$) had already seen or read such material. The data also indicate, however, that proportionately more of the sex offenders (27%, $N=13$) did not initially encounter sexual material until after age 21. The corresponding percentages for nonoffender males was 6% (aged 21 to 29), 12% (30 to 39), and 13% (40 to 49). For all males in the general population, 21 to 60, 17% reported first exposure after age 21 (Abelson et al., 1971). The data in Table 1 suggest that although many sex offenders initially encountered erotic materials at ages comparable to those of the general population, some sex offenders reported comparatively later experience.

The sex offender sample appears to be generally similar to nonoffenders in the kinds of erotic materials and the types of erotic depictions which they have experienced. Table 2 shows that, like the nonoffender males, sex offenders are slightly more experienced with visual erotica (i.e., photographs, snapshots, cartoons, and motion pictures [but not "skinflicks" or "stag films"]) than with textual erotica (i.e., printed materials including books, magazines, paperback books, and typewritten stories). In terms of erotic depictions, the data indicate

1. Face-to-face interviews with the offenders were supervised by Dr. Peters.

that proportionately more of the sex offenders (48%, N=18) than the non-offenders (28% to 38%) reported experience with textual depictions of "sex activities which include whips, belts, or spankings." On the other hand, nonoffender adults, aged 21 to 29, reported more experience with visual depictions of "sexual activities between people of the same sex" (60%); textual depictions of "the sex organs of a man or a woman" (74%); and textual depictions of "a man and a woman having sexual intercourse" (82%) than did the offenders (51%, 60%, and 64% respectively). For all other depictions in both visual and textual media, however, the differences in reported experience between the groups are small.

Recent experience with erotica

Substantial proportions of both groups also reported experience with erotic material during the past two years. The data in Table 3 indicate that the proportions of both groups reporting experience with various depictions is

Table 1

AGE OF FIRST EXPERIENCE WITH EROTICA

Age	Sex offenders	Nonoffender adults		
	N = 47	(21-29) N = 251	(30-39) N = 203	(40-49) N = 198
Never seen	0	1%	3%	3%
12 or younger	21% (10)	34%	21%	26%
13-14	23% (11)	17%	15%	11%
15-17	17% (8)	24%	23%	25%
18-20	11% (5)	16%	23%	21%
21 and older	27% (13)	6%	12%	13%

Table 2

TOTAL EXPERIENCE WITH VISUAL AND TEXTUAL EROTICA *

Depiction	Sex offenders	Nonoffender adults		
	N = 47	(21-29) N = 251	(30-39) N = 203	(40-49) N = 198
Visual:				
sex organs	85% (40)	81%	80%	78%
oral sex	68% (32)	63%	56%	49%
intercourse	85% (40)	81%	75%	74%
same-sex	51% (24)	60%	49%	45%
whips, belts	28% (13)	35%	31%	26%
Textual:				
sex organs	60% (28)	74%	52%	54%
oral sex	49% (23)	55%	38%	41%
intercourse	64% (30)	82%	63%	63%
same-sex	43% (20)	49%	41%	45%
whips, belts	48% (18)	38%	28%	29%

* Multiple responses.

generally similar, except for textual depictions of “a man and a woman having sexual intercourse,” for which 49% of the offenders reported experience, compared with between 39% and 61% of the nonoffenders. The data indicate that the range of experience reported by nonoffender males aged 21 to 39 in all other cases encompasses the proportions of offenders reporting such experience. Other data (not shown) revealed that offender and nonoffender groups also did not differ with respect to the number of occasions upon which such materials were seen or read.

Certain other comparisons of these groups’ experiences did, however, reveal some differences. In regard to erotic media, the data indicate that proportionately more of the sex offenders reported “books” as a source of recent experience with both visual and textual material. The data in Table 4 show that nonoffenders more often than offenders reported “magazines” as the medium of recent experience for both visual and textual erotica. One other dimension of experience with erotic materials appears to differentiate offenders from nonoffenders. For both visual and textual erotica, sex offenders more often than nonoffenders reported same-sex friends as the source of the material. Among sex offenders, 60% (N=12) reported obtaining visual erotica from “friends,” as compared with 24% to 27% of the nonoffender group. Among sex offenders, 72% (N=18) reported “friends” as the source of textual erotica (compared with 44% to 56% of the nonoffender adults). Among both groups, however, “movies” was named as the principal source of visual erotica and “friends” as the most common source of textual erotica (data not shown). It should be noted that there were no differences between the groups in reported disposition of recently seen erotic material. About equal proportions of both groups (28% of the offenders and 26% of the nonoffenders) reported “showing” textual erotica to someone else. Among both groups, two-thirds of the respondents indicated that they did not show the material to anyone nor pass it along to others.

Table 3

RECENT EXPERIENCE* WITH VISUAL AND TEXTUAL EROTICA**

Depiction	Sex offenders	Nonoffender adults		
	N = 47	(21-29) N = 251	(30-39) N = 203	(40-49) N = 198
Visual:				
sex organs	49% (23)	62%	49%	41%
oral sex	42% (20)	44%	31%	15%
intercourse	57% (27)	65%	50%	42%
same-sex	38% (18)	48%	31%	15%
whips, belts	19% (9)	26%	18%	7%
Textual:				
sex organs	45% (21)	28%	30%	26%
oral sex	30% (14)	38%	23%	24%
intercourse	49% (23)	61%	39%	39%
same-sex	36% (17)	35%	25%	24%
whips, belts	26% (12)	24%	16%	13%

* “Recent” refers to past two years.

** Multiple responses.

Responses to erotic materials²

Both sex offenders and nonoffenders were asked (for both visual and textual erotica): "Think back to your reaction when you last saw (read) this. Were you mostly aroused sexually, disgusted, pleased or what?" The data in Table 5 indicate that in regard to visual erotica, proportionately more sex offenders reported "no effect" than did nonoffender adults, and nonoffenders were more

Table 4

MEDIUM SOURCE OF RECENT EXPERIENCE WITH EROTICA

Medium	Sex offenders*		Nonoffender adults**		
	N = 47		(21-29) N = 205	(30-39) N = 122	(40-49) N = 102
Visual:					
book	20%	(6)	12%	9%	9%
magazine	13%	(4)	27%	28%	36%
movie	53%	(16)	48%	39%	33%
still picture	3%	(1)	9%	14%	15%
Textual:					
book	84%	(21)	70%	66%	66%
magazine	12%	(3)	24%	22%	28%
typed sheets	—		2%	4%	3%

* Percentages based on N of 30 for visual and N of 25 for textual due to large nonresponse rate and "other-no answers."

** Partial table; Ns for textual are 169 (20-29), 98 (30-39), and 87 (40-49).

Table 5

REPORTED REACTION TO MOST RECENTLY EXPERIENCED EROTICA

Reaction	Sex offenders		Nonoffender adults**		
	N = 47*		(21-29) N = 205	(30-39) N = 122	(40-49) N = 102
Visual:					
aroused	7%	(2)	11%	6%	8%
disgusted	17%	(5)	25%	32%	40%
pleased	37%	(11)	15%	8%	10%
no effect	43%	(13)	26%	20%	29%
amused	—		8%	7%	15%
Textual:					
aroused	32%	(8)	18%	16%	19%
disgusted	15%	(4)	19%	22%	24%
pleased	32%	(8)	23%	13%	19%
no effect	36%	(9)	17%	19%	30%
amused	—		8%	6%	5%

* Among sex offenders 16 did not respond to questions about visual or textual erotica.

** Partial table; For textual, Ns are 169(20-29), 98 (30-39), and 87 (40-49).

2. The data in this section present troublesome problems for interpretation in light of the offenders' low response rate for both visual (36%) and textual (47%) materials.

likely to report "disgusted" than were the offenders. Reported reactions to textual erotica departed somewhat from the patterns described above. Proportionately more of the sex offenders (32%, $N=8$) reported "arousal" than non-offenders (16% to 19%). Sex offenders were more likely than nonoffenders to report either "aroused" or "pleased" for both visual erotica (offenders, 47%; nonoffenders, 14% to 26%) and textual erotica (offenders, 64%; nonoffenders, 29% to 41%).

Opinions about the effects of erotica

Almost all Americans have opinions about the effects of reading or viewing erotic materials, and these include both socially undesirable and socially desirable or neutral consequences (Abelson et al., 1971). The sample of sex offenders was asked whether they personally believed each of 12 "presumed effects" to be, or not to be, an effect of these materials. The data in Table 6 indicate that opinions about the effects of erotic materials were varied in both groups. A majority of each group believed that sexual materials "excite people sexually," "provide entertainment," "provide information," "improve sex relations of some married couples," and "make men want to do new things with their wives." In both groups, the presumed effect of "sexual materials make people sex crazy" received least endorsement of any of the 12 items. The data show that the groups differed greatly in regard to only two items: nonoffender males (aged 30 to 39) were much more likely to report agreement (49%) with the statement "sexual materials lead to a breakdown of morals" than were sex offenders (21%); and the offenders much more often (62%) endorsed the statement "sexual materials provide an outlet for bottled up impulses" than did the nonoffenders (34%). Other smaller differences remain (e.g., 44% of the nonoffenders and 32% of the offenders reported agreement with the "rape effect"), and, in general, sex offenders more often reported agreement with socially desirable, or neutral, effects than did the nonoffender group.

Respondents were also asked whether they had personally experienced the items they identified as effects or whether they knew someone who had experienced such effects. The data in Table 7 indicate that, compared to nonoffender adults aged 30 to 39, sex offenders were somewhat more likely to report that erotic materials had provided entertainment (44%) and information (42%), and had provided relief for sexual problems (13%). About equal proportions of offenders and nonoffenders reported personally experiencing sexual excitement in response to erotic materials, and felt they provided an "outlet for bottled-up impulses." Three percent of the nonoffenders reported personally experiencing moral breakdown, as did three of the sex offenders. One sex offender, a pedophile, reported that erotic materials led him to commit rape, although none of the offenders incarcerated for rape reported this event. Less than .5% of the nonoffenders reported becoming "sex crazy" after exposure to erotica, and none of the offenders reported personally experiencing this effect.

These data also show that in regard to "socially undesirable effects" (e.g., moral breakdown, rape, "sex crazy" and disrespect for women), both the offender and nonoffender groups more often attributed these effects to other persons, particularly unknown persons. That is, both groups believed that the

Table 6

PRESUMED EFFECTS OF EROTIC MATERIAL

Presumed effect	Has that effect:		
	Yes	No	Not sure No answer
Sexual material excite people sexually			
Sex offenders*	70% (34)	17% (8)	11% (5)
Nonoffenders**	77%	15%	8%
Sexual materials provide information about sex			
Sex offenders	72% (35)	21% (10)	4% (2)
Nonoffenders	59	33	7
Sexual materials provide entertainment			
Sex offenders	66% (31)	32% (15)	2% (1)
Nonoffenders	64	33	3
Sexual materials lead to a breakdown of morals			
Sex offenders	21% (10)	75% (35)	4% (2)
Nonoffenders	49	40	10
Sexual materials improve sex relations of some married couples			
Sex offenders	70% (33)	26% (12)	4% (2)
Nonoffenders	53	31	16
Sexual materials lead people to commit rape			
Sex offenders	32% (15)	62% (29)	6% (3)
Nonoffenders	44	38	18
Sexual materials make people bored with sexual materials			
Sex offenders	34% (16)	60% (2)	6% (3)
Nonoffenders	39	42	18
Sexual materials make men want to do new things with their wives			
Sex offenders	53% (25)	41% (19)	6% (3)
Nonoffenders	49	34	17
Sexual materials lead people to lose respect for women			
Sex offenders	30% (14)	64% (30)	6% (3)
Nonoffenders	33	54	14
Sexual materials make people sex crazy			
Sex offenders	15% (7)	72% (34)	13% (6)
Nonoffenders	27	63	10
Sexual materials provide an outlet for bottled up impulses			
Sex offenders	62% (24)	43% (20)	6% (3)
Nonoffenders	34	52	14
Sexual materials give relief to people who have sex problems			
Sex offenders	32% (15)	58% (27)	11% (5)
Nonoffenders	28	53	18

* Responses based on N of 47 sex offenders.

** Responses based on 203 males aged 30-39.

Table 7

WHO EXPERIENCES EFFECTS OF SEXUAL MATERIALS

Socially approved effects	% all men who say "yes, has effect"	Effect on respondent	On someone he knows personally	On no one he knows
Provide information about sex				
Sex offenders	35	42% (20)	32% (15)	13% (6)
Nonoffenders	59	33	13	16
Provide entertainment				
Sex offenders	66	44% (21)	23% (11)	11% (5)
Nonoffenders	64	36	19	14
Improve sex relations of some married couples				
Sex offenders	70	21% (10)	9% (4)	36% (17)
Nonoffenders	53	13	16	22
Provide an outlet for bottled up impulses				
Sex offenders	62	11% (5)	19% (9)	28% (13)
Nonoffenders	34	8	10	17
Give relief to people who have sex problems				
Sex offenders	32	13% (6)	11% (5)	17% (8)
Nonoffenders	28	3	10	14
"Effects" not clearly approved nor disapproved				
Excite people sexually				
Sex offenders	70	30% (14)	21% (10)	21% (10)
Nonoffenders	77	28	29	28
Make people bored with sexual materials				
Sex offenders	34	13% (6)	11% (5)	17% (8)
Nonoffenders	39	23	9	11
Make men want to do new things with their wives				
Sex offenders	53	21% (10)	17% (8)	17% (8)
Nonoffenders	49	13	14	21
Socially disapproved effects				
Lead to a breakdown of morals				
Sex offenders	21	6% (3)	4% (2)	21% (10)
Nonoffenders	49	3	14	29
Lead people to commit rape				
Sex offenders	32	2% (1)	6% (3)	29% (13)
Nonoffenders	44	—***	10	32
Lead people to lose respect for women				
Sex offenders	30	4% (2)	13% (6)	19% (9)
Nonoffenders	33	5	8	17
Make people sex crazy				
Sex offenders	15	—	4% (2)	19% (9)
Nonoffenders	27	—***	7	19

* Based on responses of 47 sex offenders

** Based on responses of 203 males, aged 30-39.

*** Less than 0.5%.

ill-effects of erotica happened not to them nor to anyone they knew, but simply happened.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The findings described in this brief report stem from an analysis with important limitations. Perhaps the most important of these is the size of the sex offender sample ($N=47$). As such, statistical tests were not performed, and particular findings were not interpreted as resolving the critical questions in this area. Rather, several patterns of experiential similarity have been noted, and it is these patterns, rather than specific findings, which might be emphasized. In general, these data show that the sex offenders examined did not differ substantially from nonoffender adult males of the same age group in the general population in regard to amount, frequency, or circumstances of experience with erotic materials. These data suggest that if sex offenders and nonoffenders differ in certain critical respects, apart from the application of "deviant" labeling, their experience with erotic material is not one of the differentiating factors. These findings seem generally consistent with data reported elsewhere in the literature (Cook & Fosen, 1971; Gebhard, 1953; Goldstein, Kant, Judd, Rice, & Green, 1971; and Walker, 1971).

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Exposure to Pornography, Character, and Sexual Deviance

A Retrospective Survey

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ABSTRACT

Relationships among indices of exposure to pornographic materials, age of exposure, moral character, and deviant sexual behavior were evaluated within a retrospective, cross-sectional design in which subjects were young men between the ages of 18 and 30 with a wide range of putative character and records of deviance. A modest relationship was found between exposure to pornography and low scores on the moral character indices, but this relationship was due almost entirely to those subjects exposed late (after age 17), and it seemed most plausible to attribute the relationship to those with low character scores voluntarily exposing themselves to pornographic materials. In the case of sexual deviance, positive relationships between amount of exposure to pornography and deviance were found for all age-of-exposure subgroups. While these data may be interpreted as supporting the hypothesis that exposure to pornography plays a role in the development of sexual deviance and in precocious heterosexual behavior, limitations of the research design do not permit a definite conclusion in favor of such an interpretation. It should be emphasized that these same data are also interpretable as supporting the hypothesis that persons who come to engage in sexually deviant behavior also tend to make use of pornography and to expose themselves voluntarily to it.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to evaluate critically hypotheses about the impact of exposure to pornography and erotically realistic materials upon moral character

and deviant sexual behavior. The impetus of research comes partly from public concern about the consequences of exposure to pornography and partly from general theoretical ideas about character development. A guiding feature of our approach has been to formulate the psychological bases of public concern in the most cogent and testable manner possible.

Conceptualization

Character. In this work we have been concerned with three aspects of character: (1) moral blindness; (2) quality of moral reasoning; and (3) defective interpersonal character such as that exhibited in exploitative and shallow interpersonal relationships. Two of these three aspects of character have been assessed by newly devised research instruments. A brief conceptual presentation of each is in order.

Behavior-guiding standards: Moral, prudential, and hedonic approaches to life. When a person faces a significant life choice, we take the selection of one alternative rather than another to indicate the general principles that guide his behavior. From a study of Western civilization and other cultures, it seems clear that four very basic and potentially conflicting points of view have coexisted in societies. Three of these—moral, prudential, and hedonic perspectives—were selected for assessment because they seemed likely to capture the orientations of most of the subjects in this study and because they were relevant to the impact of pornography. The moral perspective focuses on right versus wrong. Although specific emphases and criteria have varied by cultures and epochs, a significant feature of this perspective is that the impact of one's actions on others is considered; other people's interests are considered to be as relevant as one's own in making a decision or taking action. In the assessment procedure, dilemmas were created so that subjects had to choose between personal interest or pleasure and moral alternatives such as doing one's duty, being fair and impartial, and showing consideration for others' interests. The choice of a moral alternative was seen as an indication that the respondent saw the situation as one involving a moral decision and thus that he was *not morally blind*. It specifically was *not* assumed that making a moral choice in the dilemma indicated that the person *consistently* behaved morally or that matters of self-interest or personal gratification were unimportant to him.

The same strategy was followed for the prudential and hedonic standards. The basic idea of the prudential standard is self-interest, and while what is understood to be in one's self-interest has also varied from culture to culture and epoch to epoch, there are clearly cases in which it is not in one's interest to be moral or to maximize one's personal gratifications. The root idea of the hedonic standard is to have the most fun possible to do what turns one on, or the like, without serious regard for right or wrong or long-term self-interest.

Moral stage: Kohlberg's work on quality of moral reasoning. A person may make a "moral" choice but may defend that choice in nonmoral ways. He may, even when using moral reasons, use quite different moral principles in defending the choice. Kohlberg (1969) has devoted a significant part of his professional life to classifying the forms of moral reasoning and to charting their development. He distinguishes six stages of moral reasoning: (1) punishment and obedience orienta-

tion; (2) naive instrumental hedonism, (3) good-boy morality of maintaining good relations, approval of others; (4) authority maintaining morality; (5) morality of contract and of democratically accepted law; and (6) morality of individual principles of conscience.

One may argue that the first two stages (and perhaps the third) clearly do not consist of *moral* reasoning at all, for they involve the use of nonmoral principles (self-interest, power, gratification, threat of punishment, approval of others) as bases of judgment. It is for this reason that one would expect a positive relation between moral blindness (as indicated by not seeing dilemmas in moral terms) and operating at one of the lower stages of moral reasoning in Kohlberg's system.

Interpersonal character: The psychopathic syndrome. Because of the way that male-female relations are portrayed in pornographic writing and films (Kronhausen and Kronhausen, 1967), it is plausible that a person widely exposed to such materials is thereby exposed to examples of exploitative, shallow interpersonal relationships, and thus would come to view male-female relationships purely in terms of personal gratification and sexual release. Our research procedure follows from our conceptualization. Because the quality of one's interpersonal relationships is best known to those with whom one has such relationships, and those who can observe one's interaction with others, the criterion phenomenon is intrinsically interpersonal. In such a case it seemed wise to go to associates who were likely to know something about the subject's interpersonal behavior and hence be in a good position to judge his character. For this reason, each subject was asked to provide the name of one man and one woman who knew him well enough to respond to a personality report.

The personality report consisted of 48 items which contributed to nine subscales, three general character clusters, and one overall character rating. Details of scoring procedure for this instrument are presented in Appendix E.

Conceptually, the instrument is an elaboration of the notions of psychopathic and sociopathic character with a special attempt to distinguish persons merely alienated from conventional morality from those having no sense of right and wrong, and to distinguish those who were more exploitative toward women from those who were generally exploitative.

Exposure to pornography

Research on pornography. The work of Kronhausen and Kronhausen (1959, 1967) is the most directly relevant. They set out to content-analyze works of fiction with an apparent pornographic intent and to compare such works with content analyses of erotically realistic fiction that had some aims other than sexual arousal. Perhaps the best general summary of their findings is that pornography is characterized by an absence of the reality constraints that mark erotically realistic works of fiction. A summary of some typical themes of pornographic works will show why this is the case. A prominent theme is that of the seduction of someone who is in fact a willing collaborator. Another theme is that of rape or defloration in which the victim shows little concern for the pain involved and no resentment for having been used. Also prominent among the themes are portrayals of incest or parental encouragement and participation in sexual behavior. One might say that the primary aim is to create a state of

increasing sexual arousal in the reader by portraying sexual relations in which all standards are violated and in which the only psychological feelings involved are lust and a mindless sexual joy. In such work, there is an absence of any serious development of the other human emotions and feeling typical of such intimate relationships.

In contrast, erotically realistic work may be just as graphic in its description of sexual intercourse and deviance, but there is also some emphasis on the complexities of feelings involved (such as fear, guilt, ambivalence, disgust) and a concern with the characters as human beings rather than merely as sexual animals.

Reference to Kronhausens' research gives one some idea of why pornography could have a detrimental effect on character development. If a person's primary source of information about sexual relations depicts people who are sexually involved with each other as having no moral feelings or standards and no real emotional concerns, if it is devoid of any adequate psychological portrait of the sexual relationship, then it would hardly be surprising were such a person to grow up with defective moral judgment and sexual feelings.

The expectation stated is a straightforward example of the idea that we learn what we have an opportunity to observe. We would expect exposure to have negative results on character and behavior (1) the earlier the age of exposure, and (2) the more the person believes that it will affect him negatively. Exposure should have less impact where the family and peer examples and circumstances provide an alternative picture of human relationships.

Specific hypotheses

In general one would expect character to be a product of the kinds of examples and specific training that the person has received. Thus one would expect moral character to be poorer (for all three aspects) where the family and neighborhood conditions are most detrimental. Jessor, Graves, Hanson, and Jessor (1968) make specific hypotheses about general deviance which are also applicable to character: that the presence of deviant role models, the absence of sanctions against deviance, and poor access to valued goals contribute to poor character development. The neighborhood's contribution comes under the heading of access to illegitimate means and positive reinforcement for deviance. Peer group variables have a two-way relationship to character. The choice of friends and associates reflects character just as association tends to mold character. So the relationship between character and peer variables should be higher than between character and neighborhood or family variables.

Exposure to pornography. Two kinds of hypotheses about exposure seem equally plausible. One is that, because character is to a substantial degree formed by early adolescence, exposure to pornography is a voluntary matter that largely *reflects* the character one has. In this case exposure to pornography is simply a part of a generally deviant life style. The alternative hypothesis is that character, even though partly formed by this age period, is still open to influence by experience and that the content of pornography exercises a detrimental influence on it, particularly in the area of the quality of interpersonal relationship and moral reasoning. An elaboration of this hypothesis is that the detrimental impact of pornography is greater (1) the earlier the age at which it is seen, and (2) the more likely the person is to label himself as evil or bad for viewing it.

The hypothesis giving causal force to exposure implies that pornography has a greater impact among young persons who fear that its impact on them will be negative.

The hypothesis viewing character as a determinant of exposure suggests that the relationship ought to be the strongest for those whose age of exposure is older. The reasoning is that exposure can be taken as voluntary (and indicative of character) if it occurs after the person is old enough to be on his own, after approximately 17 or 18 years of age.

Sampling. A key part of the research strategy was to sample from groups that putatively should represent extremes on the character and deviance criteria and to get substantial representation from the three major ethnic groups in the Denver-Boulder area—white, Negro, and Hispano. Also, it was important to sample from naturally interacting groups so that participants would be likely to be well known to some other group members and to know some other people well. This would increase the validity of the character reports to be solicited on each participant. While the sampling strategy described above allows one to draw no conclusions about population parameters for area white, Negro or Hispano young men, it does allow one to examine *relationships* among predictors and criteria in each ethnic group.

METHOD

Subject samples

The subjects were 375 males from 11 different natural groups that represented seven different types of subject. Data from 365 were complete enough and free enough from inconsistencies to be analyzed.

The seven kinds of populations sampled were: Inmates of the Denver City and County Jail (both felons and misdemeanants); Mexican-American college students (from three different local campuses); Black college students (from two campuses); white fraternity members from a liberal fraternity on one campus; conservative Protestant students (members of the Campus Crusade for Christ) from two campuses; liberal Protestant students from one campus; and Roman Catholic seminarians studying for the priesthood.

All participants in the study were males, between 18 and 30 years old (with the mean age being 22.2 and the median age being 21.6). Of the 365 subjects with complete data, 73 were Negro, 172 were Anglo-Saxon and 120 were Mexican-American. Twenty-five percent had not completed high school, and only 58% had some college. Seventeen percent of the men in the sample were married. Fifty-five percent of the sample had been arrested one or more times, and 25% of the sample had been arrested several times.

Procedure

From each of the 11 natural groups volunteers were solicited for participation in the study. Each potential participant was presented with a brief description of what their participation would entail, and then were required to give their informed consent to participate. This description is quoted below.

Research Project: Informed Consent

I am aware that this research project involves questionnaires containing personal questions about family background, illegal activities, and my sexual behavior. I am also aware that participation in this study requires that I provide the names of a man and woman who know me well enough to rate my personality characteristics. I understand that all the information I give is completely confidential, and that the questionnaires will be anonymous.

I voluntarily agree to participate in this study, to complete the forms, and I understand I will be paid \$8.00 for completion of the questionnaire about myself, and \$2.00 for each rating I do of another person.

The questionnaires were administered to each of the natural groups separately. There were two questionnaires which each subject completed about himself: the Institute Research Questionnaire (Appendix A), and two dilemmas from Kohlberg's 10 moral reasoning dilemmas (Appendix B). Each subject was asked to complete a Respondent Questionnaire (Appendix C) about one of the other members of the group, and each subject also mailed a Respondent Questionnaire to a woman he knew, asking her to complete the questionnaire and return it to the research project in confidence.

In the jail sample great care was taken to ensure a high level of cooperation. Each night the research team was composed of at least one young Negro male and one young Mexican-American male who could relate easily to prisoners. Free cigarettes were provided, and prisoners were encouraged to ask questions about any words or questions not understood. It quickly became apparent that words like "premarital," "extramarital," "anal intercourse," and "gang bang" were unfamiliar to many of the prisoners. Thereafter we made general announcements about these words and explained them individually to each subject. Perhaps the key lesson is that the popular argot about sex and the middle-class technical language are worlds apart, making any standard item working almost impossible. Our procedure did seem to ensure a high level of understanding among the prisoners, and hence we have some confidence in the validity of their data.

Assessment procedures for major concepts

Exposure to pornography (PORNEX) and age of earliest exposure (PORAGE). An attempt was made to assess the level of exposure to pornographic materials so as to also assess the *medium* of exposure: (1) printed material; (2) pictures or cartoons; and (3) films. It was also of interest to systematically assess exposure to various *kinds* of pornographic material, regardless of the medium of transmission. Finally, an attempt was made to assess the frequency of: (1) *purchasing* pornographic materials; and (2) the *use* of pornographic material to stimulate oneself and/or one's sexual partner(s).

To assess all of the above aspects of exposure to pornography except the last (use of pornographic materials), a set of 28 items was prepared. These 28 items may be considered as seven sets of four items, with each of the seven sets dealing with one kind of pornographic material.

The selection of the seven kinds of pornographic material was greatly facilitated by the present authors' access to Dr. Morris E. Massey's classification

scheme, which he developed for the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography in connection with his study of the marketing of such material (Massey, 1971).

Massey's scheme classifies sex-oriented materials on two bases: (1) *Type*—type of partner(s) involved in a sex activity; and (2) *Class*—a ranking of the degree of exposure of the sex activity depicted. The scheme is thus a two-dimensional one. A brief presentation of its essential features is given in Figure 1, with IRQ variable numbers of the relevant 28 items entered in the appropriate cells.

As may be seen in Figure 1, the questionnaire items used to assess exposure to pornography relate predominantly to the most explicit class of pornography in Massey's scheme—the class of most exposure to sexual activity and sex organs. A range of sexual partners (types) is assessed by the items.

Construction of exposure to pornography measure (PORNOX). In order to arrive at an overall measure of exposure to pornography (regardless of medium of transmission or kind of material) the 28 items found in Figure 1 were first cast into four scales: (1) exposure to printed pornography; (2) exposure to pornographic pictures or cartoons; (3) exposure to pornographic movies; and (4)

Figure 1

THE MASSEY CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

	Class				
	Sex act with full exposure of all sex organs	Sex play, sex organs not in contact or sex act but no exposure of sex organs	All sex organs fully exposed and emphasized, but no sex activity	Nudity only, no sex activity	Breasts only exposed
Type	Normal partner	171-173 ^a	166-168	156-158	
		175 ^b	170	160	
		174 ^c	169	159	
	Homosexual	186-188			
		190			
		189			
	Groups	176-178			
		180			
		179			
	No partner	161-163			
165					
164					
Animals, mechanical devices, sadomasochism	181-183				
	185				
	184				

a. First three IRQ variable numbers indicate items in scales assessing exposure to: (1) printed matter; (2) picture or cartoons; and (3) movies, respectively.

b. Fourth IRQ variable number indicates item in scale assessing frequency of purchase of pornographic material.

c. Last IRQ variable number indicates item in scale assessing earliest age of exposure (PORAGE).

frequency of purchase of pornography. An additional five items (IRQ variables 191, 193, 194, 203, and 204) were also included in the scale measuring frequency of purchase. Actual scale items and scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D (18), (19), (20), and (21), respectively.

An additional four-item scale designed to assess the frequency of the use of pornography to stimulate oneself or one's sex partner(s) was constructed (IRQ variables 205, 206, 262, and 276). See Appendix D (22) for scoring.

The resulting five scales were combined into a single measure of exposure to pornography (PORNOX) by (1) converting each of the five scale distributions to standard score form; (2) averaging each subject's five values; and (3) adding a constant of 5.0 to each subject's score. The resulting PORNOX scale distribution had a mean of 5.0 and a standard deviation of 0.77.

A seven-item scale was designed to measure the earliest age of exposure (to the seven kinds of pornography). See Appendix D(23) for IRQ item numbers.

The interrelationships among these five components of the overall PORNOX measure and the measure of earliest age of exposure may be seen in Table 1. Table 1 also presents measures of internal consistency (homogeneity ratio and alpha) for each component, measures which are uniformly good. The seven-item measure of earliest age of exposure has also been included (PORAGE) in Table 1.

It may be seen from Table 1 that each component of overall exposure to pornography is internally quite consistent and highly correlated with the other four components, and when these five submeasures are combined into a single measure (PORNOX), that scale's resultant homogeneity ratio of 0.49 and alpha coefficient of 0.83 reflect this consistency and relatedness.

Also of note in Table 1 is the extremely high internal consistency of the measure of age of earliest exposure, reflected by an alpha coefficient of 0.91. For this reason, this overall value of age of earliest exposure will be used throughout this paper in all relevant analyses.

Relationships of overall exposure to pornography (PORNOX) and exposure to the component kinds of pornography. The interrelationships between exposure to

Table 1

FIVE COMPONENT MEASURES OF OVERALL EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY (PORNOX) AND MEASURE OF AGE OF EARLIEST EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY

Component measure	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(1) Printed pornography	1.00	0.78	0.60	-0.27	0.59	0.33
(2) Pictures, cartoons		1.00	0.69	-0.31	0.55	0.26
(3) Movies			1.00	-0.14	0.59	0.20
(4) Age of exposure (PORAGE)				1.00	-0.23	0.08
(5) Purchase of pornography					1.00	0.29
(6) Use of pornography						1.00
Scott's homogeneity ratio	0.46	0.43	0.42	0.60	0.39	0.32
Cronbach's alpha	0.85	0.84	0.82	0.91	0.87	0.59
Mean	2.12	2.04	1.73	14.95	1.52	1.98
Standard deviation	0.56	0.55	0.51	2.79	0.44	0.74
Sample sizes	365	365	365	309	365	365

each of the seven kinds of pornography and the measure of overall exposure to pornography (which included these seven kinds) are indicated in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that the PORNOX scale is extremely homogeneous, and that levels of exposure to the seven kinds of pornography are highly intercorrelated. For this reason, the overall measure of exposure to pornography (PORNOX) will be used throughout this paper.

While Table 2 shows that exposure to any kind of pornography is highly related to exposure to any other kind, examination of the row of means for the seven kinds also shows that subjects had been exposed to much more of some kinds (e.g. heterosexual acts) than other kinds (e.g. animal-human sex).

In sum, overall measures of exposure to pornography (PORNOX), and age of earliest exposure to pornography (PORAGE) were developed. Because of the extremely high intercorrelations among component submeasures (constructed along the lines of either (1) medium of transmission, or (2) content of pornography) only the measure of overall exposure (PORNOX) will be used in subsequent analyses. For similar reasons, the very highly consistent responses of the subjects on items relating to earliest of exposure (consistent regardless of the kind or content of the pornographic materials), only the overall measure (PORAGE) will be used in subsequent analyses.

Deviance in the home (DEVHOME). Scales designed to measure six conditions constituting or conducive to deviance in the home were developed. These six components are: (1) exposure to generally deviant models in the home; (2) exposure to sexually deviant models in the family; (3) absence of sanction networks within the family; (4) perceived quality of mother-father relationship; (5)

Table 2

INTERCORRELATIONS* AMONG CONTENT SPECIFIC MEASURES OF EXPOSURE AND OVERALL EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY (PORNOX)
(Part-whole correlations and internal statistics for these scales)

Measure of exposure	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
(1) Overall PORNOX ^a	1.00	0.82	0.64	0.79	0.81	0.82	0.53	0.67
(2) Nudes		1.00	0.45	0.71	0.65	0.64	0.36	0.46
(3) Masturbation			1.00	0.39	0.48	0.46	0.34	0.56
(4) Heterosexual acts				1.00	0.66	0.67	0.32	0.45
(5) Unusual sex behavior					1.00	0.80	0.46	0.45
(6) Group sex						1.00	0.47	0.46
(7) Animal-human sex							1.00	0.38
(8) Homosexuals								1.00
Homogeneity ratio	0.49	0.43	0.48	0.47	0.54	0.55	0.49	0.50
Alpha	0.83	0.71	0.78	0.78	0.82	0.83	0.78	0.79
Mean	5.00	1.87	1.43	2.44	1.95	1.84	1.29	1.54
Standard deviation	0.77	0.52	0.49	0.67	0.68	0.65	0.40	0.51
Sample size	365	365	365	365	364	363	364	365

a. All correlations of PORNOX with its subcomponents (first row of table) are on part-whole, non-independent joint events.

* All intercorrelations in table are significant beyond the .0005 level, two-tailed test.

perceived paternal warmth and fairness; and (6) perceived maternal warmth and fairness.

In the sections to follow, each of these six component measures of deviance in the home will be briefly discussed and measures of internal consistency will be presented for each.

(1) *Exposure to generally deviant models in the home.* A six-item scale was designed to assess the degree to which generally deviant (as opposed to sexually deviant) role models were present in the family during the time the person was growing up. These items cover (for the period of the person's youth) problem drinkers in the family, frequency of family squabbles, whether anyone in the family was in trouble of any kind, and whether the person perceived that his parents might condone delinquency or criminality. The actual scale items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(2) and to the appropriate IRQ variables referenced there. The value of Scott's homogeneity ratio for this scale was 0.21 and Cronbach's alpha for the scale was found to be 0.62.

(2) *Exposure to sexually deviant models in the home.* A five-item scale was designed to assess the degree to which sexually deviant role models were present in the family during the time the person was growing up. These items attempt to determine whether the person thought his parents or siblings were promiscuous or homosexual, and whether he felt his parents would condone his engaging in premarital intercourse. The actual scale items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(3) and to the appropriate IRQ variables referenced there. A Scott's homogeneity ratio value of 0.11 and a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.37 were obtained for this scale.

(3) *Absence of sanction networks in the family.* A 10-item scale was designed to assess the degree to which the family structure (during the period when the person was growing up) failed to provide controls on the person's deviant behavior and/or positive sanctions for nondeviant behavior. Included are items asking whether one or both of the parents were not in the home, whether parents monitored the person's dating, driving, and drinking, whether parents left the person without supervision, and other such questions. A number of these items were developed by Jessor et al. (1968). The actual scale items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(4) and to the appropriate IRQ variables referenced there. The obtained homogeneity ratio and alpha for this scale were 0.15 and 0.63, respectively.

(4) *Quality of mother-father relationship.* A two-item scale was designed to assess the person's perception of whether his parents had an affectionate, "good" relationship. The two items were IRQ variables 233 and 234. Scoring of these two items may be examined by referring to Appendix D(5). The obtained correlation between the two items was found to be 0.35, and the resultant alpha value was 0.52.

(5) *Perceived paternal warmth and fairness.* A three-item scale was designed to assess the person's perception of his father during the time the person was growing up—whether his father was seen as treating him fairly, whether they had a close relationship, and whether the father was seen as rejecting and critical. The actual three items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(6) and to the appropriate IRQ variables referenced there. Values for Scott's

homogeneity ratio of 0.43 and Cronbach's alpha of 0.69 were obtained for this three-item scale.

(6) *Perceived maternal warmth and fairness.* This scale corresponded in every respect to the scale described immediately above, except that this scale dealt with the person's perceptions of his mother. Actual items and scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(7) and to the IRQ variables referenced there. The homogeneity ratio for this scale was also found to be 0.43 and the alpha value was 0.69.

Construction of the DEVHOME measure. The measure of the construct of major interest—exposure to deviance or deviance-conducive conditions in the home (DEVHOME—was constructed by: (1) converting each of the distributions of the six scales just discussed to standard score form; (2) averaging each subject's six standardized scale values; and (3) adding a constant of 5.0 to each subject's average.

The obtained distribution of the DEVHOME variable had a mean of 5.00 and a standard deviation of 0.77. The homogeneity ratio of this six-“item” DEVHOME scale was 0.29 and the value of alpha for the scale was 0.71. The internal consistency of the DEVHOME scale may be examined in detail in Table 3, which presents the obtained intercorrelations among the DEVHOME component scales.

Deviance in the neighborhood and peer group (DEVPRESS). Scales designed to measure four conditions constituting or conducive to deviance in the neighborhood and peer group were developed. These four components of DEVPRESS are: (1) exposure to deviance in the neighborhood; (2) exposure to general deviance in the peer group; (3) exposure to heterosexual deviance in the peer group; and (4) exposure to homosexuality in the peer group.

(1) *Exposure to general deviance in the neighborhood.* A six-term scale was designed to assess the degree to which the person was exposed to delinquency and crime in his neighborhood during the time he was growing up. The scale items cover the person's perceptions of the frequency of aggravated assaults, police interrogation of neighborhood residents, number of neighbors who were in trouble with the law, neighborhood traffic in stolen goods, and presence of

Table 3

COMPONENT MEASURES OF DEVIANCE IN THE HOME (DEVHOME)

Component measure	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(1) Generally deviant models	1.00	0.38	0.44	-0.32	-0.26	-0.15
(2) Sexually deviant models		1.00	0.42	-0.23	-0.14	-0.16
(3) Absence of sanctions			1.00	-0.36	-0.26	-0.21
(4) Quality of mother-father relationship				1.00	0.41	0.22
(5) Paternal warmth					1.00	0.23
(6) Maternal warmth						1.00
Scott's homogeneity ratio	0.21	0.11	0.15	0.35	0.43	0.43
Cronbach's alpha	0.62	0.37	0.63	0.52	0.69	0.69
Mean	0.38	0.19	0.56	0.53	0.76	0.92
Standard deviation	0.28	0.20	0.24	0.41	0.33	0.22
Sample size	364	364	365	363	359	364

Note: For a sample size of 360, a correlation of .14 is significant at the .005 level, one-tailed test.

neighborhood gangs. The actual scale items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(8) and to the IRQ variables referenced there. The internal consistency of this measure of neighborhood deviance is indicated by a value of Scott's homogeneity ratio equal to 0.55 and a value of Cronbach's alpha equal to 0.88.

(2) *Exposure to general deviance in the peer group.* A 10-item scale was designed to assess the degree to which the person was exposed to delinquent or criminally deviant behavior in his peer group. These scale items include questions dealing with the degree to which friends were deviant, whether they encouraged the person to engage in deviant acts with them, possession of weapons in the peer group, whether peer friends had spent time in jail or reform school, and attitudes toward deviance in the peer group (during the time the person was growing up). The actual scale items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(9) and to the IRQ variables referenced there. The internal consistency of this 10-item scale is indicated by an obtained homogeneity ratio of 0.50 and alpha of 0.90.

(3) *Exposure to heterosexual deviance in the peer group.* An eight-item scale was designed to assess the degree to which the person was exposed to heterosexual deviance and deviant attitudes in his youth's peer group. This scale includes items covering the extent to which the norms of the peer group condoned heterosexual exploitation, whether the peer group members had encouraged the person to participate in gang rapes or to visit prostitutes, whether any of his peer friends had impregnated a girl to whom they were not married, and the extent to which pornographic materials were important in the peer group. The actual items in this scale and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(10) and to the IRQ variables specified there. The internal consistency of this eight-item scale as indicated by an obtained homogeneity ratio equal to 0.33 and an alpha value of 0.79.

(4) *Exposure to homosexuality in the peer group.* A six-item scale was designed to assess the degree to which the person was exposed to homosexuality in his peer group. The scale items cover overt peer group homosexuality, whether any of the person's friends were homosexual, and whether or not the person had frequented homosexual bars or other such places. The actual scale items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(11) and to the IRQ variables listed there. The internal consistency of this scale is indicated by the obtained value of Scott's homogeneity ratio and Cronbach's alpha of 0.35 and 0.74, respectively.

Construction of the DEVPRESS measure. The measure of the construction of major interest—exposure to deviance or deviance conducive conditions in the neighborhood or peer group—was constructed by: (1) converting each of the distributions of the five scales just described to standard score form; (2) averaging each subject's five standardized scale values; and (3) adding a constant of 5.0 to each subject's average.

The obtained distribution of the DEVPRESS variable had a mean of 5.00 and a standard deviation of 0.79. The homogeneity ratio of the five-“item” DEVPRESS scale was 0.49 and the obtained alpha coefficient was 0.80. The internal consistency of this DEVPRESS scale may be examined in detail in Table 4, which

Table 4

COMPONENT MEASURES OF EXPOSURE TO DEVIANCE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND PEER GROUP (DEV PRESS)

Component measure	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Neighborhood general deviance	1.00	0.84	0.64	0.23
(2) Peer group general deviance		1.00	0.70	0.30
(3) Peer group heterosexual deviance			1.00	0.30
(4) Peer group homosexuality				1.00
Scott's homogeneity ratio	0.55	0.50	0.33	0.35
Cronbach's alpha	0.88	0.90	0.79	0.74
Mean	1.84	2.10	1.64	1.34
Standard deviation	0.64	0.66	0.44	0.34
Sample size	362	365	362	365

Note: For a sample size of 360, a correlation of .14 is significant at the .005 level, one-tailed test.

presents the obtained intercorrelations among the DEV PRESS component measures.

Labeling self as deviant (BECKER scale). A five-item measure was designed to assess the degree to which subjects felt disgusted with themselves for looking at pornographic materials, whether they were worried they might like it too much, were disgusted or afraid it might make them sexually queer or abnormal, and whether they felt themselves to be "bad persons" for liking it. The actual scale items (IRQ variables 209, 210, 211, 212, and 216) and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(23).

This scale will be referred to as the BECKER scale, since it was Becker who in 1963 described (within the context of marijuana use) the relationship between labeling oneself as deviant and subsequent immersion in deviant practices. The internal consistency of this scale is indicated by the obtained homogeneity ratio of 0.40 and the alpha coefficient of 0.82.

Relationships among the predictor measures

Table 5 presents the intercorrelations among the five predictor measures which have been presented in the preceding sections; (1) exposure to pornography (PORNOX); (2) exposure to deviance in the home (DEVHOME); (3) exposure to deviance in the neighborhood and peer group (DEV PRESS); (4) labeling self as deviant (BECKER); and (5) age of earliest exposure to pornography (PORAGE).

Table 5 shows that the five predictor measures are related to one another and that the relationships among them are quite intelligible. For example, the first row of Table 5 shows that exposure to pornography is greatest for those who were exposed to deviant home, neighborhood, and peer group environments, that those exposed to greater amounts of pornography have less inclination to label themselves as deviant for looking at the pornography, and that those exposed to

Table 5

PREDICTOR MEASURES

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) PORNOX	1.00	0.21	0.43	-0.14	-0.23
(2) DEVHOME		1.00	0.56	-0.22	-0.30
(3) DEVPRESS			1.00	-0.30	-0.42
(4) BECKER				1.00	0.28
(5) PORAGE					1.00
Scott's homogeneity ratio	0.49	0.29	0.49	0.41	0.60
Cronbach's alpha	0.83	0.71	0.80	0.82	0.91
Mean	5.00	5.00	5.00	1.74	14.95
Standard deviation	0.77	0.64	0.79	0.50	2.70
Number of IRQ items	37	29	30	5	7
Sample size	365	365	365	360	309

Note: For a sample size of 360, a correlation of .14 is significant beyond the .005 level, one-tailed test. For a sample size of 309, a correlation of .15 is significant beyond the .005 level, one-tailed test.

greater amounts of pornography were typically first exposed to it at an earlier age than those who have seen less.

While these sorts of relationships are in the nature of empirical findings, Table 5 will not be discussed in any further detail. It is presented only to show the predictor-predictor relationships, and detailed discussion will await presentation of the predictor-criterion relationships implied in the hypotheses.

Character: Moral judgment and interpersonal relations. Four component measures were developed to assess four aspects of moral and interpersonal character. The four measures were designed to assess (1) moral blindness; (2) inclination to act upon a moral basis; (3) level of moral reasoning; and (4) quality of interpersonal character.

(1) *Moral blindness.* An eight-item scale was developed to assess the extent to which hypothetical dilemmas were seen as moral dilemmas having hedonic or prudential solutions. In the case of each dilemma, the subject was presented with two alternative solutions (representing moral versus prudential or moral versus hedonic courses of action) and the subject was forced to choose one alternative. The actual items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(29) and to the IRQ items listed there. The internal consistency of this measure of moral blindness is indicated by the obtained homogeneity ratio of 0.14 and alpha coefficient of 0.55.

(2) *Inclination to act on a moral basis.* An eight-item scale was developed to assess the degree to which subjects were inclined to behave within a moral framework. The dilemmas were the same as those used for moral blindness. Instead of choosing the solution to the dilemma, the subject was asked to rate how much he would want to exercise "moral" behavior from "very much" to "very little." The internal consistency of this measure is shown by the obtained values for Scott's homogeneity ratio and Cronbach's alpha of 0.20 and 0.66, respectively.

(3) *Level of moral reasoning.* To assess the level of moral reasoning, two of Kohlberg's moral dilemmas were used. One of these involved a 14-year-old boy

who had to decide whether or not to give his father \$40.00 even though he had been promised that he could spend the money on summer camp. The other story involved two men, one who stole \$500.00 and one who cheated an old man by borrowing \$500.00 with no intention of returning it. These two dilemmas can be examined by referring to Appendix B. In both of these the subject must make a judgment on the proper behavior, and, most important, the subject must provide reasons as to why whatever is suggested is the proper course.

Because we were adapting two of Kohlberg's dilemmas from an interview procedure, special care was taken to ensure a high level of cooperation and to obtain scorable responses. The two Kohlberg dilemmas were the very first items in the assessment procedure and each participant's answers were read by a member of the research staff after he had completed the two dilemmas. In the case of blanks or clearly unscorable responses, participants were encouraged to try to answer the question or were given an alternative question which was concerned with the same issue. Such questions were infrequently given and were written on the questionnaire of each respondent. In general, only the prisoner samples required any substantial prodding, and even there, considerably less than 30% of the respondents failed to provide scorable responses to any single question on their first try.

From these responses the level of moral reasoning of each subject was scored into one of the six stages which Kohlberg (1969) had developed. Two judges independently scored each dilemma for a subject and then gave an overall score. The two judges then arrived at consensus scores for each of the dilemmas and for the overall score. The interjudge reliabilities were all good, and these are presented in Table 6.

The basic characteristics of the levels are as follows:

Stage one: Obedience and punishment orientation.

Stage two: Naively egoistic orientation, need satisfaction, naive egalitarianism.

Stage three: Good-boy orientation, oriented to approval and pleasing and helping others.

Stage four: Authority and social order maintaining, doing "duty" and showing respect to authority.

Stage five: Contractual legalistic orientation. Social contract based on universal starting point. Majority rule.

Stage six: Conscience or principle orientation.

The first two stages are considered to be preconventional, the next two conventional and the last two humanistic or postconventional morality. For this study the sixth stage was scored with the fifth stage because of the scarcity of stage six responses.

The obtained response frequencies for each of the levels are presented in Table 7.

Interpersonal character: Peer rating assessment. Character, like "mental health," is a difficult concept to specify positively (other than in some trivial "absence of pathology" way). A specification of major ways in which character can be deficient is far less controversial (and, for our purposes, more fruitful) than a positive formulation of "good character." Thus, our Respondent Questionnaire

Table 6

INTRACLASS CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT RATINGS
OF OVERALL KOHLBERG MORAL REASONING LEVEL

Rater	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(1)	1.0	.41 (25) ^b	.65 (68)	—	.80 (15)	—
(2)		1.0	.51 (46)	—	.76 (16)	.53 (29)
(3)			1.0	.81 (15)	.73 (15)	.82 (25)
(4)				1.0	.92 (31)	—
(5)					1.0	.84 (49)
(6)						1.0
Consensus ^a	.74 (122)	.77 (116)	.88 (168)	.97 (46)	.90 (126)	.81 (117)

Note: Correlations based on fewer than 15 ratings have been omitted from the table and are indicated by —.

a. Correlations in the last row of the table are part-whole correlations, based on nonindependent joint events.

b. The number in parentheses below the intraclass correlation refers to the number of cases on which the correlation was based.

Table 7

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CONSENSUS SCORES ON
KOHLBERG LEVEL OF MORAL REASONING

Level	Camp		Cheating		Overall	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No data	5	1.37	5	1.37	6	1.64
1	18	5.00	49	13.61	31	8.64
2	118	32.78	81	22.50	106	29.53
3	53	14.72	111	30.83	86	23.96
4	75	20.83	63	17.50	66	18.38
5	96	26.67	56	15.56	70	19.50

was designed to report whether a subject's character was deficient in any of the ways we know of that character can be deficient. The questionnaire was filled out by two respondents, one male and one female, who knew the subject. It consisted of 48 statements describing a "type of person." The respondents were instructed to rate, on an eight-point Likert-type scale, to what extent the subject "is the

kind of person" described by the statement. A detailed description of the instrument and the scoring procedure will be found in Appendices C and E.

During the testing session, each subject was asked to give a Respondent Questionnaire labeled with his subject number to a male in the testing group who knew him. Each subject was also requested to address a stamped envelope to a woman who knew him well, enclosing in the envelope a packet containing a letter (signed by the subject) requesting the respondent's cooperation, a Respondent Questionnaire labeled with his subject number, and a stamped self-addressed envelope for return of the questionnaire. Subjects were invited to seal the envelope themselves, to promote their conviction in the anonymity of the procedure. Out of the 360 subjects there were 248 for whom we had both male and female Respondent Questionnaires—a return rate of 68.8%. Table 8 summarizes the frequency of overall character scores derived from the questionnaires.

Construction of the overall measure of moral and interpersonal character (MORCHAR). A single measure of the major variable of interest—overall level of moral and interpersonal character (MORCHAR)—was constructed by combining the four component measures described immediately above. The method of combination was as follows: (1) each of the distributions of the four component measures was transformed to standard normal form; (2) each subject's four transformed scores were averaged; and (3) a constant of 5.0 was added to each subject's average.

The resultant MORCHAR measure had a mean of 5.00 and a standard deviation of 0.68. The internal consistency of this measure is indicated by the obtained values of 0.28 for Scott's homogeneity ratio and 0.61 for Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The internal consistency of this MORCHAR measure may be examined in more detail in Table 9, which presents intercorrelations among its four component measures.

Table 8

SUMMARY OF FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF OBTAINED
OVERALL INTERPERSONAL CHARACTER SCORES

Character score	Number	Percent	Cumulative percent
0	123	34.7	34.7
1	65	18.3	53.0
2	38	10.7	63.7
3	32	9.0	72.7
4	28	7.9	80.6
5	16	4.5	85.1
6	18	5.1	90.2
7	8	2.3	92.5
8	10	2.8	95.3
9	5	1.4	96.7
10 and over	12	3.3	100.0

Note: The higher the score, the more serious the character defects reported by the respondents.

Table 9 shows that the four components of the overall moral and interpersonal character measure are all interrelated, and that each is, itself, internally consistent.

General deviance (NYEDEV). A 15-item scale was constructed to assess level of personal deviance. This scale will be referred to as the NYEDEV scale, after F. Ivan Nye who, with James Short, developed the Nye-Short Self-report scale of delinquent behavior (see Nye & Short, 1957, and reviews of this and other self-report instruments in Hardt & Bodine, 1965).

The present 15-item scale includes 10 of the 11 standard items in the Nye-Short scale, plus five additional items. The item in the original Nye-Short scale which was omitted from the present scale is one dealing with sexual deviance (sexual deviance is treated here as a distinct class of deviance). The actual scale items used and their scoring may be examined in Appendix D(24). The items deal with a wide range of general deviance, from skipping school to taking things of small value to medium value to large value, using force and guns to facilitate illegal acts, being arrested for a crime, and so on.

The internal consistency of this 15-item scale is indicated by its homogeneity ratio of 0.39 and the obtained alpha coefficient for the scale of 0.90.

Sexual deviance (SEXDEV). A 10-item scale was designed to assess the degree to which one has been involved in sexual deviance. For each of the following 10 deviant acts, the subjects were asked to indicate each that they had done (IRQ variables 280 through 288):

- (1) Watched a woman undress when she did not know you were watching.
- (2) Forced a young girl (12 or younger) to let you touch her sexual organs.
- (3) Forced a girl under 16 years of age to have sexual intercourse with you.
- (4) Forced a girl—16 or older—to have sexual intercourse with you.
- (5) Forced a man or boy have sexual intercourse with you.

Table 9

COMPONENT MEASURES OF OVERALL MORAL AND INTERPERSONAL CHARACTER (MORCHAR)

Component	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Moral blindness	1.0	.52	.27	-.22
(2) Moral inclination		1.0	.19	-.14
(3) Kohlberg moral level			1.0	-.30
(4) Interpersonal character				1.0
Scott's homogeneity ratio	.14	.20	na ^a	na ^a
Cronbach's alpha	.55	.66	na ^a	na ^a
Mean	0.72	5.01	3.11	2.52
Standard deviation	0.21	0.97	1.26	3.26
Sample size	364	364	359	356

Note: For a sample size of 350, a correlation of .14 is significant at the .005 level, one-tailed test.

a. Not applicable—see intraclass correlations dealing with interjudge reliability of Kohlberg scoring in Table 6 and discussion of interpersonal character scoring.

- (6) Dressed up as a woman.
- (7) Allowed other men to use you sexually for money.
- (8) Stolen articles of women's clothes to wear.
- (9) Exhibited your sex organ to women in public places.

Finally, the scale's 10th item asked if the subject had ever been arrested for a sexual offense.

Each of the 10 items was scored 1 if yes, and 0 if no (Appendix D(25) lists the IRQ variable numbers and resume of scoring).

The internal consistency of this scale was not high, its homogeneity ratio being 0.07 and the obtained alpha coefficient being 0.34. However, the use of the measure is based on a frequency of dichotomously scored items, and, as such, the mean over these 10 items may be used with confidence as a measure of the number of distinctly deviant acts the person has performed.

The combination of several items into a single scale when these items have low intercorrelations is sometimes a questionable procedure. But when the concept in question is one such as sexual deviance that clearly admits of a variety of uncorrelated manifestations, then such a procedure is fully justified and, indeed, represents the only way that relationships between such complex variables and other variables can be studied.

For the composite score of sexual deviance, the mean was 0.79 and no respondent acknowledged acts of deviance in more than three of the nine categories. The percentage distribution of overall scores was: no deviant act—43.7%; one type of act—37.5%; two types—15.1%; and three types—3.6%. In some of the analyses presented below, use has been made of a subset of the items 3, 4, and 7 above as an index of "serious" sexual deviance. The idea of "serious" here is primarily that of using force to obtain sexual gratification from another. The homogeneity ratio of this subscale was higher (.19), a fact that indicates that the use of force was a more homogeneous behavior pattern than the broad range of forms of deviance included in the full scale.

Drug deviance (DRUGDEV). Three component scales were constructed to assess three different aspects of drug use. These three scales were: (1) use of alcohol; (2) use of illicit drugs (marijuana, amphetamines, LSD, and narcotics); and (3) chronicity of illicit drug use.

(1) *Use of alcohol.* A five-item scale was designed to assess the frequency of alcohol use and the quantity used. These five items were developed by Jessor et al. (1968) in their tri-ethnic study of problem drinking. Exact items and scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(26) and to the appropriate IRQ items referenced there. The internal consistency of this five-item scale, which included items dealing with quantity of beer, wine, and liquor, is indicated by the obtained homogeneity ratio and alpha coefficient of 0.19 and 0.54, respectively.

(2) *Use of illicit drugs.* A five-item scale was constructed covering use of marijuana, amphetamines, LSD, narcotics, and frequency of the buying and selling of these. Exact items and their scoring may be examined in Appendix D(27) and to the IRQ items referenced there. The obtained internal consistency statistics for this five-item measure are a 0.53 homogeneity ratio and a 0.83 alpha coefficient.

(3) *Chronicity of illicit drug use.* A four-item scale was constructed which included items dealing with how long the subject had been using marijuana,

amphetamines, LSD, or narcotics (if the subject had used it more than once). Exact items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(28) and to the appropriate IRQ items listed there. The internal consistency of this scale is indicated by the obtained values of the homogeneity ratio and alpha coefficient of 0.67 and 0.89, respectively.

Construction of overall measure of drug deviance (DRUGDEV). A measure of the major variable of interest—drug deviance (DRUGDEV)—was constructed by: (1) transforming each of the distributions of the three component scales discussed above to standard score form; (2) averaging each subject's three transformed scores (for subjects who had not used drugs more than once, only the first two component scales were averaged); and (3) adding a constant of 0.5 to each subject's average.

The resultant measure of drug deviance (DRUGDEV) had a mean of 5.00 and a standard deviation of 0.78. The homogeneity and internal consistency of this measure may be examined in more detail in Table 10, which presents inter-correlations among its component measures.

Liberalism-conservatism of sexual attitudes and behavior (LIBSEXAB). Six scales were designed to measure six component aspects of one's overall location on the dimension of liberalism-conservatism of sexual attitudes and behavior. These six components were liberalism-conservatism of: (1) attitudes toward premarital sex; (2) premarital sexual behavior; (3) attitudes toward extramarital sex; (4) attitudes toward sex education and contraceptives; (5) attitudes toward homosexuality; and (6) nonstandard intercourse.

(1) *Liberalism-conservatism of attitudes toward premarital sex.* A five-item scale was designed to assess the degree to which one holds liberal or conservative attitudes toward premarital sex. The scale items cover attitudes toward premarital sex for men and women, whether or not one believes that premarital sex makes for a more stable marriage, and whether one would advise his brothers or sisters to engage in premarital sex. The actual scale items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(12) and to the IRQ variables referenced there. The internal consistency of this five-item measure is indicated by the obtained value for the homogeneity ratio of 0.49 and the alpha value of 0.83.

(2) *Liberalism-conservatism of premarital sexual behavior.* A three-item scale was designed to assess the liberalism-conservatism of premarital sexual

Table 10.

COMPONENT MEASURES OF DRUG DEVIANCE (DRUGDEV)

Component measure	(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) Alcohol use	1.00	0.24	0.26
(2) Illicit drug use		1.00	0.56
(3) Chronicity of use			1.00
Scott's homogeneity ratio	0.19	0.54	0.67
Cronbach's alpha	0.54	0.83	0.89
Mean	0.33	2.16	2.69
Standard deviation	0.28	1.29	0.94
Sample sizes	360	363	133

behavior. Included are items dealing with the nature of the relationship the person had with his first sexual intercourse partner, the number of partners with whom he has had sexual intercourse, and the number of partners with whom he had sexual intercourse in high school. Scoring of the three scale items (IRQ variables 240, 243, and 269) may be examined by referring to Appendix D(13). The internal consistency of this scale is evidenced by the obtained values for Scott's homogeneity ratio and Cronbach's alpha of 0.25 and 0.50, respectively.

(3) *Liberalism-conservatism of attitudes toward extramarital sexual behavior.* A two-item scale was designed to measure liberalism-conservatism of attitudes toward extramarital sexual behavior. The two items dealt with whether or not one personally thought extramarital sex would be all right (and under what conditions), and attitudes toward unions in which several couples share conjugal rights (IRQ variables 219 and 220, respectively). The scoring of these two items may be examined by referring to Appendix D(14). The internal consistency of this two-item scale is indicated by the correlation between the two items, equal to 0.46, and the resultant value of alpha, equal to 0.63.

(4) *Liberalism-conservatism of attitudes toward sex education and contraceptives.* A three-item scale was designed to assess the liberalism-conservatism of attitudes toward sex education and the availability of contraceptives. The scoring of the three items (IRQ variables 221, 222, and 224) may be examined by referring to Appendix D(15). The internal consistency of this scale is indicated by the obtained value of Scott's homogeneity ratio, equal to 0.14, and Cronbach's alpha coefficient, equal to 0.33.

(5) *Liberalism-conservatism of attitudes toward homosexuality.* A three-item scale was designed to assess liberalism-conservatism of attitudes toward homosexuality. The three items (IRQ variables 228, 229, and 230) deal with attitudes toward personally engaging in homosexual activities, whether one would remain friends with someone found to be homosexual, and whether homosexuality (even between consenting adults) should be punishable by law. Scoring of the three items may be examined by referring to Appendix D(16). The internal consistency of this scale is indicated by the values of the homogeneity and alpha of 0.01 and 0.04, respectively.

(6) *Nonstandard intercourse.* A four-item scale was designed to measure the extent to which one engages in liberal sexual behaviors. Items in this scale include questions about frequency of oral-genital, anal-genital, and group sex behaviors. The actual items and their scoring may be examined by referring to Appendix D(17) and to the IRQ items referenced there. The internal consistency of this four-item scale is indicated by its obtained homogeneity ratio of 0.32 and alpha coefficient of 0.62.

Construction of the LIBSEXAB measure. The measure of overall liberalism-conservatism of sexual attitudes and behaviors (LIBSEXAB) was constructed by (1) converting each of the distributions of the six measures presented above to standard score form; (2) averaging each subject's six standard values; and (3) adding a constant of 5.0 to each subject's average.

The obtained distribution of the LIBSEXAB variable had a mean of 5.0 and a standard deviation of 0.62. The value of Scott's homogeneity ratio for this six-"item" LIBSEXAB scale was 0.26 and the obtained value of the alpha coefficient

was 0.68. The internal consistency of the LIBSEXAB scale may be examined in more detail in Table 11, which presents the obtained intercorrelations among the LIBSEXAB component scales.

Relationships among the criterion measures

Table 12 presents the intercorrelations among the five criterion measures which have been presented in the preceding sections: (1) drug deviance (DRUGDEV); (2) liberalism-conservatism of sexual attitudes and behavior (LIBSEXAB); (3) sexual deviance (SEXDEV); (4) general deviance (NYEDEV); and (5) moral character (MORCHAR).

Table 11

COMPONENT MEASURES OF LIBERALISM-CONSERVATISM OF SEXUAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR (LIBSEXAB)

Component measure	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(1) Premarital attitudes	1.00	0.40	0.59	0.46	0.10	0.25
(2) Premarital behavior		1.00	0.32	0.21	-0.03	0.30
(3) Extramarital attitudes			1.00	0.38	0.08	0.24
(4) Sex education attitudes				1.00	0.05	0.23
(5) Homosexual attitudes					1.00	0.05
(6) Nonstandard intercourse						1.00
Scott's homogeneity ratio	0.49	0.25	0.46	0.14	0.01	0.32
Cronbach's alpha	0.83	0.50	0.63	0.33	0.04	0.62
Mean	0.61	0.58	0.49	0.49	0.48	0.20
Standard deviation	0.37	0.34	0.43	0.32	0.27	0.26
Sample size	363	349	364	364	362	359

Note: For a sample size of 360, a correlation of .14 is significant at the .005 level, one-tailed test.

Table 12

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CRITERION MEASURES

Criterion	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) DRUGDEV	1.00	0.50	0.29	0.61	-0.36
(2) LIBSEXAB		1.00	0.34	0.52	-0.38
(3) SEXDEV			1.00	0.43	-0.25
(4) NYEDEV				1.00	-0.54
(5) MORCHAR					1.00
Scott's homogeneity ratio	0.42	0.26	0.07	0.39	0.28
Cronbach's alpha	0.68	0.68	0.34	0.90	0.61
Mean	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Variance	0.78	0.62	1.00	1.00	0.68
Number of IRQ items	14	20	10	15	16 ^a
Sample size	365	365	362	365	365

Note: For a sample size of 360, a correlation of .14 is significant beyond the .005 level, one-tailed test.

a. The MORCHAR measure also received contribution from the Kohlberg consensus score and from 48 respondent questionnaire items.

Table 12 shows that the five criterion measures are all related to one another and that the relationships among them are quite intelligible and to be expected. For example, the last column of Table 12 shows that the lower the level of moral and interpersonal character, the greater the drug, sexual, and general deviance, and the more liberal the sexual attitudes and behavior.

While these sorts of relationships are in the nature of empirical findings, Table 12 will not be discussed in any further detail. It is presented only to show the criterion-criterion relationships, and detailed discussion will await presentation of the predictor-criterion relationships implied in the hypotheses.

RESULTS

First we shall present descriptive information about the distribution of predictor and criterion scores by sample source; then we shall turn to testing the major hypotheses with respect to character and sexual deviance.

Descriptive information

As stated in the introduction to this paper, an important sampling consideration in this study was to sample from groups having widely differing levels of deviance in their backgrounds. It is of interest, therefore, to briefly describe the way in which the (predictor) measures used in this study reflect these differences which certainly existed among our sample groups.

Presented below are results of one-way analyses of variance on each of the five major predictor measures used in this study. In each of these analyses of variance, the single factor had seven levels (corresponding to the seven sample groups) and the predictor measures were considered to be dependent variables.

Table 13 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effects of sample source on the measure of exposure to pornography (PORNOX), $F(6,358), p < .001$.

Table 13 shows that the liberal fraternity group and the jail prisoners showed greatest exposure to pornography, with the conservative Protestant group and the seminary students showing least exposure to pornography. The ordering of the groups is essentially what one would expect.

Table 13
MEASURE OF EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY (PORNOX)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	132	5.15	0.85
Mexican-American students	56	4.87	0.72
Negro students	46	5.02	0.71
Liberal fraternity	28	5.49	0.74
Liberal Protestants	27	5.03	0.66
Conservative Protestants	37	4.61	0.63
Seminary students	39	4.66	0.48

SD = Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 5.00, SD=0.77.

Table 14 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure to deviance in the home (DEVHOME), $F(6,358)=29.00, p<.001$.

Table 14 shows that the ordering of the groups on the DEVHOME measure is in line with expectations. The jail prisoners showed a level of exposure to deviance in the home which is significantly higher than the level for any other group, and, again, the three religious groups showed least exposure to home deviance.

Table 15 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure of neighborhood and peer group deviance (DEVPRESS), $F(6,358)=37.38, p<.001$.

Table 15 shows that the jail prisoners (heavily minority ethnic group) and the minority group students reported the most neighborhood and peer group deviance from middle-class standards, and the three religious groups reported the least deviance from middle-class standards in their neighborhood and peer groups.

Table 14

MEASURE OF EXPOSURE TO DEVIANCE IN THE HOME (DEVHOME)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	132	5.38	0.60
Mexican-American students	56	5.04	0.52
Negro students	46	5.16	0.51
Liberal fraternity	28	4.78	0.50
Liberal Protestants	27	4.47	0.34
Conservative Protestants	37	4.53	0.51
Seminary students	39	4.48	0.41

SD=Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 5.00, SD=0.64.

Table 15

MEASURE OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND PEER GROUP DEVIANCE (DEVPRESS)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	132	5.40	0.73
Mexican-American students	56	5.22	0.69
Negro students	46	5.41	0.71
Liberal fraternity	28	4.58	0.46
Liberal Protestants	27	4.35	0.48
Conservative Protestants	37	4.23	0.43
Seminary students	39	4.31	0.34

SD= Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 5.00, SD=0.79.

Table 16 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure of labeling oneself as deviant (BECKER), $F(6,353)=15.84, p<.001$.

Table 16 shows that the jail prisoners, Mexican-American students, Negro students, and the liberal fraternity group all scored low on this measure (they did not label themselves as deviant for watching or reading pornography). The three religious groups, however, showed above-average tendencies to label themselves as deviant, with the conservative Protestant group markedly elevated on this measure. This ordering is in line with what one would expect, especially in view of the fundamentalist conceptions inherent in the conservative Protestant ethos.

Table 17 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure of earliest age of exposure to pornography (PORAGE), $F(6,302)=12.28, p<.001$.

Table 17 shows that the mean ages of earliest exposure for the three religious groups are in the 16 to 17 year-old range, while the mean ages of earliest exposure for the other groups are in the 13 to 14 year-old range. This ordering of the sample groups is essentially in line with our expectations, and it reflects the ordering of the groups on deviance in their homes, neighborhoods, and peer groups.

Table 16

MEASURE OF LABELING SELF AS DEVIANT (BECKER)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	130	1.62	0.46
Mexican-American students	54	1.62	0.41
Negro students	45	1.60	0.42
Liberal fraternity	28	1.61	0.37
Liberal Protestants	27	1.75	0.37
Conservative Protestants	37	2.32	0.61
Seminary students	39	1.99	0.43

SD=Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 1.74, SD=0.50; high score indicates a high tendency to label one's self as deviant.

Table 17

MEASURE OF EARLIEST AGE OF EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY (PORAGE)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	110	14.23	2.49
Mexican-American students	47	14.82	2.91
Negro students	43	13.98	2.44
Liberal fraternity	28	13.78	2.39
Liberal Protestant	24	16.43	2.42
Conservative Protestant	30	16.85	2.54
Seminary students	27	17.48	2.32

SD=Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 14.95, SD=2.79.

Distribution of criterion measures by sample source. As stated in the introduction to this paper, an important sampling consideration in this study was to sample from groups having a wide range of putative levels of deviance. It is of interest, therefore, to briefly examine the way in which the (criterion) measures used in this study reflect the difference in deviance levels which certainly existed among our sample groups.

Presented below are results of one-way analyses of variance on each of the five major criterion measures used in this study. In each of these analyses of variance, the single factor had seven levels (corresponding to the seven sample groups).

Table 18 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure of drug deviance (DRUGDEV), $F(6,358) = 39.45, p < .001$.

Table 18 shows that the general ordering of the groups on the DRUGDEV measure is what one would expect, with jail prisoners and the liberal fraternity group showing the most drug deviance and the three religious groups manifesting the least drug deviance.

Table 19 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure of liberalism-conservatism of sexual attitudes and behavior (LIBSEXAB), $F(6,358) = 39.54, p < .001$.

Table 18

MEASURE OF DRUG DEVIANCE (DRUGDEV)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	132	5.54	0.79
Mexican-American students	56	4.80	0.54
Negro students	46	4.83	0.59
Liberal fraternity	28	5.35	0.54
Liberal Protestants	27	4.76	0.54
Conservative Protestants	37	4.18	0.21
Seminary students	39	4.34	0.32

SD=Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 5.00, SD=0.78.

Table 19

MEASURE OF LIBERALISM-CONSERVATISM OF SEXUAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR (LIBSEXAB)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	132	5.24	0.53
Mexican-American students	56	5.05	0.52
Negro students	46	5.23	0.46
Liberal fraternity	28	5.29	0.45
Liberal Protestant	27	4.99	0.58
Conservative Protestant	37	4.18	0.34
Seminary students	39	4.33	0.34

SD=Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 5.00, SD=0.62.

Table 19 shows that the jail sample and the liberal fraternity sample have the most liberal sexual attitudes and behavior, with the Mexican-American and Negro students also showing attitudes and behavior more liberal than the average for all our subjects. The three groups which have means below the overall mean (more conservative attitudes and behavior) are the three religious groups.

Table 20 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure of sexual deviance (SEXDEV), $F(6,355)=7.04$, $p<.001$.

Table 20 shows that the ordering of the groups on this measure is what one would expect. The only two groups with sexual deviance scores above the grand mean are the jail prisoners and the Negro students, and the three groups with the lowest sexual deviance mean scores are, again, the three religious groups.

Table 21 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure of general deviance (NYEDEV), $F(6,358)=42.51$, $p<.001$.

Table 21 shows that the NYEDEV measure appears to accurately reflect the putative deviance rates for these groups. The jail prisoner group has a mean deviance score which is significantly higher than that of any other group, and the Negro students are the only other group which scored above the grand mean. Again, the three religious groups are far below the other group on this measure of general deviance.

Table 20

MEASURE OF SEXUAL DEVIANCE (SEXDEV)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	131	5.38	1.16
Mexican-American students	55	4.82	0.77
Negro students	46	5.08	1.04
Liberal fraternity	28	4.90	0.91
Liberal Protestant	27	4.66	0.69
Conservative Protestant	37	4.65	0.74
Seminary students	38	4.50	0.59

SD=Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 5.00, SD=1.00.

Table 21

MEASURE OF GENERAL DEVIANCE (NYEDEV)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	132	5.78	0.91
Mexican-American students	56	4.81	0.64
Negro students	46	5.20	0.94
Liberal fraternity	28	4.68	0.49
Liberal Protestant	27	4.23	0.50
Conservative Protestant	37	3.99	0.43
Seminary students	39	4.12	0.34

SD=Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 5.00, SD=1.00.

Table 22 presents the means and standard deviations for the significant effect of sample source on the measure of moral and interpersonal character (MORCHAR), $F(6,358)=42.51, p<.001$.

Table 22 shows that the jail prisoners scored lowest (poorest character) on this measure of moral and interpersonal character, with the Negro student group the only other group scoring below the grand mean. Again, the three religious groups scored highest (best character) on this measure. The general ordering of the groups is what one would expect, and it essentially parallels the ordering on the measure of deviance and background.

HYPOTHESIS TESTS

Character as the focal variable

As we have seen from the descriptive material presented, we have in this sample a very wide range of experience with and exposure to pornography. Likewise, we have a very wide range of scores on the three major components of the total character score. This state of affairs provides a good situation for exploring the relations, if any, between character and exposure to pornography. Two equally plausible hypotheses suggest themselves: (1) that exposure to pornography has a detrimental effect on character and that this detrimental effect is greatest when the exposure occurs at an early age and when the person believes that watching or reading pornographic materials will have a detrimental effect; or (2) that exposure to pornography reflects the person's already formed character. In this case those persons having hedonistic as opposed to moral behavior-guiding standards, Kohlberg stages one and two kinds of moral reasoning, and generally shallow and exploitative interpersonal relations would be more likely to seek out pornographic materials. And in this case one would expect character scores and exposure to be negatively correlated and to be more strongly related among those persons whose exposure came at a later age (after they were free to buy and see what they pleased). A third possibility, to be dealt with below, is that both character and exposure to pornography are determined primarily by a third variable such as peer group association patterns and thus that any correlation between the first two variables reflects the impact of this third variable.

Table 22

MEASURE OF MORAL AND INTERPERSONAL CHARACTER (MORCHAR)

Sample group	N	Mean	SD
Jail prisoners	132	4.56	0.62
Mexican-American students	56	5.11	0.46
Negro students	46	4.63	0.68
Liberal fraternity	28	5.26	0.35
Liberal Protestants	27	5.57	0.34
Conservative Protestants	37	5.63	0.34
Seminary students	39	5.55	0.36

SD=Standard deviation.

Note: Grand mean over all subjects = 5.00, SD=0.68.

An additional issue must be dealt with before these hypotheses can be tested. In the case of a dependent variable such as character, where important determinants of the variable have already been identified, it becomes important to ask how much additional understanding of the phenomenon (character) is gained from a knowledge of the additional antecedents and, in a more mundane fashion, how much variance in the criterion is attributable to exposure to pornography independent of the quality of family and neighborhood-peer influences. This qualification suggests that we should examine the contribution of exposure to pornography after we have partialled out the contribution of deviant family (DEVHOME) and deviant neighborhood-peer influences (DEVPRESS). The difficulties in using multiple regression techniques to accomplish such a partialling out of factors have been well summarized by Darlington (1968) and by Brewer, Crano, and Campbell (1970). Thus while we have employed multiple regression, little interpretive weight has been given to beta weights.

First we shall look at the intercorrelations among the macroscales (DEVHOME, DEVPRESS, etc.) before looking at the multiple regression analysis by age of exposure and beliefs about pornography.

As can be seen, the negative relationship between exposure to pornography and character—implied by both hypotheses—was present and statistically significant, but the magnitude of the relationship was quite modest ($r=.142$). The other first-order correlations with character suggest that deviant families and deviant neighbor and peer groups have a very marked detrimental impact on character. The earlier the age at which a person has seen pornographic materials, the lower his character scores ($r=.28$); the more likely a person is to believe that exposure to pornography is detrimental, the higher his character scores ($r=.185$). In interpreting these last two correlations it is important to notice that an early age of exposure to pornography is strongly related to poor family and peer circumstances ($r=-.302$ and $-.423$, respectively). It may well be that an early age of exposure has no impact on character over and beyond that of a generally deviant background.

As can be seen in Table 23, the overall multiple regression gave substantial beta weights only to the DEVHOME ($-.317$) and DEVPRESS ($-.189$) variables. The beta weight for PORAGE was $.102$ while exposure and beliefs about exposure had negligible weights. At first glance, then, there is little reason to attribute any effect of sheer exposure to pornography, but some reason to examine the impact of pornography as a function of age of exposure; for age of exposure was related

Table 23

TOTAL CHARACTER AS PREDICTED BY FIVE VARIABLES IN THE TOTAL SAMPLE

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.213	.430	-.231	-.136	-.142	.035
(2) DEVHOME		.559	-.302	-.215	-.453	-.317
(3) DEVPRESS			-.423	-.304	-.405	-.189
(4) PORAGE				.281	.280	.102
(5) BECKER					.185	.035
(6) Character						

Note: All correlation coefficients are significant at $p < .01$.

Note: $R=.50$, $p < .001$, $F_{5,300}=20.016$.

to character even after the other variables' influences had been subtracted. The relationship is one of a later age of exposure being associated with higher character scores.

The next step was to examine the relationship among predictors in different age-of-exposure subgroups. For this analysis, those exposed at 13 years of age or earlier were treated as the early-age-of-exposure subgroup; those exposed at 14 to 16 years, as the intermediate-age-of-exposure subgroup; and those exposed at 17 or older, as the late-age-of-exposure subgroup. Tables 24, 25, and 26 present three separate multiple regressions. For those subjects exposed at the youngest ages (Table 24, only the quality of family life is predictive of character and the overall multiple r is quite modest ($r=.333$).

For the intermediate-age-of-exposure subjects (Table 25), quality of family life (DEVHOME) was still the strongest predictor, but in this case all four variables, including exposure to pornography, contributed to the prediction of character.

For those persons whose exposure came primarily at 17 or later, peer and neighborhood conditions have the largest beta weights (Table 26) and the exposure to pornography variable is negatively related to character. That is, those who see a great deal (but primarily after age 17) have lower character scores than those who do not expose themselves to pornography.

Three analyses provide no evidence for a detrimental effect of exposure to pornography on character. In the late-age-of-exposure subgroup, it looks as though those with low character scores seek out pornography and that this pattern is strongly associated ($r=.585$) with having highly deviant friends and neighbors.

Table 24

EARLY (YOUNGER THAN 14) EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY SUBGROUP (N=108)

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.076	.158	-.005	.031	.065
(2) DEVHOME		.421*	-.118	-.323*	-.302
(3) DEVPRESS			-.264*	-.179*	-.066
(4) BECKER				.037	-.015
(5) Character					

* $p < .05$, two-tailed.

Note: $R=.333$, $p < .05$, $F_{4,102}=3.183$.

Table 25

MIDDLE AGE (AGES 14 TO 16.9) OF EXPOSURE SUBGROUP (N=126)

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.146	.327*	-.102	.035	.154
(2) DEVHOME		.533*	-.270*	-.451*	-.348
(3) DEVPRESS			-.378*	-.353*	-.165
(4) BECKER				.282*	.141
(5) Character					

* $p < .05$, two-tailed.

Note: $R=.510$, $p < .001$, $F_{4,118}=10.37$.

Two more analyses need to be examined before these conclusions are accepted, within the limits of this study, as valid. First, we shall look more intensively at those subjects who believe that the reading or viewing of pornography has a detrimental implication for them—namely that they are evil, weak, or likely to be abnormal if they look at or read pornographic materials. Next we shall turn to a descriptive technique for expressing the interrelations among subscales of the macroscales to see how consistent this picture is with the conclusions that follow from the multiple regressions.

Fear of pornography's effects and character. In general, the fear of pornography's effects has not been a powerful predictor on character, but this variable is most appropriately treated as a moderator variable; for one might expect the detrimental impact of exposure to be greatest within that subgroup which believes most strongly in the potential danger of exposure to pornography. A multiple regression analysis modeled along the lines of the age-of-exposure analysis but using the BECKER scale as the criterion of subgroup membership revealed that exposure was negatively correlated with character ($r = -.315, p < .0005$) even though its beta weight was negligible ($-.050$) within the group of persons who feared the effects of exposure. No relationship existed within the nonfearful subject group. Nevertheless, it seemed wise to take those subjects who feared the effects of pornography (high BECKER scale scores) and to subdivide them further by age of exposure to pornography. If exposure and character were negatively correlated both in the early and the late age of exposure subjects, then the data would support a hypothesis giving some role to the person's beliefs in determining the impact of pornography on character. If, however, exposure and character were negatively correlated only in the late-age-of-exposure group, we would consider the hypothesis of poor character leading to selection of pornography to be supported.

As can be seen in Table 27, the hypothesis that character leads to exposure was supported. Among those exposed at an early age, the modest negative correlation ($r = -.269$) between character and exposure carried no predictiveness to character when compared to family and peer characteristics. Thus, even among those who fear the effects of exposure, there is little evidence that the amount of exposure is negatively related to character if the exposure occurred prior to 17 years of age. If, however, exposure occurs after 17, then exposure is strongly related to character ($r = -.429$), beta weight = $-.138$). However, the most plausible inference that can be drawn from such a correlation is that those with low character scores were more

Table 26

LATE EXPOSURE (AGE 17 OR OLDER) TO PORNOGRAPHY SUBGROUP (N=75)

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.197*	.585*	-.189	-.376*	-.135
(2) DEVHOME		.521*	-.139	-.432*	-.229
(3) DEVPRESS			-.130	-.548*	-.359
(4) BECKER				.032	-.073
(5) Character					

* $p < .05$, two-tailed.

Note: $R = .587, p < .001, F_{4,69} = 9.05$.

Table 27

PERSONS HIGH IN FEAR OF PORNOGRAPHY'S EFFECTS

	Exposed at a late age				Exposed at an early age			
	(2)	(3)	(4)	Beta weight	(2)	(3)	(4)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.256	.573*	-.429*	-.138	.393*	.549*	-.269*	-.010
(2) DEVHOME		.471*	-.356*	-.104		.694*	-.533	-.399
(3) DEVPRESS	(N=38)		-.589*	-.461	(N=65)		-.469*	-.187
(4) Character								

* $p < .05$, two-tailed.

Note: For those exposed at late age: $R=.606$, $p < .01$, $F_{3,34}=6.59$.

For those exposed at early age: $R=.551$, $p < .01$, $F_{3,61}=8.84$.

likely to seek out deviant friends and to expose themselves to pornography. Comparing the zero order correlations between character and exposure in the case of persons who were exposed late ($r=-.376$) and those who were exposed late but who also feared the effects of pornography ($r=-.429$) provides no basis for attributing any particular effect of fear on the relationship between exposure and character.

Relations among variables in the three ethnic groups

In general the same patterns held for each ethnic group. The overall multiple regressions were .359 (Hispano), .386 (Negro), and .536 (Anglo). In all three groups DEVHOME was the strongest predictor, and only in the Anglo group were any of the other predictors significantly related to character.

Sexual deviance as the dependent variable

While the major concern of the study was with character, it is also possible to treat varieties of deviant behavior as variables which could be related to and perhaps influenced by exposure to pornography. Of primary interest is sexual deviance. Unfortunately, while age of exposure to various types of pornography was obtained, age of committing various acts of sexual deviance was not obtained. Age of first heterosexual intercourse is available and separate indices of heterosexual behavior are available for the high school age period. The failure to obtain age of commission data for sexual deviance and offenses makes the testing of causal hypotheses about the effects of pornography difficult. Nevertheless some steps can be taken to approximate a causal analysis. First the early-age-of-exposure subgroup (under 14 years of age) contains a group in which substantial sexual deviance is unlikely to have occurred prior to exposure. Thus, a highly significant correlation between exposure to pornography and sexual deviance in this subgroup could *tentatively* be interpreted as indicating the impact of pornography. The later the age of exposure, the more difficult it is to assign a causal status to exposure.

One problem with the sexual deviance dependent variable is that such a large proportion of the "Yes" scores came from a single item (IRQ 280), "Have you ever watched a woman undress when she did not know that you were watching?" If a correlation were to be demonstrated between exposure to pornography and

sexual deviance when deviance had been defined largely by admission of "peeping-tom behavior," it would merely show that men who like to look at pictures of nudes also like to watch women undress—a not very surprising conclusion. To avoid any such problem, the subscale of items dealing with "serious" sexual deviance was also used in most of the analyses below. This subscale, described above, contains only rape and male prostitution items. All of the conclusions drawn from the full sexual deviance scale were also supported by the "serious" sexual deviance subscale.

Table 28 contains the correlations and multiple regression on sexual deviance for the entire sample. As can be seen, exposure to pornography has a significant correlation with sexual deviance and a substantial beta weight. When the age-of-exposure subdivisions are made, one finds that exposure to pornography is the strongest predictor of sexual deviance among the early-age-of-exposure subjects ($r=.285, p<.01$; Table 29). In all three age-of-exposure subgroups, exposure has a significant correlation, but one sees a dramatic increase in the relation between exposure and deviant peer-neighborhood circumstances (DEV PRESS) as one moves to the older exposure age groups ($r=.158$ to $.327$ to $.585$). See Tables 30 and 31 for more detail.

In the case of sexual deviance, there is, then, a plausible case for the contribution of exposure to pornography to deviant behavior but also a plausible case

Table 28

PREDICTION OF SEXUAL DEVIANCE
IN THE TOTAL SAMPLE

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.213	.430	-.136	-.231	.330	.198
(2) DEVHOME		.559	-.302	-.215	.357	.199
(3) DEVPRESS			-.423	-.304	.406	.215
(4) BECKER				.281	-.114	.022
(5) PORAGE					-.193	-.003
(6) Sexual deviance						

Note: $R = .471, p < .001, F_{5,300} = 17.091$.

Table 29

PREDICTION OF SEXUAL DEVIANCE
AMONG THOSE EXPOSED TO PORNOGRAPHY
AT AN EARLY AGE (LESS THAN 14)

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.076	.158	-.005	.285	.250
(2) DEVHOME		.421	-.118	.177	.074
(3) DEVPRESS			-.264	.270	.185
(4) BECKER				-.114	-.055
(5) Sexual deviance					

Note: $R = .375, p < .01, F_{4,102} = 4.165$.

Table 30

PREDICTION OF SEXUAL DEVIANCE
AMONG THOSE EXPOSED TO PORNOGRAPHY
AT AN INTERMEDIATE AGE (14 through 16)

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.146	.327	-.102	.301	.186
(2) DEVHOME		.533	.270	.385	.240
(3) DEVPRESS			-.378	.426	.284
(4) BECKER				-.067	.125
(5) Sexual deviance					

Note: $R = .511$, $p < .001$, $F_{4,118} = 10.438$.

Table 31

PREDICTION OF SEXUAL DEVIANCE
AMONG THOSE EXPOSED TO PORNOGRAPHY
AT A LATE AGE (17 OR OLDER)

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Beta weight
(1) PORNOX	.197	.585	-.189	.344	.208
(2) DEVHOME		.521	-.139	.288	.152
(3) DEVPRESS			-.130	.385	.187
(4) BECKER				-.069	.016
(5) Sexual deviance					

Note: $R = .431$, $p < .01$, $F_{4,69} = 3.935$.

for the use of pornography simply being part of the routine social practices of some deviant adolescent subgroups. These hypotheses need not be mutually exclusive—both patterns may exist.

By looking at specific sexual behaviors where we have age of commission information, we can get some idea about the role of exposure to pornography in the stimulation of sexual behaviors other than the severely deviant.

Exposure to pornography and sexual history. In the early-age-of-exposure subgroup, the amount of exposure was significantly correlated with a willingness to engage in (and actual experience in) group sexual relations ($r=.35$, $p<.0005$), number of different petting partners in high school ($r=.292$, $p<.005$), frequency of masturbation in high school ($r=.205$, $p<.025$), frequency of homosexual intercourse ($r=.414$, $p<.0005$), and “serious” sexual deviance ($r=.271$, $p<.005$); and there were trends ($p<.10$, two-tailed tests) for the number both of high school heterosexual partners and total homosexual partners to be positively related ($r=.167$ and $.163$, respectively) to exposure. When the scale measuring peer group pressure to engage in heterosexual behavior (PALSEX) is revised by deleting the item about pressure to read pornography, one finds that it relates moderately to exposure ($r=.239$, $p<.01$). In general, then, exposure to pornography in the early-age-of-exposure subgroup was related to a variety of precocious heterosexual and “deviant” sexual behaviors. Because exposure in this subgroup is not significantly

related ($r=.159$) to the general index of deviant peers (DEVPRESS) and only moderately related to specific peer encouragement of heterosexual behavior (PALSEX), it is risky to attribute the relationship between exposure to pornography and sexual deviance to other factors such as patterns of association and encouragement. For the subgroup as whole, the mean age of exposure is prior to the age of first heterosexual intercourse. These data are hardly conclusive in their support of a causal connection between exposure to pornography and engaging in a variety of early heterosexual and "deviant" sexual behaviors, yet they are not inconsistent with such an interpretation.

In view of the previous findings that, in the later-age-of-exposure subgroup, low character scores, high sexual deviance, and a pattern of friends' involvement in heterosexual behavior and general deviance are all strongly related, the same pattern should obtain for these variables. That is the case and the relationships are also stronger here than in the early-age-of-exposure subgroup. Here the amount of exposure is related significantly to every variable except age of first petting and number of homosexual partners. Furthermore, PALSEX is strongly related to amount of exposure and is generally more strongly related to indices of sexual activity than is exposure to pornography.

The full correlation matrix is reported in Table 32, with the early-exposure subjects above the diagonal and late-exposure subjects below the diagonal. These correlations support the general conclusions that, among late-age-of-exposure subjects, exposure is part of a deviant and highly active sexual life style. Pornography is used in such subgroups as a source of stimulation and sexual arousal, in masturbation, and, inferentially, in seduction. Persons in such subgroups tend to score lower on the aspects of moral and interpersonal character assessed in this study and are very likely to be engaged in other criminal and deviant practices and/or to be associating with persons engaged in criminal activity.

A key part of the contrast between the late- and early-age-of-exposure subgroups is that, among the early-exposure subjects, almost all of the intercorrelations were lower. The pattern of strong connections among PALSEX, exposure, and the whole range of sexual history and deviance variables that existed for the late-age-of-exposure subgroup was either nonexistent or much more modest. What one sees instead is that PALSEX was predictive of a variety of heterosexual variables and sexual deviance ($r=+.27$ and $+.31$ for the serious sexual deviance index). Likewise, exposure to pornography, which was related to PALSEX ($r=+.27$), was related to many of the same heterosexual behaviors, to sexual deviance, and related more strongly than PALSEX to the masturbation and homosexual behavior items.

Thus one gets the impression of two separate but moderately correlated influences (exposure to pornography and peer pressures) that play a partly similar and partly different role in the etiology of sexual behavior. Heavy exposure to pornography is apparently more strongly related to solitary sexual activity (masturbation) and to homosexual experience, whereas peer pressures are more strongly related to precocious and extensive heterosexual experience. Since the sexual deviance indices include both types of items, both sources of influence show about the same level of relationship to the deviance indices. Because PALSEX and exposure are modestly correlated, it is impossible to interpret the above pattern unequivocally. The possibility that exposure to pornography,

Table 32

EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY AND EARLY SEX HISTORY CORRELATES AMONG PERSONS EXPOSED AT AN EARLY AGE (ABOVE THE DIAGONAL) AND AT A LATE AGE (BELOW THE DIAGONAL)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
(1) PORNOX		.29	.03	.24	.02	.35	.29	-.12	.17	.08	.20	.41	.16	.27
(2) SEXDEV	.34		-.02	.27	-.15	.20	.15	-.19	.12	.05	-.08	.21	.19	.67
(3) Character	-.38	-.38		-.21	.21	-.19	.18	.19	-.06	-.02	.15	-.02	-.11	-.02
(4) PALSEXA ^a	.54	.28	-.52		.38	.35	.35	-.28	.37	.34	-.16	.09	-.01	.31
(5) Age first hetero	-.31	-.21	.35	-.61		-.26	-.22	.62	-.31	-.33	.33	.07	.09	-.19
(6) Group sex	.40	.47	-.46	.48	-.35		.25	-.24	.28	.19	.06	.21	.09	.28
(7) # PET high school	.21	.10	-.17	.58	-.43	.24		-.26	.50	.55	-.07	.14	.06	.05
(8) Age first PET	-.19	-.14	.28	-.41	.54	-.26	-.51		-.26	-.36	.18	.02	.04	-.06
(9) # coitus high school	.35	.06	-.23	.62	-.48	.32	.81	-.45		.79	-.24	.08	.21	.02
(10) # coitus no love	.33	.26	-.41	.57	-.65	.39	.43	-.37	.53		-.19	.08	.08	-.01
(11) Freq. masturbation	.36	.14	-.03	.09	.04	.06	.08	.07	.05	-.03		.26	.06	-.03
(12) Freq. homosexual	.28	.30	-.28	.18	-.08	.13	.10	-.03	-.04	.02	.29		.57	.23
(13) # homo partners	.15	.10	-.08	-.04	-.24	-.10	-.05	-.22	-.05	-.04	.18	.43		.19
(14) Serious SEXDEV	.30	.56	-.33	.38	-.38	.34	.23	-.06	.12	.36	-.05	.25	.00	

Note: Above the diagonal, correlations of $r = \pm .17$ are significant at the .05 level, two-tailed test.

Below the diagonal, correlations of $r = \pm .20$ are significant at the .05 level, two-tailed test.

a. Revised by deleting pornography item.

particularly early and in large amounts, can exert an independent causal influence on the etiology of sexual behavior deserves more careful research.

The contrast between early and late exposure to pornography. Because of the importance attached to age of exposure in our analysis it is useful to compare and contrast the age-of-exposure subgroups. First, only 306 of the 365 subjects had been exposed to enough pornography to have a stable age-of-exposure scale. Of the 59 who either could not remember when they had seen the materials or who had seen so little that no general age was recorded, all but two were below the median in amount of exposure.

In Table 33 the means and standard deviations on several moderator and criterion variables for the early- and late-exposure subgroups are presented. In almost every case, there were significant differences such that the early-exposure subgroup came from a background characterized by greater deviance in the family and neighborhood, by greater personal deviance of all kinds. They also had earlier, more frequent, and more varied sexual experience, including more sexual deviance. Only in the case of frequency of masturbation and homosexual experience was there no difference between subgroups.

Table 33

CHARACTERISTICS DISTINGUISHING EARLY AND LATE EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY

	Early Exposure (<14)		Late Exposure (>16)	
	N = 108		N = 75	
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
(1) PORNOX	5.43	.803	4.96	.687
(2) DRUGDEV	5.29	.774	4.78	.727
(3) DEVHOME	5.24	.595	4.82	.591
(4) DEVPRESS	5.50	.703	4.68	.739
(5) SEXDEV	5.20	.987	4.74	.773
(6) NYEDEV	5.64	1.018	4.56	.761
(7) Character	4.73	.695	5.24	.609
(8) BECKER	1.62	.474	1.95	.611
(9) PORAGE	12.05	1.475	18.57	1.505
(10) PALSEX ^a	2.08	.353	1.67	.461
(11) Age 1st Hetero ^b	13.50(98)	3.518	17.67(43)	3.643
(12) GROUPSEX ^b	2.13	.790	1.63	.791
(13) Number PET in high school ^b	13.67	17.806	3.12(69)	5.245
(14) Number Sex I in high school ^b	9.45	15.377	2.46(70)	5.745
(15) Number Sex I, no love ^b	16.204	25.152	5.99	13.186
(16) Freq Masturbation in high school ^b	2.55	1.427	2.74	1.667
(17) Freq Homo ^b	1.70	1.197	1.68	1.473
(18) Number Homo Partners ^b	0.77	3.610	0.87	5.810
(19) Serious Sex Deviance ^b	0.74	.166	0.31	.112
(20) Arrested for Sex Deviance ^b	1.05	.212	1.00	.000

a. PALSEX cluster described in following section, Interrelationships among variables in the total sample, with the pornography viewing item deleted (IRQ 54).

b. IRQ items: 11=IRQ 241; 12=IRQ 247, reversed scoring; 13=IRQ 265; 14=IRQ 269; 15=IRQ 270; 16=IRQ 271; 17=IRQ 272, reversed scoring; 18=IRQ 274; 19=Average of IRQ 282, 283, and 286; 20=IRQ 289. All comparisons except numbers 16, 17, and 18 are statistically significant, two-tailed test, and all except items 19 and 20 are significant at $p < .01$ or less.

It is very clear that by selecting age of exposure as a key moderator variable, we have selected a variable with a strong set of ecological and personal history connections. The division into early- and late-exposure-to-pornography subgroups also restricts the range both of predictor and of criterion variables. In effect, then, this moderator variable, by restricting range, makes it more difficult to detect relationships among predictor and criterion variables.

Interrelations among variables in the total sample

Next we shall turn to a statistical procedure for relating variables. This procedure is cluster analysis as developed by Tryon and Bailey (1970). While it is akin to factor analysis, it has several advantages over factoring, which Tryon and Bailey summarize.

The first step was an empirical or free clustering of the major subscales of the macroscales with a few additional variables. By leaving the subscales (such as generally deviant models, absence of sanction networks, deviant sexual models) free to load on any of the clusters, it is possible to detect connections that would be overlooked by our procedure of creating macroscales. The empirical clustering yielded six clusters. A detailed report of this analysis will not be presented because it is used to preset clusters for the main descriptive analysis. In the case of the preset analysis, subscales are treated as definers of a cluster so that one can see (1) how individual items load on a cluster, and (2) how oblique clusters relate to each other.

The empirical analysis yielded the following results. The character and family deviance subscales (FAMGDM, FAMSXM, FAMASN) were all loaded on the same cluster. A second family factor emerged that consisted of using reason versus threats of punishment in disciplining and of having warm, close relations with the father. The third cluster consisted of all the pornography subscales except PORUSE (using pornography to stimulate self or partner). The fourth cluster consisted of peer and neighborhood deviance (PALDAV, NEIDDEV) plus PALSEX, peer pressure to engage in heterosexual behavior, the NYEDEV scale, extent of premarital sexual behavior, and age of exposure to pornography (in which case, an early age of exposure was related to having high peer and personal deviance and frequent sexual experience). The fifth cluster was liberality of sexual attitudes with the BECKER scale (fear of the effects of pornography) loading negatively. The final cluster consisted of the sexual deviance scale, plus using pornography to stimulate self or partner (PORUSE), and having homosexual friends (PALHOM).

The empirical clusters differ from the macroscales in the following ways: (1) the conceptual distinction between character and family background was blurred. In the subsequent preset analysis this distinction was maintained. (2) The quality of family life was shown to be capable of being split into two distinct categories, with the second category reflecting parental warmth and the use of reason in discipline.

The macroscale LIBSEX was shown to be separable into attitude and behavior subcomponents with the extent of premarital behavior loading heavily on the peer deviance cluster.

The pornography macroscale (PORNNOX) was shown to have a separable component (PORUSE) which loaded heavily in the sexual deviance cluster. In

addition, the sexual deviance cluster was expanded to include actively associating with homosexuals.

Thus, the overall pattern, while quite similar to that of the a priori clusters, differs in a number of fine points. In the preset cluster analysis described below, eight clusters were set, generally in line with the results above, except that the character and deviant family scales were put in separate clusters and that a new cluster—drug deviance—was added, consisting of the three alcohol and drug use subscales.

The technique of presetting clusters only ensures that the preset variables are included in a particular cluster as definers; it does not (1) determine their precise loading in the cluster, nor (2) prevent a preset variable in one cluster from loading heavily on another cluster or being included in an expanded version of another cluster. The expanded clusters are listed on Table 34 and the interrelations among clusters are presented in Table 35. In Table 35, we see that character is most strongly related to cluster three (PAL and own deviance and heterosexual experience) and six (deviant family characteristics). In the case of cluster six, the components are (conceptually) antecedents of character development such as absence of sanctions against deviance in the family. In the case of cluster three, its components are both antecedents and consequences of character.

When one turns to the sexual deviance cluster (two), one again finds clusters three and six as highly correlated (.523 and .461, respectively) but exposure to pornography has a higher relationship (.577) to sexual deviance than any other cluster. In the case of the character cluster, exposure to pornography had only a modest relation (-.300) and one restricted primarily to those whose age of exposure was 17 or older.

One triad is strongly interconnected—PAL and Own Deviance, Exposure to Pornography, and Sexual Deviance. All three correlations are above .500. At the very least this argues for a pattern in which exposure to pornography is part of a strongly deviant life style, including in some cases strongly homosexual patterns and including in other cases a high level of heterosexual experience with little regard for the quality and duration of the relationship. While one cannot assign a causal role to exposure to pornography, there is good reason to consider it part of these deviant life styles.

DISCUSSION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

Our major interest has been to assess the impact of exposure to pornography on moral and interpersonal character and sexual deviance. Because of the nature of the research design (primarily a retrospective, cross-sectional design), we have sought to establish correlations among indices of exposure, age of exposure, character, sexual deviance, and sexual behavior. When relationships have been found, we have employed the strategy of moderator variables (primarily age of exposure to pornography) to determine what, if any, credence can be given to a causal hypothesis attributing to exposure to pornography the power to affect character detrimentally and to contribute to sexual deviance and precocious sexual behavior.

In the case of character, we discovered that the modest relationship between poor character scores and amount of exposure to pornography was due almost entirely to those subjects exposed at 17 years of age or later. In this (late)

Table 34

PRESET CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF MAJOR
SUBSCALES FOR TOTAL SAMPLE

(1) Character	Reliability .70
Components	Factor loadings
Hedonistic choices	-.756
Moral choices	.712
Kohlberg level	.450
Interpersonal character ^a	-.412
(2) Sexual deviance	Reliability .61
Components	Factor loadings
PALHOM	.587
SEXDEV	.567
PORUSE	.520
(3) PAL and own deviance and heterosexual experience	Reliability .89
Components	Factor loadings
PALDEV	.863
NYEDEV	.835
PALSEX	.818
NEIDEV	.817
Extent of premarital sexual behavior	.644
Age of exposure to pornography*	-.507
Extent of alcohol use and problems*	.436
(4) Liberal sexual attitudes	Reliability .76
Components	Factor loadings
Liberal premarital attitude	.853
Liberal extramarital attitude	.717
BECKER (fear of pornography's effects)	-.509
(5) Drug use	Reliability .62
Components	Factor loadings
Length of time using drugs	.770
Frequency of drug use	.525
Extent of alcohol use and problems	.025
(6) Family deviance	Reliability .70
Components	Factor loadings
Absence of sanction networks	.711
Generally deviant role models	.656
Sexually deviant role models	.598
Interpersonal character ^{a*}	.421

a. A high score indicates character defects.

Note: * indicates a scale not preset but yet loading heavily enough to be included in an expanded cluster.

Table 34 (Cont'd.)

(7) Parental Discipline and Warmth	Reliability .83
Components	Factor loadings
Giving reasons	.928
Using threats or force	-.883
Warm father	.456
(8) Exposure to Pornography	Reliability .89
Components	Factor loadings
Pictures	.873
Printed materials	.838
Movies	.786
Buying of pornography	.716

Table 35

INTERRELATIONS AMONG CLUSTERS
(Correlations between Oblique Cluster Domains)

	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
(1) Character	-.342	-.724	-.584	-.093	-.753	.359	-.306
(2) Sexual deviance		.523	.415	.290	.461	-.205	.577
(3) PAL and OWNDEV			.644	.166	.787	-.345	.556
(4) Liberal sexual attitudes				.345	.549	-.221	.381
(5) Drug use					.011	-.036	.215
(6) Family deviance						-.388	.390
(7) Parental discipline practices and warmth							-.057
(8) Exposure to pornography							

age-of-exposure group, character scores were negatively related to sexual deviance, to a high level of sexual activity, and to participation in criminal, deviant, and sexually active peer groups. Our conclusion is that, here, character is the mediating variable that ties together and explains the strong interconnections. Those who expose themselves to pornography after age 17, probably voluntarily and in association with like-minded peers, are persons with predominantly hedonistic, instrumental conceptions of right and wrong, and with more shallow, exploitative, and psychopathic character structures.

In the case of sexual deviance, we have found a positive relationship between deviance and exposure to pornography at all ages of exposure levels. We have also found a positive relationship between peer pressures for sexual activity and both exposure to pornography and sexual deviance. Because we do not have age-of-commission data for the more deviant sexual behavior we cannot pin down causal hypotheses.

Limitations of the designs and conclusions

With the exception of the interpersonal character ratings, our data came from self-reports. While we took special steps (payment of subjects, the guarantee of

anonymity) to ensure cooperation, we do not have the number of data sources external to the subject (such as official records, observers' reports, and other nonreactive measures) that would clinch the accuracy of our assessments.

Establishing (or discrediting) a causal relationship between exposure and sexual deviance could be done more effectively in a longitudinal, panel design, where character and behavioral assessments could be made prior to exposure, and where the intimate ties between peer pressures and inducements and exposure could be examined as they develop.

A key to the reasoning that pornography could have a causal impact on sexual deviance is a judgment about the content and message of the materials. A more refined and comprehensive assessment might well show that it is not the mere presentation of naked bodies or intercourse that has any detrimental effect but rather the attitude toward the body, sexual relations, and persons that is critical.

It remains clear that many men see or read large amounts of pornographic materials without any detrimental results. More attention needs to be given to what inoculates persons against the potentially detrimental effects of exposure.

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Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

16. You are in bed with your girl and can have intercourse with her but she forgot to take her birth control pills a couple of times this month and there is a good chance she could get pregnant, which would be a lot of trouble.

1. Go ahead and have sexual intercourse. 2. Avoid having sexual intercourse.

17. How strongly would you feel like going ahead and having intercourse?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

18. How strongly would you feel like avoiding having intercourse?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

19. You know that a guy you know is innocent of charges of robbery he's being tried for, but to try to clear him in court might get you involved with the police.

1. Speak up in court. 2. Keep quiet to make sure you don't get involved.

20. How strongly would you feel like speaking up?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

21. How strongly would you feel like keeping quiet?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

22. You have to take a civil service test to get a job you need. You have a friend who is very smart and could easily pass the test, and he says he'll take it for you. Nobody would know that it was your friend and not you who took the test.

1. Take the test yourself. 2. Let your friend take the test for you.

23. How strongly would you feel like taking the test yourself?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

24. How strongly would you feel like letting your friend take the test?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

25. Some friends and you are sitting around talking. They start badmouthing another friend of yours, that they don't like. You want to defend your other friend but you've seen the guys who are talking be pretty nasty with people who've disagreed with them before.

1. Defend your other friend. 2. Avoid getting people upset by keeping quiet.

26. How strongly would you feel like defending your friend?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

27. How strongly would you feel like keeping quiet?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

28. You are opposed to a certain political issue that your boss is in favor of. He gets around to talking about the issue at a cocktail party, and he gets very angry with someone who disagrees with him. Do you state your true feeling or not?

1. State how you really feel. 2. Avoid trouble with the boss by not saying how you really feel.

29. How strongly would you feel like stating how you feel?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

30. How strongly would you feel like not saying how you feel?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

31. You are a bachelor and the wife of a good friend of yours, whom you have been close with in the past, lets it be known to you that you have the opportunity to sleep with her.

1. Sleep with her. 2. Don't sleep with her.

32. How strongly would you feel like sleeping with her?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

33. How strongly would you feel like refraining from sleeping with her?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

34. You have the chance to go fishing or skiing instead of work, and a co-worker says he'll check you in and no one will know you weren't at work.

1. Sleep with her. 2. Go fishing or skiing.

35. How strongly would you feel like staying at work?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

36. How strongly would you feel like going fishing or skiing?

Strongly as could be Very much A lot Quite a bit Some—not much Very little Not at all

1. How old are you? _____
2. What ethnic group do you belong to?
 1. Negro
 2. Anglo
 3. Hispano
 4. Other
3. How many years of school have you completed? _____
4. How many years of school did your father complete? _____
5. How often, on the average, do you drink alcoholic beverages?
 1. Not at all.
 2. 3 times a year or less.
 3. Once a month.
 4. Once a week.
 5. More than once a week but not daily.
 6. Daily.
6. How much do you tend to drink when you do drink?
 1. Beer: Usually _____ glasses.
 2. Wine: Usually _____ glasses.
 3. Hard liquor: Usually _____ drinks.
7. How many times have you gotten into trouble with friends or the law because of drinking?
 1. Never
 2. Once or twice
 3. Several times
 4. Many times
8. My marital or dating situation is
 1. Married.
 2. Divorced or no longer living together as husband and wife.
 3. Engaged to be married.
 4. Going exclusively with one person.
 5. Going primarily but not exclusively with one person.
 6. Not going primarily or exclusively with one person.
 7. Not going with anyone.
9. How do you feel about the person you live with or date?

Not applicable Dislike Like Like very much Love Love very much
10. I have _____ men friends. (Write in number.)
11. I have _____ close women friends.

Circle one answer for each question.

1. Would you say anyone in your family has been thought of as a heavy drinker, a troublemaker, or as a strange or nervous person?
 1. Yes, both parents.
 2. Yes, just my father.
 3. Yes, just my mother.
 4. Yes, my brother or sister.
 5. No.
2. Most parents have arguments and fights. Thinking about when you were 8 to 12 years old, how much of this went on in your home?
 1. A lot.
 2. Some.
 3. Not too much.
3. Has anyone in your family ever been in any kind of trouble or had problems because of drinking—like with the law, family, friends, work or health?
 1. Yes, both parents.
 2. Yes, my father.
 3. Yes, my mother.
 4. Yes, my brother or sister.
 5. No.
4. During the time you were growing up (until you were about 16) was anyone in your family in trouble of any kind?
 1. Yes, both parents.
 2. Yes, my father.
 3. Yes, my mother.
 4. Yes, my brother or sister.
 5. No.
5. When you were growing up, did you ever think that your father was running around with other women?
 1. Yes.
 2. I wasn't sure.
 3. No.
6. During the time you were growing up, did you ever think your mother was running around with other men?
 1. Yes.
 2. I wasn't sure.
 3. No.
7. During the time you were growing up, did you ever think that an older brother or sister of yours was doing something sexual that could get them into trouble?
 1. Yes, definitely.
 2. Probably.
 3. Probably not.
 4. Definitely not.
8. Do you have any reason to think that any member of your family engaged in homosexual behavior?
 1. No, none did.
 2. Yes, my father only.
 3. Yes, my mother only.
 4. Yes, both parents.
 5. Yes, brother(s) and sister(s).

9. When you were growing up (up to the time you were about 16), was one of your parents gone because of divorce or separation?
 1. Yes, my father was gone. 2. Yes, my mother was gone. 3. No, both were at home.
10. How often do you usually attend church?
 1. Never. 2. Several (4-5) times a year. 3. More than 5 times a year.
11. While you were growing up, how strict were your parents about things like dating, driving, drinking, etc.?
 1. Not as strict as most parents. 2. About average. 3. More strict than most parents.
12. How often did your parents disagree about how to raise you?
 1. They disagreed quite a bit. 2. They disagreed occasionally. 3. They hardly ever disagreed.
13. When you were growing up, did your mother work?
 1. Yes, at times. 2. No, never.
14. When you were a kid and your mother wanted you to behave, what would she be most likely to do to get you to cooperate?
 1. Threaten to spank you or beat you if you didn't do what she wanted.
 2. Tell you that she wouldn't love you anymore if you didn't do it.
 3. Tell you the reasons why she wanted you to and explain why she wanted you to.
15. When you were a kid and your father wanted you to behave, what would he be most likely to do to get you to cooperate?
 1. Threaten to spank you or beat you if you didn't do what he wanted.
 2. Tell you that he wouldn't love you anymore if you didn't do it.
 3. Tell you the reasons why he wanted you to and explain why he wanted you to.
16. When you were a kid and you did something bad, what would your mother most likely do to punish you?
 1. Try to make you feel ashamed by telling you she was ashamed of you.
 2. Spank you or beat you.
 3. Punish you somehow while explaining what you did wrong and telling you the reasons why it was wrong so you could understand it.
17. When you were a kid and you did something bad, what would your father most likely do to punish you?
 1. Try to make your feel ashamed by telling you he was ashamed of you.
 2. Spank you or beat you.
 3. Punish you somehow while explaining what you did wrong and telling you the reasons why it was wrong so you could understand it.
18. Did you ever think that your parents might not really disapprove of some kinds of crime?
 1. Yes. 2. Not sure. 3. No.
19. Did you ever get the idea that your father or mother wouldn't care if you were a delinquent or broke the law?
 1. Yes, I did. 2. I wasn't sure. 3. No, I did not.
20. When you were in grade school or junior high school, were you often left to take care of yourself without your parents' supervision?
 1. Most of the time. 2. Sometimes. 3. Seldom. 4. Never.
21. If you were in trouble with the law, how likely is it that your family would cover up or protect you from the police?
 1. Probably would cover up for me. 2. Probably would not cover up for me.
22. When you were growing up, were there times when you didn't have a phone?
 1. Yes. 2. No.
23. When you were growing up, did your family ever change phone numbers to avoid being bothered?
 1. Yes. 2. No.
24. When you were growing up, did you feel that your father was unfair, cruel or mean in his treatment of you?
 1. Never. 2. A few times. 3. Many times.
25. When you were growing up, did you feel that your mother was unfair, cruel or mean in her treatment of you?
 1. Never. 2. A few times. 3. Many times.
26. What was your relationship with your father when you were growing up?
 1. Warm and close. 2. Close. 3. Adequate 4. Distant. 5. Distant and cold.
27. What was your relationship with your mother when you were growing up?
 1. Warm and close. 2. Close. 3. Adequate. 4. Distant. 5. Distant and cold.
28. What was your father's attitude toward you when you were growing up?
 1. Understanding and supportive. 2. Somewhat negative.
 2. Merely accepting and tolerant. 4. Rejecting and highly critical.
29. What was your mother's attitude toward you when you were growing up?
 1. Understanding and supportive. 3. Somewhat negative.
 2. Merely accepting and tolerant. 4. Rejecting and highly critical.

30. When you were growing up, how often did police come around to question someone in your neighborhood?
1. Never.
 2. Only once or twice.
 3. Quite a few times.
31. Did you ever think that your friends might be doing something that was against the law?
1. Never.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Several times.
 4. Often.
32. Did any of your friends ever suggest that you go in with them on violating the law?
1. Never.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Several times.
 4. Often.
33. How many of your friends have ever carried a concealed weapon?
1. None.
 2. One or two.
 3. Several.
 4. Many of them.
34. How many of your friends or neighbors know how to make a zip-gun?
1. None of them.
 2. One or two.
 3. Several.
35. When you were growing up, how often was someone in your neighborhood knifed or shot?
1. Never.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Several times.
 4. Often.
36. How many of your friends' parents were ever in jail or reform school for any length of time?
1. None.
 2. One or two.
 3. Several.
 4. Quite a few.
37. How many of your friends or your friends' parents were ever in jail or reform school for more than a day or so?
1. None.
 2. One or two.
 3. Several.
 4. Quite a few.
38. When you were growing up, how many of your friends were in trouble with the law while they were your friends?
1. None.
 2. Very few.
 3. Several.
 4. Quite a few.
39. When you were growing up, how many of the grown-ups in your neighborhood were in trouble with the law?
1. None.
 2. Very few.
 3. Several.
 4. Quite a few.
40. In your neighborhood, would your friends buy things from someone knowing that they might be stolen goods?
1. No, never.
 2. Probably.
 3. Yes, they would.
41. If your friends were aware that someone in your neighborhood had committed a serious crime, would they be likely to inform the police?
1. No, they'd never inform.
 2. Probably wouldn't inform.
 3. Probably would inform.
 4. Yes, they definitely would inform.
42. In your neighborhood, was it common knowledge that certain people made it their business to dispose of stolen goods?
1. Yes, definitely.
 2. I think there were.
 3. No, definitely not.
43. When you were in school, were there gangs that had leaders and fought other gangs?
1. No, none.
 2. Yes, but not many.
 3. Yes, quite a few.
44. Did you belong to a gang like that?
1. Yes.
 2. No.
45. Did some of your good friends belong to a gang like that?
1. Yes, they all did.
 2. Yes, some of them did.
 3. No.
46. When you were growing up, did you belong to clubs or other formal groups, such as church groups or Boy Scouts?
1. Not much at all.
 2. Yes, one or two.
 3. Yes, several.
47. Have any of the guys you have run around with been the sort of guys who tried to go all the way with any girl they dated?
1. None.
 2. One or two.
 3. Several.
48. Have any of your friends ever suggested to you that you should go in with them on a gang-bang?
1. Never.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Several times.
49. Have any of your friends gotten into any kind of trouble because of their sexual behavior?
1. None.
 2. One or two.
 3. Several.
50. Have any of your friends encouraged you to go to a whore with them?
1. No, never.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Several times.
 4. Often.
51. Do you have any friends who have gotten a girl pregnant or knocked-up a girl they weren't married to?
1. None.
 2. One or two.
 3. Several.
52. Do you think most of your friends would be willing to have a sexual orgy or party where several guys and girls got together for sex?
1. Yes.
 2. No.
53. How often have your friends gotten together and tried to make a girl drunk or high for the purpose of their all having sex with her?
1. Never.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Several times.
54. How often has a group of your friends gotten together and looked at really dirty sex magazines or books?
1. Never.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Several times.
 4. Many times.

55. When you were growing up, did you ever get together with other guys for the purpose of mutual masturbation or playing with each others' sex organs?
1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times.
56. Do you know any guys who engaged in homosexual intercourse with guys in school or the neighborhood?
1. None. 2. One or two. 3. Several.
57. Are any of your close friends homosexuals?
1. None. 2. One or two. 3. Several.
58. Have you ever run around with guys in the homosexual bars and hangouts?
1. No. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times.
59. Have you ever been approached by other guys who asked you to engage in homosexual activities?
1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times.
60. Have you been arrested?
1. Yes, several times. 2. Two or three times. 3. Once. 4. No.
61. If you have been arrested, was this usually for something you did while you were alone or with others? (Skip this question if you've never been arrested.)
1. Alone. 2. With one or more people.
62. Have you ever been convicted of a felony?
1. Yes, for something I did alone. 2. Yes, for something I did with one or more other persons. 3. No.
63. Have you ever been convicted of a misdemeanor, other than traffic violations?
1. Yes, for something I did alone. 2. Yes, for something I did with one or more other persons. 3. No.
64. Have you ever been put into a jail cell?
1. No.
2. Yes, for something I did by myself.
3. Yes, for something in which others were involved.
65. During the time you went to school, were you suspended, dismissed or kicked out of school?
1. Yes, several times. 2. Yes, once or twice. 3. No, never.
66. Will you probably get in trouble with the law sometime in the future?
1. Definitely. 2. Probably. 3. Not sure. 4. Unlikely. 5. Definitely not.

Instructions: Everyone breaks some laws, rules, and regulations during his lifetime. Some break them regularly, others less often. Below are some frequently broken. Circle those that you have broken since beginning school.

67. Have you driven a car without a driver's license or permit? (Do not include driver training courses.)
1. Very often. 2. Several times. 3. Once or twice. 4. Never.
68. Have you taken little things (worth less than \$2) that did not belong to you?
1. Very often. 2. Several times. 3. Once or twice. 4. Never.
69. If once or more: Most of the time, were you
1. Alone. 2. With one or more other persons.
70. Have you bought or drunk beer, wine or liquor (before you were legally old enough)?
1. Very often. 2. Several times. 3. Once or twice. 4. Never.
71. If once or more: Most of the time, were you
1. Alone. 2. With one or more other persons.
72. Have you purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you?
1. Very often. 2. Several times. 3. Once or twice. 4. Never.
73. Have you skipped school without a legitimate excuse?
1. No. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Very often.
74. When you were growing up, did you defy your parents' authority to their face?
1. Very often. 2. Several times. 3. Once or twice. 4. No.
75. Have you run away from home?
1. No. 2. Once. 3. Twice. 4. Three or more times.
76. Have you taken part in gang fights?
1. Yes, five times or more. 3. Once or twice.
2. Three or four times. 4. No.
77. Have you taken things of medium value (between \$2 and \$50)?
1. No. 3. Several times.
2. Once or twice. 4. Very often.
78. If once or more: Most of the time, were you
1. Alone. 2. With one or more other persons.
79. Have you driven a car without the owner's permission?
1. No. 2. Once. 3. Twice. 4. Three or more times.
80. If once or more: Most of the time, were you
1. Alone. 2. With one or more other persons.

81. Have you taken things of large value (over \$50)?
 1. Very often. 2. Several times. 3. Once or twice. 4. No.
82. If once or more: Most of the time, were you
 1. Alone. 2. With one or more other persons.
83. Have you used force (strong-arm methods) to get money from another person?
 1. No. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Very often.
84. If once or more: Most of the time, were you
 1. Alone. 2. With one or more other persons.
85. Have you ever taken a gun along when you planned to do something illegal?
 1. Never planned to do anything illegal. 3. Yes, once or twice.
 2. No, never took a gun. 4. Yes, several times.
86. How many times have you used marijuana (pot or grass)?
 1. Never. 4. 6 to 10 times.
 2. Once or twice. 5. 11 to 20 times.
 3. 3 to 5 times. 6. More than 20 times.
87. If more than once or twice, how long have you been using it?
 1. 6 months or so. 3. 2 to 3 years.
 2. A year. 4. More than 3 years.
88. How many times have you used amphetamines (speed)?
 1. Never. 4. 6 to 10 times.
 2. Once or twice. 5. 11 to 20 times.
 3. 3 to 5 times. 6. More than 20 times.
89. If more than once or twice, how long have you been using it?
 1. 6 months or so. 3. 2 to 3 years.
 2. A year. 4. More than 3 years.
90. How many times have you used LSD (acid)?
 1. Never. 4. 6 to 10 times.
 2. Once or twice. 5. 11 to 20 times.
 3. 3 to 5 times. 6. More than 20 times.
91. If more than once or twice, how long have you been using it?
 1. 6 months or so. 3. 2 to 3 years.
 2. A year. 4. More than 3 years.
92. How many times have you used narcotics (heroin, morphine, etc.)?
 1. Never. 4. 6 to 10 times.
 2. Once or twice. 5. 11 to 20 times.
 3. 3 to 5 times. 6. More than 20 times.
93. If more than once or twice, how long have you been using it?
 1. 6 months or so. 3. 2 to 3 years.
 2. A year. 4. More than 3 years.
94. Have you ever sold marijuana, LSD, speed or narcotics?
 1. No, never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Often.
-
1. How often have you read stories about nude men or women in which their sex organs were described?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
2. How often have you seen pictures or cartoons showing the sex organs of nude men or women?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
3. How often have you seen movies in which sex organs of nude men or women were shown?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
4. How old were you when you first saw stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about the sex organs of nude men or women? _____ (age)
5. How often have you purchased stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about the sex organs of nude men or women?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
-
6. How often have you read stories about someone masturbating?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
7. How often have you seen pictures or cartoons of someone masturbating?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
8. How often have you seen movies that showed someone masturbating?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
9. How old were you when you first saw stories, pictures, cartoons, or movies about someone masturbating? _____ (age)
10. How often have you purchased stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about someone masturbating?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
-

11. How often have you read stories in which sexual behavior between a nude man and woman was described?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
12. How often have you seen pictures or cartoons showing a nude man and woman engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
13. How often have you seen movies in which sexual behavior between a nude man and woman was shown?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
14. How old were you when you first saw stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about a nude man and woman engaged in sexual behavior? _____ (age)
15. How often have you purchased stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about a man and woman engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
-
16. How often have you read stories in which unusual sex acts between a nude man and woman were described?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
17. How often have you seen pictures or cartoons showing a nude man and woman engaged in unusual sex acts?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
18. How often have you seen movies in which unusual sex acts between a nude man and woman were shown?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
19. How old were you when you first saw stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about a nude man and woman engaged in unusual sex acts? _____ (age)
20. How often have you purchased stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about a man and woman engaged in unusual sex acts?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
-
21. How often have you read stories in which sexual behavior between more than two people was described?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
22. How often have you seen pictures or cartoons showing more than two people engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
23. How often have you seen movies in which sexual behavior between more than two people was shown?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
24. How old were you when you first saw stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about more than two people engaged in sexual behavior? _____ (age)
25. How often have you purchased stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about more than two people engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
-
26. How often have you read stories in which sexual behavior between people and an animal was described?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
27. How often have you seen pictures or cartoons showing people and an animal engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
28. How often have you seen movies in which sexual behavior between people and an animal was shown?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
29. How old were you when you first saw stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about people and an animal engaged in sexual behavior? _____ (age)
30. How often have you purchased stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about people and an animal engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
-
31. How often have you read stories in which sexual behavior between homosexuals was described?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
32. How often have you seen pictures or cartoons showing homosexuals engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
33. How often have you seen movies in which sexual behavior between homosexuals was shown?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
34. How old were you when you first saw stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about homosexuals engaged in sexual behavior? _____ (age)
35. How often have you purchased stories, pictures, cartoons or movies about homosexuals engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
-

36. There are advertisements of sexual magazines, pictures and movies which are sent to people through the mail. How often have you bought or ordered any of this kind of material through the mail?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
37. If at least once, how old were you when you first bought some? _____ (age)
38. How often have you taken the trouble to go to a magazine shop where you could get sex books and magazines?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
39. Have you ever attended a movie advertised as "adults only" when you were under age?
 1. No. 2. Yes.
40. If a motion picture is advertised with an "X" rating, which one of the following would be your response?
 1. I am not sure of what "X" means.
 2. I would be more likely to want to see such a picture.
 3. I would be less likely to want to see such a picture.
 4. It doesn't matter to me one way or the other.
41. From your experience and observation, consider each of the following pairs and circle one answer for each pair that describes what is *most* likely to happen as a result of high school students seeing movies, photographs or reading material which includes nudity or sexual activity.
 A. 1. They learn useful things about sex.
 2. They learn some useful and some harmful things about sex.
 3. They learn harmful things about sex.
 B. 1. They are more likely to get into trouble.
 2. They are less likely to get into trouble.
 C. 1. They get sexually turned on.
 2. They get sexually turned off.
 D. 1. They are more likely to gain friends.
 2. They are less likely to gain friends.
 E. 1. They will want to see less material.
 2. They will want to see more material.
42. At any time in your life, did you spend lots of time reading or looking at sexually arousing materials?
 1. No. 2. For a short period. 3. Off and on, several times. 4. Many times.
43. How old were you when you first spent a lot of time reading or looking at sexual materials? _____ (age)
44. How often have you gone to a movie theatre which showed mostly sex movies or strip movies?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
45. How often have you bought material about sex that you took home with you so you could keep it around?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
46. How often have you used sexual stories, pictures or other sexual material to stimulate yourself while you masturbated?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.
47. How often have you used sexual material to stimulate yourself or your partner while you engaged in sexual behavior?
 1. Never. 2. Once or twice. 3. Several times. 4. Many times.

Answer each item by circling the appropriate answer.

Almost everyone has read or seen sexually realistic and arousing materials of one kind or another. How did you personally react to what you have read or seen?

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| 48. Indifferent: | 1. Yes. | 2. No. | |
| 49. Sexually turned on: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |
| 50. Disgusted at what I saw: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |
| 51. Disgusted at myself for looking at it: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |
| 52. Worried that I might like it too much: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |
| 53. Afraid it might make me queer or sexually abnormal: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |
| 54. Eager to show it to the other guys: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |
| 55. Eager to show it to girls: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |
| 56. Got some good ideas about what to do myself: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |
| 57. Felt I was a bad person for liking it: | 1. Not at all. | 2. Somewhat. | 3. Very much. |

Sex History and Inventory

1. What is your opinion about premarital sexual intercourse for women?
 1. It is all right for women after 16 years of age.
 2. It is all right for women after 20.

3. It is all right for women who feel affection for their partner.
4. It is all right for women who are in love.
5. It is all right for women who are engaged.
6. It is wrong; women should wait until they are married.
2. What is your opinion about premarital sexual intercourse for men?
 1. It is all right for men after 16 years of age.
 2. It is all right for men after 20.
 3. It is all right for men who feel affection.
 4. It is all right for men who are in love.
 5. It is all right for men who are engaged.
 6. It is wrong; men should wait until they are married.
3. How do you *personally* feel about extramarital sexual intercourse? ("Extramarital" is sexual activity with someone other than one's spouse.)
 1. It adds dimension to marriage, and there is nothing wrong with it.
 2. It is permissible if you and your spouse agree.
 3. It is all right for either partner as long as he/she doesn't talk about it.
 4. It is all right, but the consequences can be disastrous.
 5. It is all right for men, but not for women.
 6. It is allowable under very special or extreme circumstances.
 7. It is wrong whatever the reason or circumstances.
4. What is your attitude toward the idea of group marriages—unions in which several couples share conjugal rights?

1. Strongly in favor.	4. Neither for it nor against it.
2. Mildly in favor.	5. Mildly disapprove.
3. No opinion, but might be interested.	6. Strongly disapprove.
5. Who should have access to birth control or pregnancy prevention techniques and devices?

1. Anyone.	4. Only married couples or couples about to be married.
2. Anyone over 18.	5. No one.
3. Anyone over 21.	
6. In your opinion, what should be the *most liberal* condition for legal abortions?
 1. Upon demand by a woman.
 2. When the mother is underage, unmarried or unable to care for the child.
 3. When the child might be deformed or retarded.
 4. When the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest.
 5. When the mother's life is endangered.
 6. Not under any circumstances.
7. Premarital sexual relations often equip persons for more stable and happier marriages.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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8. Sex education in elementary and high schools is likely to encourage premarital sexual activities.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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9. I would be reluctant to engage in oral-genital sex.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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10. If he asked my advice, I'd advise a brother of mine *not* to engage in premarital intercourse even if in love.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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11. If she asked my advice, I'd advise a sister of mine not to engage in premarital intercourse even if in love.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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12. Homosexuality, even between consenting adults (18 or older), should be punishable by law.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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13. I would remain friends with someone I found to be a homosexual.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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14. The idea of my engaging in homosexual activity is repulsive to me.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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15. In general, women do not enjoy sex as much as men.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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16. When you were growing up, how often was sex the subject of general family conversation?

never	seldom	occasionally	frequently
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17. How often did your parents openly display their affection for each other?

never	seldom	occasionally	frequently
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18. Did your parents have a good relationship to each other?

not at all	somewhat good	okay	good	very good
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19. Did your parents have a good sexual relationship—one which they both enjoyed?

1. Don't know.	4. Mother enjoyed, but not father.
2. Neither enjoyed.	5. Both enjoyed.
3. Father enjoyed, but not mother.	

20. When you were growing up, did you get the idea that either one of your parents would approve of your having sexual intercourse with the girls you dated?
 definitely approve probably approve probably disapprove definitely disapprove
21. (If you have children) What was the circumstance of your first child's birth?
1. Born out of wedlock.
 2. Born after marriage but conceived before marriage.
 3. Born after seven to nine months of marriage.
 4. Born after less than two years of marriage.
 5. Born between second and third years of marriage.
 6. Born between third and fifth years of marriage.
 7. Born after fifth year of marriage.
22. (If married now) Overall, how do you rate your marriage?
1. Very happy.
 2. Happier than average.
 3. Average.
 4. Somewhat unhappy.
 5. Very unhappy.
 6. Unmarried.
23. (If ever married) Most marriages, even happy ones, have some problems with sexual relations. How important have sexual problems been in your marriage?
1. Very important.
 2. Somewhat important.
 3. No significant sex problems.
 4. Not important at all.
 5. Unmarried.
24. With whom was your first sexual intercourse?
1. Spouse after marriage.
 2. Fiance.
 3. Steady date.
 4. Someone you had known for a while but had not dated steadily.
 5. Casual acquaintance.
 6. Stranger.
 7. Prostitute.
 8. Relative.
 9. None.
25. How old were you at the time of your first sexual intercourse with a woman? _____ (age)
26. After the first time, how many times did you have sexual intercourse with that person again?
1. Not again.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Three or four times.
 4. Five to ten times.
 5. Ten or more times.
 6. More than ten times and still having intercourse.
 7. Not applicable.
27. With how many persons have you had premarital sexual intercourse? _____ (number)
28. With how many different persons have you had extramarital sexual intercourse? _____ (number)
29. (If ever married) How long was it after your marriage that you first had extramarital sexual intercourse?
1. Never.
 2. Less than one year.
 3. One to two years.
 4. Three to five years.
 5. Six to eight years.
 6. Nine to eleven years.
 7. Twelve to fifteen years.
 8. Sixteen or more years.
 9. Never married.
30. (If ever married) Have you participated in wife swapping?
1. Frequently.
 2. Once or twice.
 3. Not ever, but I might.
 4. Never; would never consider it.
 5. Never married.
31. Have you had sexual intercourse with more than one person at a time?
1. Yes, frequently.
 2. Yes, once or twice.
 3. No, but I might consider it.
 4. No, and I would never consider it.
32. In the past six months (not considering time in jail) how often, on the average, did you engage in sexual intercourse?
1. Not at all.
 2. A few times.
 3. Once or twice a month.
 4. Once or twice a week.
 5. Three or four times a week.
 6. Five or more times a week.
 7. Daily or more often.
33. How would you rate your sex life?
1. Very unsatisfactory.
 2. Unsatisfactory.
 3. Somewhat unsatisfactory.
 4. Somewhat satisfactory.
 5. Satisfactory.
 6. Very satisfactory.
34. What method of contraception (birth control techniques) do you or your sex partner use? Circle as many as apply.
1. None.
 2. Rhythm.
 3. Withdrawal.
 4. Diaphragm.
 5. Foam, jelly or other chemical means.
 6. Condom.
 7. Intrauterine loop.
 8. Pill
 9. Not applicable.
35. Would you engage in intercourse when neither of you have any contraceptive protection?
1. No.
 2. Probably not.
 3. Probably would.
 4. Definitely would.
36. Do you have difficulty achieving an erection?
1. Frequently.
 2. Occasionally.
 3. Seldom.
 4. No.

37. When you are with a woman, do you ever worry about your ability to satisfy her sexually?
 1. Frequently. 2. Occasionally. 3. A few times. 4. Never.
38. I am sexually aroused by something that I see or read about once every _____.
 never month 2 weeks week 2 or 3 days day
39. I feel the urge to engage in some kind of sexual activity about once every _____.
 never month 2 weeks week 2 or 3 days day
40. Heavy Petting: Heavy petting is the direct stimulation of the sex organs by one or both partners. During high school, I engaged in heavy petting how many times? _____ (times)
41. During high school, I engaged in heavy petting with how many girls? _____ (partners)
42. During the past six months, I engaged in heavy petting how many times? _____ (times)
43. Since leaving high school, I engaged in heavy petting with how many partners? _____ (partners)
44. I was _____ (age) years old when I first engaged in heavy petting.
45. In high school, with how many different persons did you engage in premarital intercourse? _____ (partners)
46. Altogether I have engaged in premarital intercourse with how many different partners that I did *not love*.
 _____ (partners)
47. During high school, I masturbated (i.e., the achievement of a sexual climax by the stimulation of your own sex organs) about once every _____.
 never month 2 weeks week 2 to 3 days day
48. Since you were 13, have you had homosexual experiences?
 1. Whenever I have sexual intercourse. 5. Once or twice.
 2. Frequently. 6. Never, but I've thought about it.
 3. Several times 7. Never, and would not.
 4. Once or twice, but didn't enjoy it.
49. Were you ever approached while you were young by a man who wanted you to engage in homosexual behavior?
 1. Yes, several times. 2. Yes, a few times. 3. Never.
50. With how many different persons have you engaged in homosexual behavior? _____ (persons)
51. Over the past six months, how often have you masturbated?
 1. Several times a day. 5. Three or four times a month.
 2. Daily. 6. Once or twice a month.
 3. Three or four times a week. 7. Not at all.
 4. Once or twice a week.
52. When you were in high school, did you ever masturbate after or while you were reading a book?
 1. Yes, often. 2. Yes, sometimes. 3. Yes, once or twice. 4. No.
53. Has your sex partner stimulated your sex organ with her mouth or lips?
 1. Frequently. 4. Never, but I would like it.
 2. Several times. 5. Never, and I wouldn't permit it.
 3. Once or twice.
54. Have you stimulated your sex partner's genitals with your mouth and lips?
 1. Frequently. 4. Never, but I've wanted to.
 2. Several times. 5. Never, and it is unlikely that I ever would.
 3. Once or twice.
55. Have you engaged in anal intercourse?
 1. Frequently. 4. Never, but I've wanted to.
 2. Several times. 5. Never, and it's unlikely that I ever would.
 3. Once or twice.
56. Which of the following have you ever done? Circle *all* that you have done.
 1. Watched a woman undress when she did not know you were watching.
 2. Forced a young girl (12 or younger) to let you touch her sexual organs.
 3. Forced a girl under 16 years of age to have sexual intercourse with you.
 4. Forced a girl—16 or older—to have sexual intercourse with you.
 5. Forced a man or boy to have sexual intercourse with you.
 6. Dressed up as a woman.
 7. Allowed other men to use you sexually for money.
 8. Stolen articles of women's clothing to wear.
 9. Exhibited your sex organs to women in public places.
57. Have you ever been arrested for a sexual offense?
 1. No. 2. Yes.
58. If your answer was "yes," for what offense(s) have you been arrested? Please describe each briefly.

APPENDIX B

Instructions: The purpose of these stories and questions is to get at your opinions and ideas. Please write down all the ideas or feelings they bring to mind rather than giving "yes" or "no" answers. Each story is followed by questions for you to answer. If there is not enough space after the question use the other side of the page to continue (writing the number of the question you are answering).

Joe is a 14-year-old boy who wanted to go to camp very much. His father promised him he could go if he saved up the money for it himself. So Joe worked hard at his paper route and saved up the \$40 it cost to go to camp and a little more besides. But just before camp was going to start, his father changed his mind. Some of his friends decided to go on a special fishing trip, and Joe's father was short of the money it would cost. So he told Joe to give him the money he had saved from the paper route. Joe didn't want to give up going to camp, so he thought of refusing to give his father the money.

Should Joe refuse to give his father the money? Why?

Does his father have the right to tell Joe to give him the money? Why?

Does giving the money have anything to do with being a "good son"?

Which is worse, a father breaking a promise to his son or a son breaking a promise to his father? Why?

Why should a promise be kept?

Two young men had gotten into serious trouble. They were secretly leaving town in a hurry and needed money. Alex, the older one, broke into a store and stole \$500. Joe, the younger one, went to a retired old man who was known to help people in town. Joe told the man that he was very sick and he needed \$500 to pay for the operation. Really he wasn't sick at all, and he had no intention of paying the man back. Although the man didn't know Joe very well, he loaned him the money. So Joe and Alex skipped town, each with \$500.

If you had to say who did worse, would you say Al did worse to break in the store and steal the \$500 or Joe did worse to borrow the \$500 with no intention of paying it back? Why?

Would you feel like a worse person stealing like Al or cheating like Joe? Why?

Why shouldn't someone steal from a store anyhow?

Who would feel worse, the storeowner who was robbed or the man who was cheated out of the loan? Why?

Which should the law be more harsh or strong against, stealing like Al or cheating like Joe? Why?

APPENDIX C

RESPONDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is made up of a series of statements each of which describes a particular type of person. For each of these statements, we want you to think about (the person) and tell us to what extent (to what degree, how much) he is the *type of* person described in the sentence. For example:

The only thing he cares about is money.

Not at all Very little Little Some—not much Fairly much Much Very much Exactly

This statement describes a particular kind of person. If your friend is a real money-grubber, who is always looking for a way to make a buck, and who would sacrifice *anything* for money, you would mark "exactly." If he works hard to get money, but wouldn't give up *everything* else to get it, you might mark "fairly much" or "much." And if he doesn't care at all about money as long as he doesn't starve, you would check "very little" or "not at all."

We want to know how you *really* see this person. If the kind of person you think he really is comes out different from the kind of person he usually seems to be, please mark the way you think he *really* is. For example, if your friend doesn't usually run around grubbing for money, but you have good reason to think that when it comes right down to it money is more important to him than it seems to be on the surface, then you would mark him as being more the type of person the sentence describes than he seems to be at first glance.

Remember: Ask yourself, "How much is he like the type of person that the sentence describes?" Please mark an answer for *all* of the statements.

How well do you know this person?

Not at all Very little Little Some—not much Fairly much Much Very much Exactly

1. He pushes people around if he has the chance.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
2. He would use any trick in the book to get a woman into bed, no matter how bad it made things for her afterward.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
3. He really stands up for his friends, even under pressure.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
4. He's a "love them and leave them" type with women.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
5. He likes to win, but if he loses he can shrug it off.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
6. You can't depend on him for anything.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
7. He would do anything for a friend.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
8. Almost all of his real friends are men.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
9. He doesn't believe in the things that most people believe in.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
10. He wants to do the right thing, but he can't resist a really strong temptation.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
11. If you know what's good for you, you stay out of his way.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
12. If he gives somebody his word, he will keep it even if it means that other people think he's a sucker for doing it.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
13. Nobody gets close to him, and he likes it that way.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
14. He tries his best to do what's right, but he just can't stay out of trouble.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
15. He hates to hurt other people's feelings.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
16. He has his own ideas about what is right or wrong, but they are very different from most people's ideas.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
17. He would lie to anyone if he thought it would get him something he wanted.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
18. If he says something is so, I can believe him.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
19. He figures that sex is fun, and there's no need to complicate it by getting involved.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
20. He's hard to get to know, but he's a good friend once you get to know him.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
21. He is calm and relaxed.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
22. He doesn't care what anybody thinks of what he does, as long as it doesn't get him into trouble.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
23. I would lend him ten dollars in a pinch, because I know he would pay me back.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
24. When the going gets tough, he quits.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
25. He likes women, out of bed as well as in bed.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
26. He understands why people feel the way they do about things, even if he doesn't feel that way himself.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
27. He acts without thinking, and gets in over his head because of it.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
28. He would sell his own mother for a quarter.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
29. He doesn't really care what happens to anybody else.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
30. He treats women like dirt.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
31. He knows what he wants, with no second thoughts about it.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly

32. I don't think he's ever really cared for a woman.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
33. He would sleep with his best friend's wife if he could get away with it.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
34. He would take advantage of a woman if he could.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
35. The idea of being really close to a woman scares him.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
36. He will try to get what he wants, no matter who gets hurt in the process.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
37. He would feel ashamed of himself if he copped out of a tough situation.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
38. He does what he feels like doing at the moment, and to hell with the consequences.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
39. He's always starting in on things and then doesn't complete them.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
40. He thinks that "right and wrong" are OK for Sunday School teachers, but not for him.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
41. Most people don't trust him, and for good reason.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
42. I would be willing to tell him things about me that I wouldn't want most people to know.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
43. He would feel very bad if he let a friend down.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
44. He would do practically anything to get what he wants.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
45. He thinks the only thing women are good for is screwing.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
46. If he got a girl pregnant, he would figure that it's her tough luck.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
47. His friends would do almost anything for him.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly
48. The only thing he cares about in people is what they can do for him.	Not at all	Very little	Little	Some—not much	Fairly much	Much	Very much	Exactly

We need to compare the way you see a person with the way other people see the same person. To do this, we would like you to read the following story (it is very short), and answer the questions following it.

One Reader Writes

By Ernest Hemingway

SHE SAT at the table in her bedroom with a newspaper folded open before her and only stopping to look out of the window at the snow which was falling and melting on the roof as if fell. She wrote this letter, writing it steadily with no necessity to cross out or rewrite anything.

Roanoke, Virginia
February 6, 1933

Dear Doctor—

May I write you for some very important advice—I have a decision to make and don't know just whom to trust most I dare not ask my parents—and so I come to you—and only because I need not see you, can I confide in you even. Now here is the situation—I married a man in U. S. service in 1929 and that same year he was sent to China, Shanghai—he stayed three years—and came home—he was discharged from the service some few months ago—and went to his mother's home in Helena, Arkansas. He wrote for me to come home—I went, and found he is taking a course of injections and I naturally ask, and found he is being treated for I don't know how to spell the word but it sounds like this "sifilus"—Do you know what I mean—now tell me will it ever be safe for me to live with him again—I did not come in close contact with him at any time since his return from China. He assures me he will be OK after this doctor finishes with him—Do you think it right—I often heard my Father say one could well wish themselves dead if once they became a victim of that malady—I believe my Father but want to believe my Husband most—Please, please tell me what to do—I have a daughter born while her Father was in China—

Thanking you and trusting wholly in your advice I am

and signed her name.

Maybe he can tell me what's right to do, she said to herself. Maybe he can tell me. In the picture in the paper he looks like he'd know. He looks smart, all right. Every day he tells somebody what to do. He ought to know. I want to do whatever is right. It's such a long time though. It's a long time. And it's been a long time. My Christ, it's been a long time. He had to go wherever they sent him, I know, but I don't know what he had to get it for. Oh, I wish to Christ he wouldn't have got it. I don't care what he did to get it. But I wish to Christ he hadn't ever got it. It does seem like he didn't have to get it. I don't know what to do. I wish to Christ he hadn't got any kind of malady. I don't know why he had to get a malady.

Now we want you to think about the girl in the story, and try to understand what kind of person she is. Then read the following statements, and mark the the answer that says how much the girl in the story is the *kind* of a person described by the statement. You may look back at the story if you need to at any time.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|-------------|--------|---------------|-------------|------|-----------|---------|
| 1. She is just using her husband's "malady" as an excuse for avoiding sex. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 2. Her main concern is for her husband rather than herself. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 3. Her major problem is that he's stupid. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 4. She is a cold, selfish person. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 5. She doesn't care about sex one way or the other. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 6. She needs sex about as much as the average woman in her circumstances. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 7. She feels very lonely and cut off from other people. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 8. Her husband's "malady" isn't really important to her; she's only upset because he slept with another woman. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 9. She is angry at her husband for "getting a malady." | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 10. The only reason she won't believe her husband when he says that he will get well is because she's stubborn. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 11. She doesn't love her husband any more. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 12. She would like to forgive her husband for being unfaithful. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 13. She thinks that she doesn't have much control over what happens to her. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 14. She is sure she can forgive her husband for being unfaithful, just so long as he gets well. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 15. The main reason she's writing to the doctor is because she doesn't have any close friends to talk to. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 16. She is afraid of what people would think if they found out her husband had syphilis. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 17. She hopes the doctor will say it is o.k. for her to have sex with her husband. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 18. What she wants is for the doctor to tell her to go out with other men. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 19. The only reason she doesn't talk to her husband about her feelings is because she's mad at him. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |
| 20. She would rather have someone tell her what to do than make a decision herself. | Not at all | Very little | Little | Some—not much | Fairly much | Much | Very much | Exactly |

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APPENDIX D

D(1): INSTRUCTIONS ON THE USE OF THIS APPENDIX

In this appendix, scales measuring the component aspects of major variables are presented, one scale per page. For each scale, the scale name, scale statistics, and a list of scale items are presented. By referring to the Institute Research Questionnaire (IRQ) in Appendix A, actual items may be referenced.

All scale scores were calculated by taking the mean of the scale item scores. If items were dichotomized (split) the item scores were converted (prior to taking the scale mean) to 0 or 1 according to whether or not the original item score was below or above the split point.

For each item the following information is presented:

(1) Item number referring to the IRQ variable number. In Appendix A, this is the number in parentheses following the IRQ item.

(2) Scale number and name into which the item was placed.

(3) Whether the item was reversed (1) or not reversed (-0).

(4) Whether the item was dichotomized, in which case the split point for dichotomization is indicated, or not dichotomized, in which case the split point is indicated as a -0.00.

(5) If reversed scored, the maximum possible item score plus 1.00 is indicated. If not reversed, no (total + 1) value is given, rather it will be indicated to be -0.00.

(6) Weight of item in scale. All items were equally weighted and all weights are indicated as 1.00.

D(2): EXPOSURE TO GENERALLY DEVIANT MODELS IN THE FAMILY (FAMGDM)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
10-FAMGDM	.619	.214	6	364	.389	.078

High score indicates a high level of generally deviant modeling in the family

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
62	10-FAMGDM	1	4.50	6.00	1.00
63	10-FAMGDM	1	2.50	4.00	1.00
64	10-FAMGDM	1	4.50	6.00	1.00
65	10-FAMGDM	1	4.50	6.00	1.00
79	10-FAMGDM	1	2.50	4.00	1.00
80	10-FAMGDM	1	2.50	4.00	1.00

D(3): EXPOSURE TO SEXUALLY DEVIANT MODELS IN THE FAMILY (FAMSXM)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
11-FAMSXM	.366	.114	5	364	.191	.041

High score indicates a high level of sexually deviant modeling in the family

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
66	11-FAMSXM	1	2.50	4.00	1.00
67	11-FAMSXM	1	2.50	4.00	1.00
68	11-FAMSXM	1	2.50	5.00	1.00
69	11-FAMSXM	-0	1.50	-0.00	1.00
236	11-FAMSXM	1	2.50	5.00	1.00

D(4): ABSENCE OF SANCTION NETWORKS IN THE FAMILY (FAMASN)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
12 - FAMASN	.633	.154	10	365	.558	.055

High score indicates a lack of sanction networks in the home

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
70	12-FAMASN	1	2.50	4.00	1.00
71	12-FAMASN	1	2.50	4.00	1.00
72	12-FAMASN	1	1.50	4.00	1.00
73	12-FAMASN	1	1.50	4.00	1.00
74	12-FAMASN	1	1.50	3.00	1.00
81	12-FAMASN	1	2.50	5.00	1.00
82	12-FAMASN	1	1.50	3.00	1.00
83	12-FAMASN	1	1.50	3.00	1.00
84	12-FAMASN	1	1.50	3.00	1.00
107	12-FAMASN	1	-0.00	4.00	1.00

D(5): PERCEIVED QUALITY OF MOTHER-FATHER RELATIONSHIP (PARSEX)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
13 - PARSEX	.521	.352	2	363	.534	.168

High score indicates a good relationship between subject's father and mother

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
233	13-PARSEX	-0	2.50	-0.00	1.00
234	13-PARSEX	-0	3.50	-0.00	1.00

D(6): PERCEIVED PATERNAL WARMTH AND FAIRNESS (DADHOT)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
14 - DADHOT	.688	.428	3	359	.759	.111

High score indicates that the father was seen as warm, understanding, etc.

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
85	14-DADHOT	1	2.50	4.00	1.00
87	14-DADHOT	1	3.50	6.00	1.00
89	14-DADHOT	1	2.50	5.00	1.00

D(7): PERCEIVED MATERNAL WARMTH AND FAIRNESS (MOMHOT)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
15 - MOMHOT	.693	.433	3	364	.916	.047

High score indicates that the mother was seen as warm, understanding, etc.

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
86	15-MOMHOT	1	2.50	4.00	1.00
88	15-MOMHOT	1	3.50	6.00	1.00
90	15-MOMHOT	1	2.50	5.00	1.00

D(8): EXPOSURE TO DEVIANCE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD (NEIDEV)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
16-NEIDEV	.875	.549	6	362	1.837	.407

High score indicates a high level of general deviance in the neighborhood

IRG no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
91	16-NEIDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
96	16-NEIDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
100	16-NEIDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
101	16-NEIDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
103	16-NEIDEV	1	-0.00	4.00	1.00
104	16-NEIDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(9): EXPOSURE TO GENERAL DEVIANCE IN THE PEER GROUP (PALDEV)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
17-PALDEV	.901	.499	10	365	2.100	.430

High score indicates a high level of general deviance in the peer group

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
92	17-PALDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
93	17-PALDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
94	17-PALDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
95	17-PALDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
97	17-PALDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
98	17-PALDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
99	17-PALDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
102	17-PALDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
105	17-PALDEV	1	-0.00	3.00	1.00
106	17-PALDEV	1	-0.00	4.00	1.00

D(10): EXPOSURE TO HETEROSEXUAL DEVIANCE IN PEER GROUP (PALSEX)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
18-PALSEX	.786	.325	8	362	1.635	.190

High score indicates a high level of sexual deviance in the peer group

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
108	18-PALSEX	-0	2.50	-0.00	1.00
109	18-PALSEX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
110	18-PALSEX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
111	18-PALSEX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
112	18-PALSEX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
113	18-PALSEX	1	-0.00	3.00	1.00
114	18-PALSEX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
115	18-PALSEX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(11): EXPOSURE TO HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE PEER GROUP (PALHOM)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
19 - PALHOM	.740	.347	6	365	1.341	.118

High score indicates a high level of homosexual activity in the peer group

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
116	19-PALHOM	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
117	19-PALHOM	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
118	19-PALHOM	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
119	19-PALHOM	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
120	19-PALHOM	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
273	19-PALHOM	1	-0.00	4.00	1.00

D(12): LIBERALISM OF ATTITUDES TOWARD PREMARITAL SEX (PREATT)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
28 - PREATT	.828	.492	5	363	.612	.138

High score indicates liberal attitudes toward premarital sex

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
217	28-PREATT	1	3.50	7.00	1.00
218	28-PREATT	1	3.50	7.00	1.00
223	28-PREATT	-0	3.50	-0.00	1.00
226	28-PREATT	1	3.50	7.00	1.00
227	28-PREATT	1	3.50	7.00	1.00

D(13): LIBERALISM OF PREMARITAL SEXUAL BEHAVIOR (PRESEX)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
29 - PRESEX	.497	.248	3	349	.577	.116

High score indicates a high level of premarital sexual behavior

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
240	29-PRESEX	-0	3.50	-0.00	1.00
243	29-PRESEX	-0	3.50	-0.00	1.00
269	29-PRESEX	-0	2.50	-0.00	1.00

D(14): LIBERALISM OF ATTITUDES TOWARD EXTRAMARITAL SEX (EMATTS)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
30 - EMATTS	.626	.456	2	364	.488	.182

High score indicates liberal attitudes toward extramarital sex

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
219	30-EMATTS	1	5.50	8.00	1.00
220	30-EMATTS	1	4.50	7.00	1.00

D(15): LIBERALISM OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX EDUCATION AND CONTRACEPTION (EDUSEX)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
32 - EDUSEX	.327	.139	3	364	.488	.103

High score indicates liberal attitudes toward sex education and availability of contraceptives

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
221	32-EDUSEX	1	1.50	6.00	1.00
222	32-EDUSEX	1	1.50	7.00	1.00
224	32-EDUSEX	-0	3.50	7.00	1.00

D(16): LIBERALISM OF ATTITUDES TOWARD HOMOSEXUALITY (HOMATT)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
33 - HOMATT	.039	.014	3	362	.483	.070

High score indicates liberal attitudes toward homosexuality

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
228	33-HOMATT	1	3.50	7.00	1.00
229	33-HOMATT	-0	3.50	-0.00	1.00
230	33-HOMATT	1	3.50	7.00	1.00

D(17): NONSTANDARD INTERCOURSE (SEXLIB)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
35 - SEXLIB	.617	.323	4	359	.197	.067

High score indicates high frequency of oral-genital, anal-genital, or group sex behaviors

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
247	35-SEXLIB	1	1.50	5.00	1.00
277	35-SEXLIB	1	2.50	6.00	1.00
278	35-SEXLIB	1	2.50	6.00	1.00
279	35-SEXLIB	1	2.50	6.00	1.00

D(18): EXPOSURE TO PRINTED PORNOGRAPHY (PORPRT)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
22 - PORPRT	.854	.463	7	365	2.118	.317

High score indicates a high level of prior exposure to printed pornography

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
156	22-PORPRT	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
161	22-PORPRT	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
166	22-PORPRT	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
171	22-PORPRT	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
176	22-PORPRT	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
181	22-PORPRT	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
186	22-PORPRT	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(19): EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHIC PICTURES AND
CARTOONS (PORPIX)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
23 - PORPIX	.836	.429	7	365	2.044	.302

High score indicates a high level of prior exposure to pornographic pictures or cartoons

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
157	23-PORPIX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
162	23-PORPIX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
167	23-PORPIX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
172	23-PORPIX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
177	23-PORPIX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
182	23-PORPIX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
187	23-PORPIX	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(20): EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHIC MOVIES (PORMOV)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
24 - PORMOV	.821	.416	7	365	1.730	.264

High score indicates a high level of prior exposure to pornographic films

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
158	24-PORMOV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
163	24-PORMOV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
168	24-PORMOV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
173	24-PORMOV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
178	24-PORMOV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
183	24-PORMOV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
188	24-PORMOV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(21): FREQUENCY OF PURCHASING PORNOGRAPHY (PORBUY)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
26 - PORBUY	.871	.392	12	365	1.518	.196

High score indicates that subject has purchased much pornographic material

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
160	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
165	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
170	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
175	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
180	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
185	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
190	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
191	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
193	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
194	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
203	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
204	26-PORBUY	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(22): USE OF PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIALS (PORUSE)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
27 - PORUSE	.588	.321	4	365	1.982	.550

High score indicates a high frequency of use of pornographic material

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
205	27-PORUSE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
206	27-PORUSE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
262	27-PORUSE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
276	27-PORUSE	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00

D(23): AGE OF EARLIEST EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHY (PORAGE)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
25 - PORAGE	.913	.601	7	309	14.951	7.770

High score indicates that subject was older when exposed to pornographic material

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
159	25-PORAGE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
164	25-PORAGE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
169	25-PORAGE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
174	25-PORAGE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
179	25-PORAGE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
184	25-PORAGE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
189	25-PORAGE	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(24): GENERAL DEVIANCE (NYEDEV)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
20 - NYEDEV	.900	.385	15	365	1.988	.381

High score indicates a high level of general deviance

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
121	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
126	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	4.00	1.00
128	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
129	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
131	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
133	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
134	20-NYEDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
135	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
136	20-NYEDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
137	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
138	20-NYEDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
140	20-NYEDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
142	20-NYEDEV	1	-0.00	5.00	1.00
144	20-NYEDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
146	20-NYEDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(25): SEXUAL DEVIANCE (SEXDEV)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
39 - SEXDEV	.337	.067	10	362	.184	.009

High score indicates high frequency of deviant sexual behavior

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
280	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
281	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
282	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
283	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
284	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
285	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
286	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
287	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
288	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
289	39-SEXDEV	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(26): USE OF ALCOHOL (ALKUSE)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
7 - ALKUSE	.538	.190	5	360	.327	.076

High score indicates high level of alcohol use

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
53	7-ALKUSE	-0	4.50	-0.00	1.00
54	7-ALKUSE	-0	4.50	-0.00	1.00
55	7-ALKUSE	-0	2.50	-0.00	1.00
56	7-ALKUSE	-0	3.50	-0.00	1.00
57	7-ALKUSE	-0	1.50	-0.00	1.00

D(27): USE OF DANGEROUS DRUGS (DRUGS)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
8 - DRUGS	.828	.534	5	363	2.156	1.664

High score indicates high level of drug use

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
147	8-DRUGS	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
149	8-DRUGS	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
151	8-DRUGS	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
153	8-DRUGS	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
155	8-DRUGS	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(28): CHRONICITY OF USE OF ILLICIT DRUGS (DRUGYR)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
9 - DRUGYR	.887	.667	4	133	2.690	.894

High score indicates a long-term (chronic) use of drugs

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
149	9-DRUGYR	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
150	9-DRUGYR	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
152	9-DRUGYR	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
154	9-DRUGYR	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(29): MORAL BLINDNESS (MORPIK)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
1 - MORPIK	.549	.137	8	364	.722	.044

High score indicates high frequency of action on a moral basis

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
2	1-MORPIK	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
6	1-MORPIK	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
25	1-MORPIK	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
29	1-MORPIK	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
33	1-MORPIK	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
37	1-MORPIK	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
42	1-MORPIK	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00
45	1-MORPIK	-0	-0.00	-0.00	1.00

D(30): INCLINATION TO ACT ON A MORAL BASIS (MORINC)

Scale no. - Name	Alpha	HR	Items	SS	Mean	Variance
4 - MORINC	.664	.202	8	364	5.010	.942

High score indicates strong inclination to act on a moral basis

IRQ no.	Scale	Reversed	Split	Total + 1	Weight
4	4-MORINC	1	-0.00	8.00	1.00
8	4-MORINC	1	-0.00	8.00	1.00
27	4-MORINC	1	-0.00	8.00	1.00
31	4-MORINC	1	-0.00	8.00	1.00
35	4-MORINC	1	-0.00	8.00	1.00
39	4-MORINC	1	-0.00	8.00	1.00
44	4-MORINC	1	-0.00	8.00	1.00
47	4-MORINC	1	-0.00	8.00	1.00

APPENDIX E

RESPONDENT QUESTIONNAIRE: THE MEASURE OF INTERPERSONAL CHARACTER

Upon reviewing the concept of "character" as used both in psychology and in ordinary discourse, nine major ways in which character can be deficient were identified. They were: (1) lack of consideration for others, (2) inappropriate impulsiveness, (3) psychopathic aggressiveness, (4) no real concept of right and wrong, (5) shallow interpersonal relations, (6) interpersonal exploitiveness, (7) lack of interpersonal loyalty, (8) lack of trustworthiness and dependability, and (9) lack of "endurance" under stress or temptation. The items on the respondent questionnaire were designed to instantiate these defects, as well as to allow finer discrimination to be made (e.g., distinguishing a person who truly has no concept of right and wrong from the alienated person whose concept is at odds with the predominant cultural concept). For each of the nine concepts, a number of items were included which sampled the range of defect from mild to severe.

Since it was clearly unfeasible to have human judges rate each of the 600+ Respondent Questionnaires (nine scales each) a scoring program was devised to simulate the use to which a human judge would put each item of information in making a judgment on each of the nine basic scales. This involved decisions regarding how strong the endorsement of a given item must be before it is taken as a positive indication of defect (or lack of defect), and how strongly a given item is indicative of defect of a particular sort. In addition, checks of logically inconsistent patterns of endorsement were made, in order to indicate questionnaires in which the evidence for defect is self-contradictory. The resultant program, on the face of it, does a reasonably accurate job of simulating the judgment a human judge would make utilizing the same data.

Having obtained scores on the nine basic scales, scales 1-4 were summed to provide a measure of "psychopathy"; 5-7 were summed to a measure of character defect in interpersonal relations; while 8 and 9 were summed to a measure of lack of character strength. These three conglomerate scales were summed to result in ITCHAR, the measure of total interpersonal character defect.

All of these summations gave equal weight to each component scale.

Following is the detailed scheme for scoring the character measures. "Indicator" numbers refer to the numbered statements of the Respondent Questionnaire (Appendix C): "Endorsement" numbers refer to the respondent's answers on the eight-point scale, 1=Not at all; 8=Exactly. Lack of defect is scored as zero.

I.	CONSID Maximum = 10	
	Indicators: 15, 17, 26, 29, 36	
	Item	Endorsement
	15	6,7,8
	17	6,7,8
	29	5,6
		7,8
	36	5,6
		7,8
		Score
		-2
		+1
		+2
		+3
		+2
		+3
	If (#126 ≥ 6 ∩ CONSID ≥ 4) → +3	

II. IMPULS Maximum = 4

Indicators: 27, 38

Item	Endorsement	Score
27	7,8	+1
38	6	+2
	7,8	+3

III. AGGRES Maximum = 5

Indicators: 1, 5, 11

Item	Endorsement	Score
1	5,6	+1
	7,8	+2
5	7,8	-2
11	6	+1
	7,8	+2

If (#5 = 4 or 5 \cap AGGRES \geq 2) \rightarrow +1

IV. RIGHT Maximum = 10

Indicators: 28, 37, 40, 43, 44

Item	Endorsement	Score
28	6,7,8	+1
37	6,7,8	-1
40	5,6	+2
	7,8	+3
43	1,2,3	+2
	6	-1
	7,8	-3
44	5,6	+1
	7,8	+3

If (#37 \geq 6 \cap RIGHT \geq 4) \rightarrow +1

V. SHALLOW Maximum = 12

Indicators: 4, 13, 19, 20, 30, 32, 35

Item	Endorsement	Score
4	6,7,8	+1
13	5,6	+1
	7,8	+3
19	7,8	+1
20	6,7,8	-3
30	6,7,8	+2
32	5,6	+1
	7,8	+3
35	6,7,8	+2

VI. EXPLOIT Maximum = 18

Indicators: 2, 4, 25, 30, 33, 34, 45, 46, 48

Item	Endorsement	Score
2	5	+1
	6	+2
	7,8	+3
4	7,8	+1
25	6,7,8	-1
30	6,7,8	+1
33	6,7,8	+1
34	6	+1
	7,8	+2
45	6	+2
	7,8	+3
46	6	+2
	7,8	+3
48	5	+1
	6	+3
	7,8	+4

VII. LOYAL Maximum = 12

Indicators: 3, 7, 12, 28, 43, 47

Item	Endorsement	Score
3	3	+2
	1,2	+3
7	4,5	+1
	1,2,3	+2
12	4,5	+1
	3	+2
	1,2	+3
28	6,7,8	+1
43	1,2,3	+1
47	1,2,3	+2

VIII. TRUST Maximum = 14

Indicators: 6, 17, 18, 23, 41, 42

Item	Endorsement	Score
6	6	+2
	7,8	+3
17	6	+2
	7,8	+3
18	3,4	+2
	1,2	+3
23	3,4	+1
	1,2	+2
41	5,6	+1
	7,8	+3
42	6	-2
	7,8	-4

IX. ENDURE Maximum = 13

Indicators: 3, 10, 14, 24, 37, 39

Item	Endorsement	Score
3	7,8	-1
	1,2,3	+3
10	6	+1
	7,8	+3
14	6,7,8	+1
24	6	+2
	7,8	+3
37	1,2,3,4	+1
39	6	+1
	7,8	+2

Pattern checks—inconsistent combinations

Right ≥ 4 and #14 ≤ 7 .

(#44 ≥ 7 or #43 ≤ 3) and #16 ≥ 6 .

#13 ≥ 7 and #20 ≥ 7 .

#45 ≥ 6 and #25 ≥ 6 .

#2 ≥ 6 and #34 ≥ 3 .

#2 ≥ 3 and #34 ≥ 6 .

#6 ≥ 7 and #18 ≥ 7 .

Pornography and Sex Crime

The Danish Experience

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INTRODUCTION

The question of what effect, if any, pornographic material¹ has on potential sex offenders has enjoyed considerable and often spirited debate. In the United States, where obscenity law has been in a state of flux for more than a decade, three different answers have been proposed.

First, there are those who state unequivocally that pornography foments sex crime. This group, composed mainly of procensorship citizens groups² and law enforcement officials,³ is highly emotional in its approach and generally unprepared to tender evidence in support of its position. Proponents of this direct causality theory rely principally on inner conviction and the sensationally publicized but infrequent instances in which pornographic items have been found in the possession of apprehended sex offenders.⁴

A second answer, proposed by the Kinsey Institute for Sex Research,⁵ is that no relation between pornography and sex crime exists. After interviewing convicted sex offenders and examining their histories, the Kinsey researchers concluded that the inferior intelligence and education of the average sex offender precludes his deriving sufficient sexual arousal from pornography to trigger overt antisocial activity.⁶

Finally, there are those who believe that pornography may have a cathartic effect on potential sex offenders; that is, with pornography supplying the fantasy, potentially offensive sexual behavior may be channeled into passive self-relief.⁷ Like the Kinsey researchers, the proponents of this hypothesis have relied on clinical experience rather than on statistical data.

It was in this context that a study was proposed to determine what effect, if any, the abolition of all restrictions on the dissemination of pornographic materials in Denmark has had on the sex crime rate in that country. In Copenhagen, prior to 1965, the method by which one obtained pornography was

not dissimilar from other places in Europe or the United States; if one knew the right restaurant or kiosk and enjoyed the confidence of its proprietor, he could buy the familiar packet of glossy hard-core pornographic photos at approximately 20 kr. (\$2.80) for eight to 10 pictures. Since 1965, materials of varying pornographic intensity and quality have been readily available to the general public. Retail outlets soon became numerous and the prices were not exorbitant.⁸ Moreover, spirited public discussion in the newspapers, radio, and television concerning the availability of pornography alerted the populace to its accessibility. The existence of magazine vending machines outside some "porno shops" and mail-order solicitation in the daily newspapers has ensured that even the most inhibited consumer may purchase pornography with a minimum of anxiety.

If pornography is indeed a cause of sex crime, we would expect to see a rise in Copenhagen's sex crime rate since pornography began to be freely disseminated. On the other hand, a decrease in the rate of sex crime, barring other explanations, would certainly tend to disprove the premise that pornography stimulates sex crime and would give credence to the catharsis or safety valve theory. An analysis of Copenhagen police statistics reveals that the rate of reported sex crimes has declined sharply during the period that hard-core graphic pornography has been freely disseminated.

THE DISSEMINATION OF PORNOGRAPHY IN COPENHAGEN

In June 1967 the Danish Parliament, by a vote of 159 to 13, excepted literature from the Penal Code's obscenity provision.⁹ While graphic pornography (magazines, photos, films, slides, cartoons, etc.) remained prohibited,¹⁰ the de facto situation in Copenhagen, both before and after the law revision, was such that pornographic materials of all types were available in over-the-counter trade. In July 1969 the obscenity statute was formally repealed thereby legalizing all forms of pornography.¹¹

Literature

In 1964 a Danish translation of *Fanny Hill* appeared on the market and promptly sold an estimated 300,000 copies. A much publicized obscenity prosecution of its publishers terminated in acquittal and alerted Danes to the availability of Danish language pornography. After *Fanny's* debut, less timid publishers began to glut the market with pornographic paperback novels. At first these books sold at a brisk pace—from 10-15,000 copies per title.¹² But by the time the 1967 law revision removed the producers' concern over criminal prosecution, consumer demand had slackened appreciably. While the decline in sales might be explained by a possible reduction in titillation offered by pornographic literature by reason of its new respectability (or at least the lifting of the taboo against it), it seems more likely that the market for pornographic literature crumbled under competitive pressure from graphic pornography. As of June 1968, five to 10 new pornographic paperbacks were appearing each week. Their publishers were experiencing a 40-60% return on an 8,000-copy printing.

"Speciality" books (homosexual, sadomasochistic, bondage, etc.) first began to appear in mid-1967. Unlike the heterosexual paperbacks, these books have maintained a small but stable market of from 6-8,000 copies per title.¹³

Magazines

The great boom in production of pornographic magazines is of primary interest. Such magazines may provide a prefabricated, unsubtle basis for erotic fantasy. They are relatively inexpensive in Copenhagen, available in great variety, and subject to enjoyment in the privacy of one's home.

In 1965 a new type of magazine, which we shall designate category #1, appeared on the over-the-counter market. Up until then, magazines featuring totally nude women were of the "arty" or "nudist" variety. In the new publications, however, models were posed in the most provocative manner—usually full front or rear views with the legs spread apart and often with the model holding open her vagina.¹⁴ Cupping or fondling of the breasts was also a popular pose. The category #1 magazines were clearly distinguishable from the relatively impersonal and restrained quality of their predecessors. Moreover, the models were not, as might be expected,¹⁵ down-at-the-heels prostitutes but were fairly attractive young women supplementing legitimate incomes.¹⁶

Category #1 magazines sold very well in 1965, when approximately 2 million copies were consumed in Denmark.¹⁷ But in January 1966 the Copenhagen police launched a crackdown on the manufacturers of these magazines. As a result, 1966 sales of category #1 magazines dropped to about 750,000 copies. However, the January crackdown had the unintended effect of paving the way for large-scale production of pornography of greater intensity. For, while the large producers had temporarily halted production of category #1 magazines in fear of police confiscation, small concerns sprang up to take advantage of a proven pornography market. Due in part to entrepreneurial instinct, and perhaps compensating for the inferior models who appeared in their early issues, these early producers of the so-called "petting"¹⁸ magazines escalated the pornographic content of the photographs. Multiple party sexual acts were not depicted. As the "petting" magazines theoretically were no more illegal than the category #1 publications, the new manufacturers ran no greater risk than their less brazen competitors.¹⁹ By 1967 sales of category #1 magazines had plunged to 100,000 copies under the onslaught of "petting" and "hard-core" magazines. By 1968 their producers had virtually abandoned Denmark as a market.²⁰

"Petting" magazines, the innovation of eccentric Copenhagen pornographer and anticensorship crusader Leo Madsen, first appeared in the fall of 1965. This type of publication features heterosexual and often lesbian contact between two or more models. For the purposes of this study, "petting" magazines are defined as including all activity short of penetration of the vulva or anus, and fellatio.²¹ The quality of photography and models, at first shaky, improved rapidly as profits were realized.²²

Although only a few issues of the "petting" magazines appeared in 1965, they sold very well—sometimes up to 35,000 copies per issue. An estimated 150,000 copies were sold during the year. Despite the police crackdown, an estimated 1 million "petting" magazines were disseminated in Denmark in 1966.

By 1967 control of pornography had become a relatively low-priority item for Copenhagen police who were more concerned with rising traffic in dangerous drugs. During that year Danes bought approximately 1.5 million copies of "petting" magazines. By 1968, however, "petting" magazines began to suffer the

same fate as had befallen the category #1 publications a year earlier. To a great extent the more pornographic magazines had usurped their market.²³

The third category of graphic pornography, which we shall designate as "hard-core," embraces everything beyond "petting." Frequently more than two models participate in the sexual activity depicted. "Lesbian" relations are common, but homosexual contact between males is rare.²⁴ Female preoccupation with inanimate phallic objects is another popular theme in hard-core magazines.

Early hard-core magazines were simply reprints of the old under-the-counter glossy photographs in magazine format. About 20,000 copies of such magazines were sold in Denmark during 1966. By 1967 sales of hard-core magazines, which rapidly began to improve in photography and subject matter, jumped to 450,000. Magazines of this type had shouldered all competition from the shelves by 1968, selling a total of 1.6 million copies that year. Domestic sales of hard-core magazines in 1969 indicate a possible leveling off, as an estimated 1.8 million copies were consumed that year.

Since 1968 Danish porno shops have provided their clientele with a considerable variety of hard-core magazines. The repeal of the obscenity law contributed to the briskness of competition for this lucrative market among manufacturers. Most hard-core magazines are now in color and feature young, attractive models.

Photographs

Sets of glossy photographs (approximately 3"x5") with action corresponding to each of the three magazine categories are sold in all of Copenhagen's porno shops, generally at \$2.80 for a 10-photo packet. As these photos are inferior in every way to the magazines—including models, photographic quality, and quantity (a magazine may have from 32 to 50 pages)—it may be assumed that tourists and others who fear detection are their principal consumers. The portability of such packets, however, may be of primary concern to those who may wish to carry them on their person.

Films

Eight-millimeter petting and hard-core films can be purchased (and sometimes rented) in various Copenhagen porno shops without the need for special contacts. About 7,500 such films were sold in Denmark in 1968, the first year of serious production, while sales increased to 20,000 during 1969. While such films are probably more stimulating than magazines, their cost²⁵ and the equipment and privacy necessary for their enjoyment mean that they are generally out of reach for most Danes.

From 1965 to the present, residents of Copenhagen have had relatively free access²⁶ to literary pornography; and since 1969 they have had relatively free access to hard-core graphic pornography. A Dane buying one magazine per week since hard-core magazines first appeared would now have a very substantial collection of pornographic publications to peruse in the privacy of his home. It now remains to be seen what effect, if any, the free dissemination of pornography has had on the rate of sex crime in Copenhagen.

THE SEX CRIME RATE IN COPENHAGEN

Each of the 9,284 individual original police memoranda of reported sex crimes in Copenhagen²⁷ for the period from 1958 to 1969 were reviewed by a single researcher²⁸ and placed into one of 23 categories.²⁹ (See Tables 1 to 6.) The resulting statistics indicate a significant decrease in reported sex crimes during the years 1967 to 1969 inclusive, coinciding with the widespread dissemination of pornography in Copenhagen during that period. Thus, in 1967 the rate of reported sex crime dropped 24.8% compared to 1966 figures; the 1968 statistics were down 9.8% from 1967; and in 1969 the rate of reported sex crime in Copenhagen was less than 80% of the previous yearly totals. (See Table 7.) The statistics for 1969 show that reported sex crime in that year was nearly 55% lower than in 1966. Coincidentally, taking the period from 1958 to 1969 as a whole, the year 1966 was about average in reported sex crime. It is especially interesting to note that during the period in which reported sex crime decreased remarkably, total reported crime in Copenhagen showed a significant increase. Excluding reported sex crime, other crime in Copenhagen for the year 1969 increased some 21% over the 1966 figure.

The breakdown of specific sex offenses indicates that nonphysical and consensual offenses have declined each year since 1964 (see Tables 2 and 9), while physical offenses show sharp decreases in 1967 to 1969. (See Tables 1 and 10.)

Figure 1

SEX CRIME BY CATEGORY

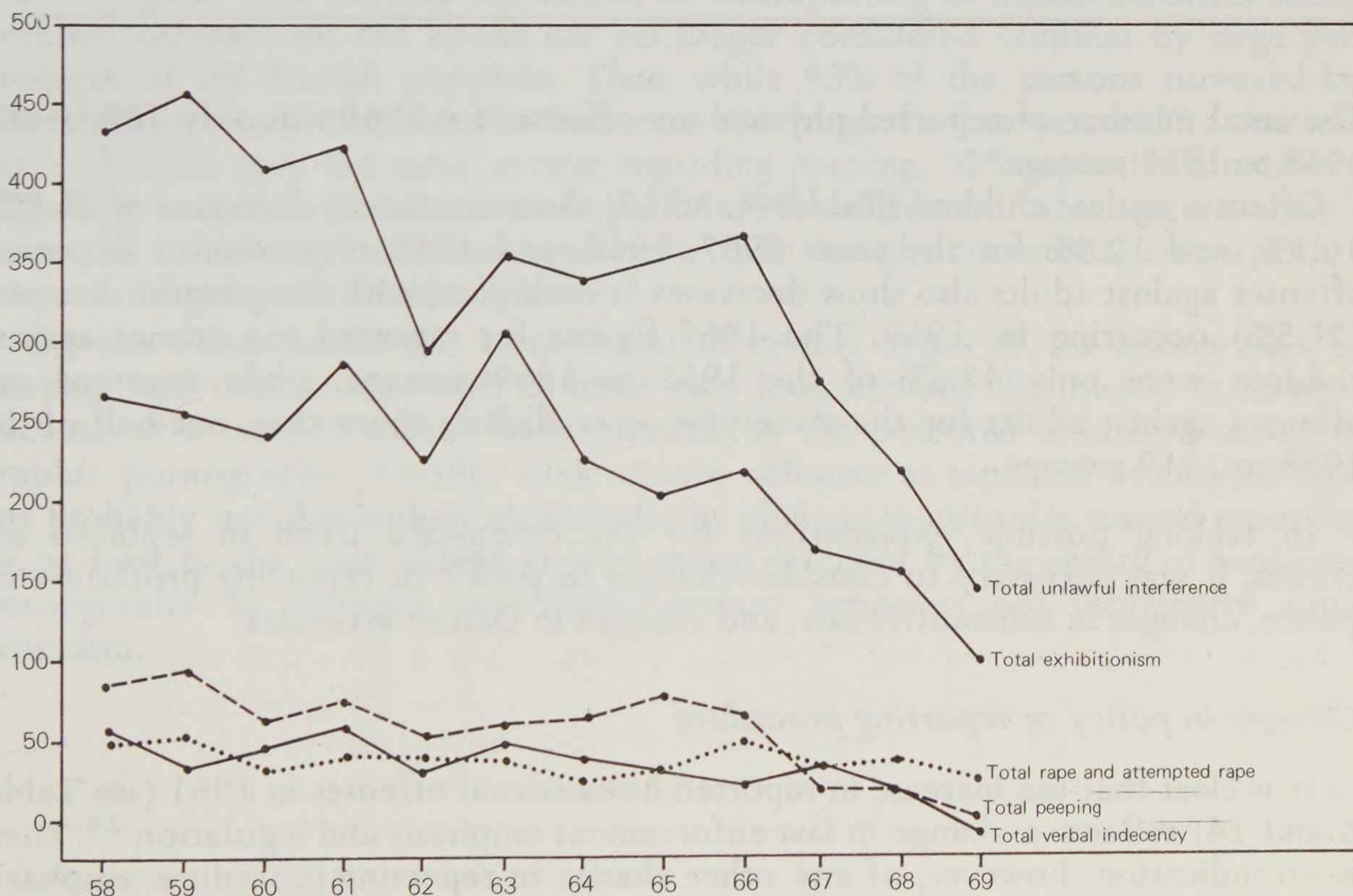
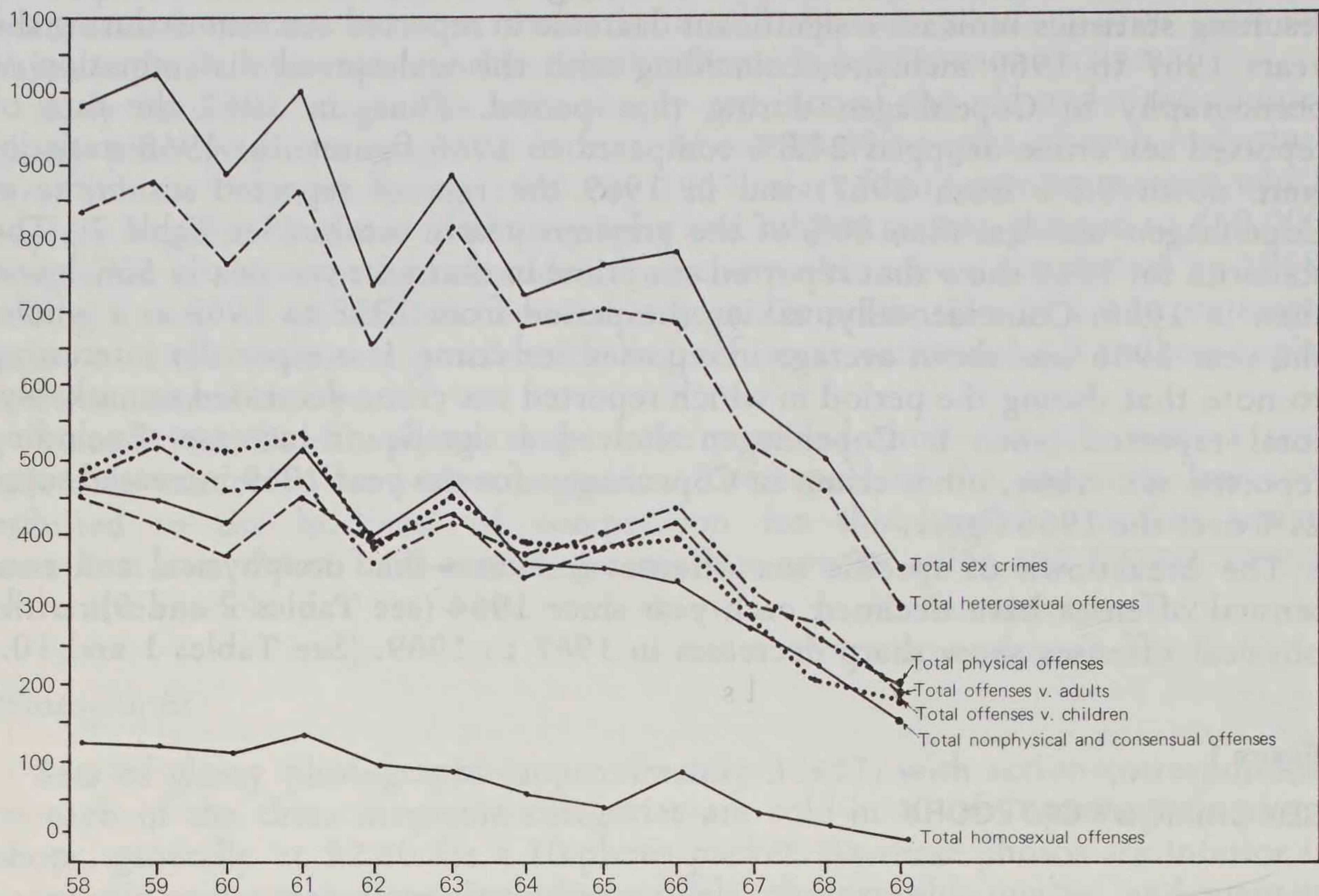


Figure 2

TOTAL SEX CRIME (Tables 1-6)



The total number of reported physical sex offenses for 1969 was only 50% of the 1958 to 1969 average.

Offenses against children (Tables 4 and 12) show consistent decreases of 25.8%, 16.1%, and 12.8% for the years 1967, 1968, and 1969 respectively. Reported offenses against adults also show decreases in each year, with the greatest decrease (27.5%) occurring in 1969. The 1969 figures for reported sex crimes against children were only 42.6% of the 1958 to 1969 average, while reported sex offenses against adults for the same year were slightly more than one-half of the 1958 to 1969 average.

In seeking possible explanations for the downward trend in reported sex crimes, it was necessary to consider changes in policy or reporting procedure by police, changes in substantive law, and changes in Danish attitudes.

Changes in policy or reporting procedure

It is clear that the increase in reported homosexual offenses in 1961 (see Tables 6 and 14) reflects a change in law enforcement emphasis and legislation.²⁹ There is no indication, however, of any other change in reporting procedure, emphasis, or legislation with regard to sexual offenses during the reported period.³⁰

It is popularly believed that there has been a general liberalization in sexual morality in Denmark over the last two decades, particularly since 1967 when birth control pills became officially sanctioned. Clearly there has been an open and candid discussion of sexuality in recent years, at least in Danish urban areas. If it is true that there are now more females willing to engage in extramarital relations than before, the need of some persons to resort to force or other deviant behavior to obtain sexual gratification may have been obviated. On the other hand, it is also possible that knowledge of the general availability of willing females may exacerbate frustration and anxiety among those for whom, by reason of physical or psychological defect, consensual partners remain inaccessible.

The possibility that the decrease in reported sex crimes over recent years might be explained by a change in attitudes toward sex crime or the reporting of sex crime in Copenhagen, perhaps even generated to some extent by exposure to pornography, was investigated by Danish psychologist Berl Kutschinsky.³¹ Kutschinsky concluded that the decrease in reporting of certain types of sex offenses such as exhibitionism and minor sexual interference might well be explained by a greater degree of permissiveness on the part of the victim, which in turn could be explained by exposure to pornography. Frequent exposure to pictorial representation of sexual activity, it is reasoned, would tend to mitigate the affront of minor or nonphysical sexual misconduct. Thirty-one percent of the men and 35% of the women interviewed by Kutschinsky in Copenhagen stated that they were now more tolerant toward sex crime than they had been in the past, whereas only 3% of the men and 6% of the women answered that their attitudes had become more strict. Additionally, changes in attitudes have apparently gone well beyond the extent of nonreporting of minor offenses: many criminal offenses on the books are no longer considered criminal by large percentages of the Danish populace. Thus, while 93% of the persons surveyed by Kutschinsky would consider the "indecent touching of a four-year-old" a criminal act, only 53% gave the same answer regarding peeping, 52% replied affirmatively regarding "exposure to a woman in park," 39% considered "touching a woman's breast in a streetcar" criminal, and only 32% thought consensual coitus with a 14-year-old girl constituted a crime.

On the other hand, the commission of certain types of sex crimes such as peeping and interference with children may have actually diminished in number because of a conduit effect made possible by the potential offender's access to graphic pornography. Finally, such serious offenses as rape and attempted rape are probably not diminished statistically by changes in attitudes toward reporting or, at least to the same extent as with minor offenses, by the ability of hard-core pornography to channel potentially deviant behavior into inoffensive auto-eroticism.

CONCLUSION

Although the trend toward liberalization in Danish attitudes toward sex may be responsible for some decrease in the commission or reporting of sex offenses, it is unlikely that the dramatic decrease of the last few years is fully attributable to this trend. Also improbable is the notion that pornography—by providing prefabricated, unsubtle fantasy material which encourages the potential sex offender to satisfy his sexual needs through masturbation—is wholly accountable for the decrease in sex crime. It is possible, however, that a combination of the two—increased sexual permissiveness and widespread dissemination of pornography—is responsible for most of the decrease.

What seems indisputable, and what should be worthy of consideration by State and Federal legislators here in the United States, is that pornography of the type disseminated in Denmark apparently has caused no increase in the rate of sex crime. It follows that this type of pornography should not be considered a cause of sex crime. Not to be ruled out at this stage, however, is the possibility that pornography portraying some forms of deviant sexual behavior, especially sadism, may adversely influence potential offenders. While there may be some valid reasons for the prohibition of Danish pornography in our society, fear that it will inspire potential sex offenders to act criminally should not be one of them.

Table 1
PHYSICAL OFFENSES

Year	Rape	Rape (+robbery)	Attempted rape	Unlawful interference with children short of rape	Intercourse on threat of violence	Unlawful interference short of rape	Unlawful interference (homosexual)	Unlawful interference with children (homosexual)	Coitus with child under 12 years (consensual)	Homosexual relationship with children (under 15)	Total physical offenses*
1958	21	1	30	249	3	100	23	59	.	3	489
1959	30	1	22	281	2	95	6	76	1	22	536
1960	20	1	15	259	1	85	19	48	.	18	466
1961	24	.	23	249	1	98	27	48	2	5	477
1962	21	.	24	174	8	64	15	44	.	2	352
1963	18	3	25	217	4	85	9	44	2	1	419
1964	16	1	18	204	4	80	5	33	.	4	365
1965	21	1	17	216	3	101	4	32	.	1	396
1966	28	3	33	189	6	94	3	74	1	.	431
1967	18	.	21	159	5	67	6	39	.	.	315
1968	23	2	20	106	5	83	1	26	.	.	266
1969	19	.	8	87	8	52	1	20	.	1	196
Total	259	13	256	2,390	50	1,004	119	554	6	57	4,708

* Miscellaneous categories deleted.

Table 2

NONPHYSICAL AND CONSENSUAL OFFENSES

Year	Peeping	Peeping (homosexual)	Exhibitionism v. children	Exhibitionism v. children (homosexual)	Exhibitionism v. adult	Exhibitionism v. adult (homosexual)	Verbal indecency v. adult	Verbal indecency v. adult (homosexual)	Verbal indecency v. children	Verbal indecency v. children (homosexual)	Coitus with child under 15	Intercourse by fraud, etc.	Homosexual relationship (under 18) (1962-1965)	Total nonphysical + consensual offenses
1958	87	-	101	-	163	1	38	-	15	2	30	8	40	485
1959	99	-	83	5	166	-	32	-	13	-	50	9	13	470
1960	66	-	101	3	132	1	26	-	21	-	37	5	24	416
1961	73	-	93	5	192	-	27	1	26	1	44	2	55	519
1962	55	-	64	-	162	-	24	-	11	5	46	3	18	388
1963	60	1	112	4	191	-	29	-	22	-	36	1	11	467
1964	61	-	86	4	139	-	26	-	17	1	18	3	10	365
1965	76	-	74	2	129	-	24	-	16	-	31	4	3	359
1966	65	-	66	10	142	2	17	-	12	2	20	1	7	344
1967	40	-	45	5	118	2	30	1	4	3	24	-	1	273
1968	40	1	54	4	100	2	17	-	7	1	19	-	-	245
1969	20	-	31	1	73	1	9	-	4	1	19	-	3	162
Total	742	2	910	43	1,707	9	299	2	168	16	374	36	185	4,493

Table 3

OFFENSES AGAINST ADULTS

Year	Rape	Rape (+robbery)	Attempted rape	Intercourse on threat of violence	Unlawful interference short of rape	Unlawful interference (homosexual)	Peeping	Peeping (homosexual)	Exhibitionism (homosexual)	Verbal indecency	Verbal indecency (homosexual)	Intercourse by fraud, etc.	Exhibitionism	Total offenses v. adult	Total sex crimes
1958	21	1	30	3	100	23	87	-	1	38	-	8	165	475	982
1959	30	1	22	2	95	6	99	-	-	32	-	9	165	462	1,018
1960	20	1	15	1	85	19	66	-	1	26	-	5	132	371	399
1961	24	-	23	1	98	27	73	-	1	27	1	2	192	468	1,000
1962	21	-	24	8	64	15	55	-	-	24	-	3	162	376	749
1963	18	3	25	4	85	9	60	1	-	29	-	1	191	426	895
1964	16	1	18	4	80	5	61	-	-	26	-	3	139	353	732
1965	21	1	17	3	101	4	76	-	-	24	-	4	129	380	762
1966	28	3	33	6	94	3	65	-	2	17	-	1	142	394	783
1967	18	-	21	5	67	6	40	-	2	30	1	-	118	308	591
1968	23	2	20	5	83	1	40	1	2	17	-	-	100	294	515
1969	19	-	8	8	52	1	20	-	1	9	-	-	73	191	358
Total	259	13	256	50	1,004	119	742	2	9	299	2	36	1,707	4,498	9,284

Table 4

OFFENSES AGAINST CHILDREN

Year	Exhibitionism v. children	Exhibitionism v. children (homosexual)	Coitus with child under 15	Verbal indecency v. children	Verbal indecency v. children (homosexual)	Unlawful inter- ference with children (homosexual)	Coitus with child under 12 years (consensual)	Homosexual relationship with children (under 15)	Unlawful inter- ference with children short of rape	Homosexual relationship (under 18)	Total offenses v. children	Total sex crimes
1958	101	-	30	15	2	59	-	3	249	40	499	982
1959	83	5	50	13	-	76	1	22	281	13	544	1,018
1960	101	3	37	21	-	48	-	18	259	24	511	899
1961	93	5	44	26	1	48	2	5	249	55	528	1,000
1962	64	-	46	11	5	44	-	2	174	18	364	749
1963	112	4	36	22	-	55	2	1	217	11	460	895
1964	86	4	18	17	1	33	-	4	204	10	377	732
1965	74	2	31	16	-	32	-	1	216	3	375	762
1966	66	10	20	12	2	74	1	-	189	7	381	783
1967	45	5	24	4	3	39	-	-	159	1	280	591
1968	54	4	19	7	1	26	-	-	106	-	217	515
1969	31	1	19	4	1	20	-	1	87	3	167	358
Total	910	43	374	168	16	554	6	57	2,390	185	4,703	9,284

Table 5

HETEROSEXUAL OFFENSES

Year	Rape	Rape (+robbery)	Attempted Rape	Intercourse on threat of violence	Unlawful inter- ference short of rape	Exhibitionism v. children	Peeping	Unlawful inter- ference with children short of rape	Verbal indecency v. children	Verbal indecency	Coitus with child under 12 years (consensual)	Intercourse by fraud, etc.	Exhibitionism	Coitus with child under 15	Total hetero- sexual offenses
1958	21	1	30	3	100	101	87	249	15	38	-	8	163	30	846
1959	30	1	22	2	95	83	99	281	13	32	1	9	166	50	884
1960	20	1	15	1	85	101	66	259	21	26	-	5	132	37	769
1961	24	-	23	1	98	93	73	249	26	27	2	2	192	44	854
1962	21	-	24	8	64	64	55	174	11	24	-	3	162	46	656
1963	18	3	25	4	85	112	60	217	22	29	2	1	191	36	805
1964	16	1	18	4	80	86	61	204	17	26	-	3	139	18	673
1965	21	1	17	3	101	74	76	216	16	24	-	4	129	31	713
1966	28	3	33	6	94	66	65	189	12	17	1	1	142	20	677
1967	18	-	21	5	67	45	40	159	4	30	-	-	118	24	531
1968	23	2	20	5	83	54	40	106	7	17	-	-	100	19	476
1969	19	-	8	8	52	31	20	87	4	9	-	-	73	19	330
Total	259	13	256	50	1,004	910	742	2,390	168	299	6	36	1,707	374	8,214

Table 6

HOMOSEXUAL OFFENSES

Year	Unlawful interference (homosexual)	Peeping (homosexual)	Exhibitionism (homosexual)	Verbal indecency (homosexual)	Exhibitionism v. children (homosexual)	Verbal indecency v. children (homosexual)	Unlawful interference with children (homosexual)	Homosexual relationship with children (under 15)	Homosexual relationships (under 18) 1962-65	Total homosexual offenses	Total sex crimes
1958	23	-	1	-	-	2	59	3	40	128	982
1959	6	-	-	-	5	-	76	22	13	122	1,018
1960	19	-	1	-	3	-	48	18	24	113	899
1961	27	-	-	1	5	1	48	5	55	142	1,000
1962	15	-	-	-	-	5	44	2	18	84	749
1963	9	1	-	-	4	-	55	1	11	81	895
1964	5	-	-	-	4	1	33	4	10	57	756
1965	4	-	-	-	2	-	32	1	3	42	762
1966	3	-	2	-	10	2	74	-	7	98	783
1967	6	-	2	1	5	3	39	-	1	57	591
1968	1	1	2	-	4	1	26	-	-	35	515
1969	1	-	1	-	1	1	20	1	3	28	358
Total	119	2	9	2	43	16	554	57	185	987	9,284

Table 7

TOTAL REPORTED SEX CRIMES

Year	Total crimes *	% increase or decrease previous year	% average reported sex crimes **	Average reported sex crimes + % incr.-decr.
1958	982	-0-	126.93	+ 26.93
1959	1,018	+ 3.66	131.58	+ 31.58
1960	899	- 11.69	116.20	+ 16.20
1961	1,000	+ 11.23	129.26	+ 29.26
1962	749	- 25.10	96.81	- 3.19
1963	895	+ 19.49	115.68	+ 15.68
1964	732	- 18.21	94.62	- 5.38
1965	762	+ 4.10	98.49	- 1.51
1966	783	+ 2.75	101.21	+ 1.21
1967	591	- 24.52	76.39	- 23.61
1968	515	- 12.86	66.57	- 33.43
1969	358	- 30.48	46.27	- 53.73

*Total reported sex crimes 1958-1969 = 9,284.

** Average yearly reported sex crimes = 773.66.

Table 8

SEX CRIME IN COPENHAGEN COMPARED
TO TOTAL CRIME

Year	All Crimes*	Sex Crime
1962	36,402	749
1963	36,026	895
1964	38,306	732
1965	36,143	762
1966	37,219	783
1967	39,866	591
1968	44,406	515
1969	46,585	358

*Including sex crimes.

Table 9

NONPHYSICAL AND CONSENSUAL OFFENSES

Year	Total crimes	% increase or decrease previous year	% average reported sex crimes	Average reported sex crimes + % incr.-decr.
1958	485	-0-	129.53	+ 29.53
1959	470	- 3.09	125.53	+ 25.53
1960	416	- 11.49	111.11	+ 11.11
1961	519	+ 24.75	138.61	+ 38.61
1962	388	- 25.24	103.63	+ 3.63
1963	467	+ 20.36	124.73	+ 24.73
1964	365	- 21.84	97.48	- 2.52
1965	359	- 1.37	95.88	- 4.12
1966	344	- 4.18	91.87	- 8.13
1967	273	- 20.64	72.91	- 27.09
1968	245	- 10.26	65.44	- 34.56
1969	162	- 33.88	43.27	- 56.73

Table 10

PHYSICAL OFFENSES

Year	Total crimes	% increase or decrease previous year	% average reported sex crimes	Average reported sex crimes + % incr.-decr.
1958	489	-0-	122.09	+ 22.09
1959	536	+ 9.61	136.62	+ 36.62
1960	466	- 13.06	118.78	+ 18.78
1961	477	+ 2.36	121.58	+ 21.58
1962	352	- 26.20	89.72	- 10.28
1963	419	+ 19.03	106.54	+ 6.54
1964	365	- 12.89	93.03	- 6.97
1965	396	+ 8.49	100.93	+ 0.93
1966	431	+ 8.84	109.86	+ 9.86
1967	315	- 26.91	80.29	- 19.71
1968	266	- 15.55	67.80	- 32.20
1969	196	- 18.80	49.96	- 50.04

Table 11

OFFENSES AGAINST ADULTS

Year	Total crimes	% increase or decrease previous year	% average reported sex crimes	Average reported sex crimes + % incr.-decr.
1958	475	-0-	126.72	+ 26.72
1959	462	- 2.74	123.23	+ 23.23
1960	371	- 19.70	98.98	- 1.02
1961	468	+ 26.14	124.86	+ 24.86
1962	376	- 19.66	100.31	+ 0.31
1963	426	+ 13.30	113.65	+ 13.65
1964	353	- 17.14	94.18	- 5.82
1965	380	+ 7.65	101.38	+ 1.38
1966	394	+ 3.68	105.11	+ 5.11
1967	308	- 21.83	82.18	- 17.82
1968	294	- 4.54	78.44	- 21.56
1969	191	- 35.52	50.96	- 49.04

Table 12

OFFENSES AGAINST CHILDREN

Year	Total crimes	% increase or decrease previous year	% average reported sex crimes	Average reported sex crimes + % incr.-decr.
1958	499	-0-	127.32	+ 27.32
1959	544	+ 9.02	138.80	+ 38.80
1960	511	- 6.07	130.38	+ 30.38
1961	528	+ 3.33	134.72	+ 34.72
1962	364	- 31.06	92.88	- 7.12
1963	460	+ 26.37	117.37	+ 17.37
1964	377	- 18.04	96.19	- 3.81
1965	375	- 0.53	95.68	- 4.32
1966	381	+ 1.60	97.21	- 2.79
1967	280	- 26.51	71.44	- 28.56
1968	217	- 22.50	55.37	- 44.63
1969	167	- 23.04	42.61	- 57.39

Table 13

HETEROSEXUAL OFFENSES

Year	Total crimes	% increase or decrease previous year	% average reported sex crimes	Average reported sex crimes + % incr.-decr.
1958	846	-0-	123.59	+ 23.59
1959	884	+ 4.49	129.15	+ 29.15
1960	769	- 14.70	112.34	+ 12.34
1961	854	+ 10.79	124.76	+ 24.76
1962	656	- 23.18	95.84	- 4.16
1963	805	+ 22.71	117.60	+ 17.60
1964	673	- 16.40	98.32	- 1.68
1965	713	+ 5.94	104.16	+ 4.16
1966	677	- 5.05	98.90	- 1.10
1967	531	- 21.56	77.57	- 22.43
1968	476	- 10.36	69.54	- 30.46
1969	330	- 30.67	48.21	- 51.79

Table 14

HOMOSEXUAL OFFENSES

Year	Total crimes	% increase or decrease previous year	% average reported sex crimes	Average reported sex crimes + % incr.-decr.
1958	128	-0-	155.62	+ 55.62
1959	122	- 4.69	148.33	+ 48.33
1960	113	- 4.05	137.39	+ 37.39
1961	142	+ 25.66	172.64	+ 72.64
1962	84	- 40.84	102.13	+ 2.13
1963	81	- 3.57	98.48	- 1.52
1964	57	- 29.63	69.30	- 30.70
1965	42	- 26.32	51.06	- 48.94
1966	98	+133.33	119.15	+ 19.15
1967	57	- 41.84	69.30	- 30.70
1968	35	- 38.60	42.55	- 57.45
1969	28	- 20.00	34.04	- 65.96

Table 15

PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OR DECREASE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR

Year	Total sex crimes	Offenses v. adults	Offenses v. children	Physical offenses	Nonphysical and consensual offenses	Heterosexual offenses	Homosexual offenses
1958	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
1959	+ 3.66	- 2.74	+ 9.02	+ 9.61	- 3.09	+ 4.49	- 4.69
1960	- 11.69	- 19.70	- 6.07	- 13.06	- 11.49	- 14.70	- 4.05
1961	+ 11.23	+ 26.14	+ 3.33	+ 2.36	+ 24.76	+ 10.79	+ 25.66
1962	- 25.10	- 19.66	- 31.06	- 26.20	- 25.24	- 23.18	- 40.84
1963	+ 19.49	+ 13.30	+ 26.37	+ 19.03	+ 20.36	+ 22.71	- 3.57
1964	- 18.21	- 17.14	- 18.04	- 12.89	- 21.84	- 16.40	- 29.63
1965	+ 4.10	+ 7.65	- 0.53	+ 8.49	- 1.37	+ 5.94	- 26.32
1966	+ 2.75	+ 3.68	+ 1.60	+ 8.84	- 4.18	- 5.05	+ 133.33
1967	- 24.52	- 21.83	- 26.51	- 26.91	- 20.64	- 21.56	- 41.84
1968	- 12.86	- 4.54	- 22.50	- 15.55	- 10.26	- 10.36	- 38.60
1969	- 30.48	- 35.52	- 23.04	- 18.80	- 33.88	- 30.67	- 20.00

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NOTES

1. The Kinsey Institute researchers, in their study of sex offenders, provided a definition of pornography satisfactory for our purposes here:

Pornography is material deliberately designed to produce strong sexual arousal rather than titillation and which usually achieves its primary goal.

Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, and Christenson, *Sex Offenders*, p. 678 (1965).

2. For instance, Citizens for Decent Literature, Operation Yorkville.

3. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the F.B.I., has stated without accompanying statistical corroboration,

... the increase in the number of sex crimes is due precisely to sex literature madly presented in certain magazines. Filthy literature is a great moral wrecker. It is creating criminals faster than jails can be built.

Cited in Note, "Obscene Literature," 34 Marq. L. Rev. 301, 302 (1951).

4. Recall, for example, the infamous English Heath murders, where a library of sadistic literature was found in the home of the murderers.

5. Op. cit. (footnote 1), p. 678.

6. The question was asked: "Does it arouse you sexually to see photographs or drawings of people engaged in sexual activity?" Answers were classified as little or no response, moderate response, and strong response.

The shortcomings of the Kinsey Institute study are many. Only men convicted and incarcerated for sex crimes were included. Necessarily this means that only those sex offenders most likely to be apprehended and least able to provide a good courtroom defense (or a convincing argument for probation) appear in the sample. Additionally, the risks inherent in interviewing are present. For example, prison inmates who, due to their segregation from the opposite sex, are perhaps ultrasensitive about their masculinity might consider it "manly" to acknowledge possession or familiarity with pornography, but "unmanly" to admit to being highly aroused by mere photographs. Remarkably, the Kinsey researchers did not ask their subjects whether "strong arousal" was manifested in some form of sexual activity, and if so, what kind.

The Kinsey researchers did not totally disregard the possibility of pornography depressing the sex crime rate: "... Since the majority of sex offenders are not well educated nor particularly youthful, their responsiveness to pornography is correspondingly less and cannot be a consequential factor in their sex offenses unless one is prepared to argue that the inability to respond to erotica in general precludes gaining some vicarious stimulation and satisfaction and thereby causes the individual to behave overtly which, in turn, renders him more liable to arrest and conviction." Id., p. 673.

7. See, for instance, Karpman, *The sexual offender and his offenses*, p. 485 (1954); New Jersey Committee for the Right to Read, *A survey of New Jersey psychiatrists and psychologists pertaining to the proscription by legislation of sexually oriented publications for persons under 18 years*. p. 4 (1967).

8. Pornographic magazines, depending on their currency (the older magazines are sold at reduced prices) and degree of pornographic content, sell for \$.75 to \$3 each. Additionally, used magazines are now available in many shops at a substantially reduced price.

By the summer of 1968 there were at least 25 shops in Copenhagen dealing exclusively in erotic publications, pictures, and films. The number of such shops has increased substantially since then. Many "porno shops" now carry a line of sexual apparatus including dildos, vibrators, and condoms; some shops now have a back room (generously called a "film club") where, after payment of a membership fee and admission charge, pornographic films may be viewed. Additionally, many of the city's numerous newspaper kiosks dealt in pornographic magazines from the time they first became available.

9. Sec. 234 of the Danish Criminal Code, as revised June 9, 1967, punishes

(1) any person who —

(I) offers or hands over to any person under eighteen years of age obscene publications, pictures or objects; or who

(II) publishes or circulates or, for such purpose, produces or imports obscene publications, pictures or objects; or who

(III) arranges for any public lecture, performance or exhibition (e.g., film) of an obscene nature:

(words deleted by the revision indicated)

10. In June 1967 the supreme court of Denmark upheld the conviction of one Jorgen Wimmer for publishing obscene picture magazines (which would be classified as category #1 type—see classification criteria below for purposes of this study). He was fined \$714, ordered to pay court costs, and his total profit from the magazines (\$2,500) was ordered confiscated. 26 Ugeskrift for Retsvaesen (June 1968).

11. Danish law continues to prohibit the sale of pornography to those under 16 years of age. This was done not because it was determined that pornography is harmful to children but to respect the wishes of parents who would forbid their children from possessing such material.

Restrictions on public display of graphic erotica in store windows and so forth were strengthened at the time of the 1969 repeal of the obscenity law on the theory that the right to possess pornography should not interfere with the desire of some not to have such matter foisted upon them. Porno shop owners have generally replaced magazine window displays with a large "porno" sign, and some magazine manufacturers have cooperated by binding their magazines with innocuous covers.

12. Kloster Christensen, a Copenhagen Police official, states that between October 1965 and the June 1967 law revision, 36 Danish language books with an average circulation of 15-20,000 copies each were confiscated. Kloster Christensen, Letter to The Danish Society (an organization concerned with the Danish image abroad), May 24, 1968. This does not mean that more pornographic literature was not sold, or that the confiscated works satisfy everyone's conception of "pornography."

13. However, graphic materials depicting such activity are rare in over-the-counter trade, with the limited exception of homosexual magazines. At first only homosexual magazines of the category #1 type (see classification criteria below) appeared, but by the summer of 1968 a few hard-core magazines were available. The fact that relatively few picture magazines designed to appeal to homosexuals (who are, according to the Kinsey Institute findings, generally above average in intelligence) have appeared may indicate that manufacturers feel that there is no market for stronger material. If the purveyors are correct, one might conclude that homosexuals, or persons of above average intelligence generally, prefer the written word to more graphic media in their choice of erotica. Alternatively, it might mean that publishers fear that homosexuals would be wary of buying such explicit wares publicly, thereby identifying themselves. Homosexual acts between consenting adults (18 years) are not punishable under Danish law.

14. The first magazines interspersed only a few such photos with the less enthusiastic "arty" poses in each magazine. After a few months, the category #1 poses began to dominate these magazines. By mid-1966, this type of magazine was composed entirely of such photographs.

15. From viewing the traditional under-the-counter glossies.

16. Copenhagen criminal police report no problem of models engaged in other illegal activity such as narcotics trade or use, white slavery, and so on. Even the models for the stronger pornographic magazines (that is, those depicting actual sexual activity) are mostly engaged or married couples, students, nurses, and housewives. Female models are paid from \$10 to \$100 per session, and the men generally receive half the female rate or less.

17. Statistics on sales of graphic pornography were obtained through confidential interviews with Denmark's five greatest purveyors of such material. Prior to the 1969 repeal of the obscenity statute, sale of much of the material upon which we base our statistics here was illegal. Since, for the most part, no taxes were paid by the manufacturers on profits from sales of the illicit matter, formal records of sales, assuming they exist, were not made available to us. The "statistics" are thus in the nature of informed estimates. Although the manufacturers would seem to have no interest in overestimating sales, we have used only the total of their reported sales (excluding all other producers) to ensure that there is no exaggeration. Police records have been utilized to corroborate the dates when various magazines were offered to the public.

Moreover, the portion of their total production consumed domestically is also an approximation. It is impossible to estimate the number of magazines bought from retail outlets in Denmark by foreigners or the extent to which jobbers or retailers may supplement their incomes through export. It is maintained, however, that the exact figure of domestic consumption need not overly concern us. Even if we were certain of the exact number of magazines sold, we could only approximate the total number of persons possessing them, as the "pass on" of such publications is undoubtedly high. Rather, it is our contention that so long as pornographic matter is readily available in great quantity, it may be assumed that anyone interested in making a purchase can and will do so.

18. The generic term "petting" is used to describe this type of magazine in Denmark, as the leading Danish magazine of this genre was entitled *Petting*.

19. In fact, because it took some time for the police to ascertain their identities (typically, these magazines were printed without disclosing the true identity of the publisher; often Danish manufacturers tried to induce the authorities to believe that their wares originated in Sweden), the new disseminators often enjoyed greater security than the old.

20. Other markets, especially the United States, have been eyed longingly by Danish pornographers. Danish category #1 magazines have been sold over-the-counter in various American cities.

21. Magazines are classified according to the most pornographic picture appearing therein.

22. As with the category #1 magazines, and later the hard-core publications, high quality full-color photos are common.

23. Sales fell from 10-20,000 copies per issue in 1967 to 8-10,000 in the first half of 1968. Total sales in Denmark for 1968 are estimated at 50,000 copies. By 1969 there was virtually no market for "petting" magazines in Denmark.

One exception to this trend, a magazine entitled *Week End Sex*, which combines photos with fiction, satire, and cartoons, boasts a weekly circulation of 25,000 copies. This magazine has been excluded from our statistics. (See footnote 1.)

24. Unlike most other forms of "deviant" pornography (sado-masochism, bondage, and so on), the portrayal of lesbian activity is not produced for its market appeal to members of the deviant group.

A surprising feature of Danish magazine pornography is the infrequency of sadomasochism, bondage, and transvestism as a theme. The few sadomasochistic magazines found were primarily in cartoon form with German captions. Slightly more common were packets of photographs depicting such deviant sexual behavior. Manufacturers interviewed stated that Germans appear to be the primary consumers of such material and that a lucrative tourist and mail-order trade exists with them.

25. Hard-core films range in price from \$18 to \$60, depending on quality, color, and so on. Some shops, however, will rent them at the rate of about 20% of their purchase price per week. Additionally, Danish law permits private commercial showings of such films, provided the organization fulfills the legal requirement of being a "private club." (See footnote 8.) It is reported that the Danish International Students Club once enjoyed an evening of such films.

26. In some cases the access has been literally free, as many porno shop proprietors permit considerable browsing before losing patience with a prospective buyer (or researcher).

27. The original reports of the Second Department, Copenhagen Criminal Police have been used. The Capital (often mentioned in Danish statistics) is composed of Copenhagen, Gentofte, and Frederiksberg, but only the statistics for Copenhagen are reflected here.

28. Miss Gitte Carstensen, a graduate student at the University of Copenhagen, Institute of Criminal Science.

29. During that period, according to Police Inspector Jersild, two men previously assigned to the narcotics squad were released for more diversified duty. In addition, the police force was generally strengthened. More importantly, the interest in homosexual offenses is reflected in the fact that the so-called "ugly law," Sec. 224, par. 4 of the Penal Code, which raised the age of permissible homosexual relations from 18 to 21, came into effect in July 1961.

It is of course possible that to the extent Danes have changed their attitudes toward sex crime (see below) there may also be a general liberalization in individual views about sex crime by Copenhagen police which might influence them in making official reports. No data supporting such an inference exists.

30. This, of course, excludes the 1967 amendment and 1969 repeal of the obscenity statute previously referred to. Obscenity is one of the miscellaneous offenses omitted from our analysis of sex crime statistics.

31. Kutschinsky, B. Towards an explanation of the decrease in registered sex crimes in Copenhagen. *Technical reports of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*, Vol. VII. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971.

Towards an Explanation of the Decrease in Registered Sex Crimes in Copenhagen

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Recent years have seen a dramatic decrease in the number of sexual offenses registered by the police in Copenhagen. The decrease has taken place in practically all areas of sex crimes, although there are certain variations. Thus, the largest drop was seen with peeping, exhibitionism, and indecent interference with girls, while there was only a small decrease in rape or attempted rape.

While the number of sex crimes had been rather stable for many years, a downward trend became manifest in the first part of the 1960's, and from the middle of the decade the decrease became striking. Table 1 presents an excerpt of the police statistics, giving an impression of the change that has taken place.

Table 1

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: SEXUAL OFFENSES AGAINST FEMALES (Excerpts from police statistics for Copenhagen)

Type of sex crime:	1959	1964	1969	1959-1969 Relative decrease	Total no. of cases 1958-1969	
	No.	No.	No.	%	No.	%
Rape	32	20	27	—	309	3.7
Exhibitionism	249	225	104	58.2	2617	31.6
Peeping	99	61	20	79.8	742	9.0
Coitus with minors	51	18	19	62.7	380	4.6
Verbal indecency	45	43	13	71.1	467	5.6
Other indecency (women)	137	103	60	56.2	1353	16.3
Other indecency (girls)	282	204	87	69.1	2416	29.2
Total	895	674	330		8284	100.0

Figure 1 illustrates the course of the decrease year by year for all registered heterosexual offenses.

A number of reasons could conceivably be responsible for the decrease:

1. Some (earlier) sexual offenses may have ceased to be included in the crime statistics for "technical reasons," such as law amendments or changes in the data collecting procedure of the police.

2. The number of persons objectively victimized by sex crimes may have decreased.

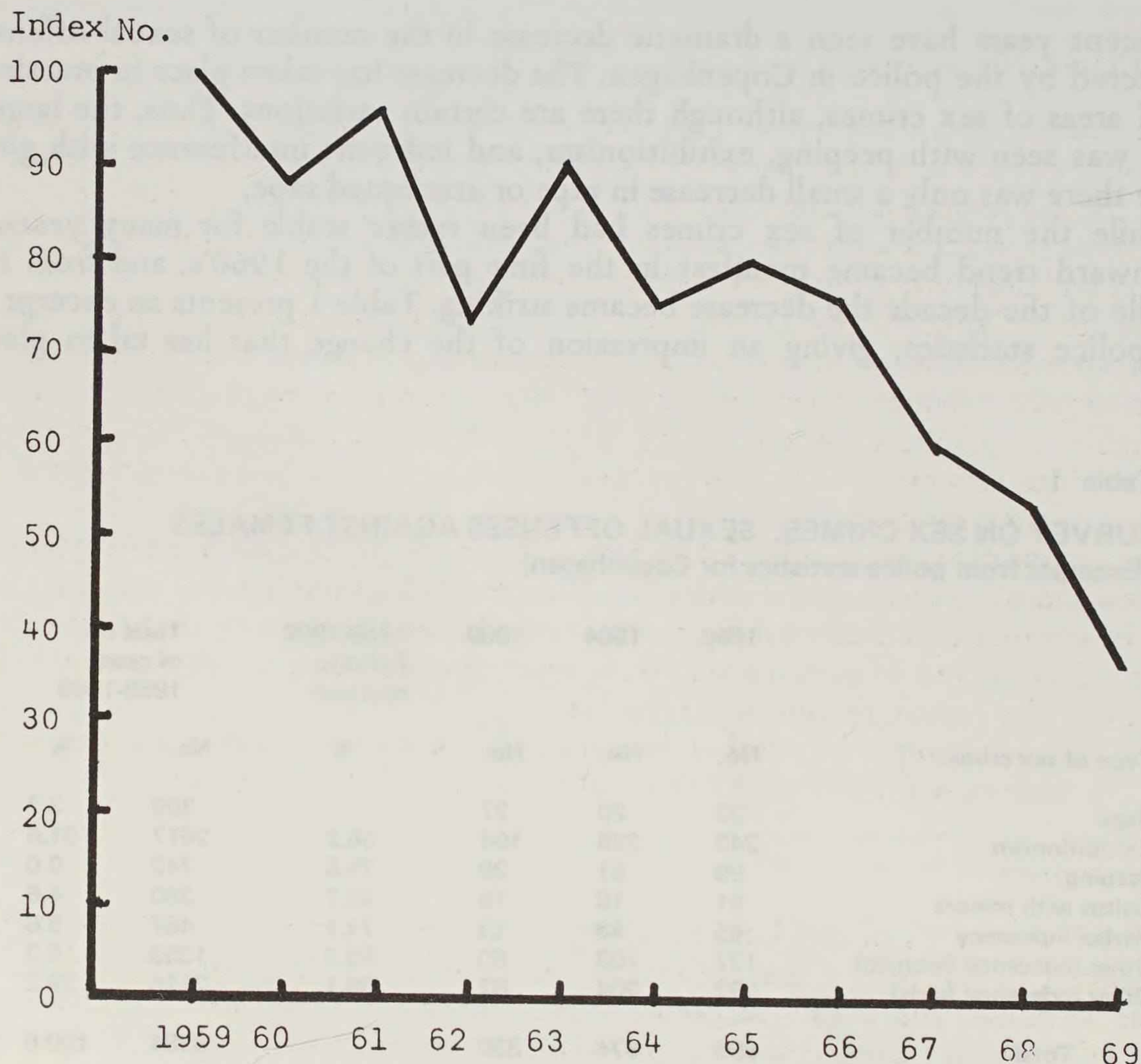
3. The subjective definition of sex crimes may have changed; that is, some persons who might formerly have considered themselves "victims" of "sex crimes" might no longer consider themselves in that light.

4. The readiness to report sex crimes to the police may have decreased.

5. The handling of sex crimes by the police may have changed: they may be less willing to accept reports on sex crimes, or they may tend to consider minor sexual infringements merely as disturbances of the public order or privacy and not as sex crimes.

Figure 1

POLICE STATISTICS FOR COPENHAGEN. Index of total number of heterosexual crimes registered by the police, 1959-1969. Index No. 100 = 895 cases.



The first possibility can immediately be excluded. In Table 1 the statistics do not cover sections of the criminal code which have been amended during the period in question, and there has not been any detectable change in the official data collecting procedures.

Accordingly, it seems reasonable to proceed to look for an explanation of the decrease in some of the other possibilities. In doing so, one should keep in mind that more than one factor may be responsible for the decrease, and that the same explanation does not necessarily hold for all offenses.

The present paper is an introductory presentation of a survey which was designed primarily to bring data to bear on the third and fourth possibilities: Has there been a change in people's *definition of sex crimes* or their *readiness to report sex crimes* which may explain the decrease? In addition, the survey has provided some information about *victimization of sex crimes*—reported as well as unreported. When combined with the results of the other parts of the survey, it was hoped that the victimization data—in spite of the small number of subjects—would provide a basis for some tentative conclusions concerning the second possibility: Has there been a real decrease in the total number of sex crimes? (As concerns the fifth possibility, some preliminary information was obtained through informal interviews with police officers in key positions.)

The survey also provided data concerning the attitudes towards and the use of pornography. These results have been reported elsewhere (Kutschinsky, 1971b).

METHOD AND SUBJECTS

The survey was designed as an interview investigation of approximately 400 men and women in Copenhagen. Because the results had to be compared directly with the Copenhagen police statistics, it was necessary for the population interviewed to be a representative sample of the adult population in Copenhagen. This section will deal with how and to what extent this was obtained.

The survey successfully contacted 198 men and 200 women in their homes. The respondents were interviewed and required to fill out a self-administered questionnaire. (Ninety-four percent of the interviews were carried out on December 8, 1969, between 6 and 9 p.m., by approximately 100 pretrained student interviewers.) With few exceptions, respondents were interviewed by persons of their own sex.

The respondents were selected in two different ways. Sample 1 was a stratified random sample of names and addresses. Persons in this sample were notified three days in advance by a letter asking them to stay home the evening of the interview. Sample 2 consisted of persons who were interviewed in case the interviewer failed to contact the person originally on the list.

The following report describes in detail the procedure used in collecting the data, the interview form, and the representativeness of the respondents.

The procedure

Interview surveys of this kind usually give rather meager results in Copenhagen, as opposed to the rest of the country. In Copenhagen it is often difficult to find people at home; and if one succeeds, he will often be turned down for an interview. Pilot studies carried out to prepare the questionnaire and procedure had

shown that difficulties could be expected to be even worse because of the topic of this survey. These problems were circumvented by means of a carefully planned and controlled press campaign begun 20 days before the day of the interview. Articles were placed in several newspapers, and after a "heating up period" the campaign ended with a television appeal in the evening news broadcast the night before the interview. As a result, about 70% of the respondents had heard about the survey; no less than 45% had seen the appeal on TV. There is no doubt that this campaign, combined with the prior notification of part of the sample and the speedy collection of the material, was the major reason for a relatively high return-percentage.

A number of precautions were taken against the danger of biases created by the prior notification and especially the press campaign. First of all, the major purpose of the survey—to investigate victimization by and attitudes toward sex crime—was concealed under the cover of one of the minor aims—to examine attitudes toward pornography. Throughout the press campaign and in the letter respondents were told that they would be asked their opinion on pornography as the motive for this study was the recent repeal of the ban.

In addition, a number of questions were asked which related to the possible effects of the campaign and the letter (questions 70 through 78 in the questionnaire).

Finally, as a control measure, the persons in Sample 2 were not prenotified about the interview. A preliminary analysis of these data showed that by and large the method was successful. The press campaign and the prior notification seem to have brought about a general openness towards being interviewed, but this does not seem to have influenced the results in any significant way.

The interview

Each interview lasted from 25 minutes to one hour. All questions, apart from those which were self-administered, were asked in an open-ended way by means of a standard interview form (see Appendix). These questions (as well as the answer categories, which were provided for the convenience of the interviewer and to reduce the work of coding) were worked out through three series of pilot studies with about 150 persons. Complete anonymity was provided for the respondents in the following way: When the interviewer had finished asking the questions, he would fold the questionnaire in a special way and hand it to the respondent asking him to fill in the self-administered section. Together with the questionnaire the respondent was handed a blank envelope and was told that when he had finished the self-administered part he should fold the questionnaire, place it in the envelope, seal the envelope, and put the sealed envelope with the questionnaire into a bag which already contained a number of blank envelopes with questionnaires in them. This procedure worked very well, and no respondent refused to fill in the "closed section" of the questionnaire, although some of the questions were quite delicate.

Subjects

Since the value of some of the conclusions in this investigation depends on the possibility of generalizing the results, the composition of the respondent population will be presented in some detail.

Sample 1 was selected on the basis of income tax lists from eight different districts in Copenhagen.¹ (Thus, persons not listed—mainly persons in institutions—were excluded.) These districts were selected so as to constitute, as a whole, a representative sample of all Copenhagen. Within each district an average of 25 men and 25 women were selected through a combination of stratified and randomized drawings. The selection was stratified as to marital status: 50% were married, 25% unmarried, and 25% formerly married. In addition, the age groups were limited to 18 through 49. Since persons over 50 constitute a very large proportion of the population, and since the focus of this study was on recent or potential victims of sex crimes (or parents of such victims), it was decided to reduce the number of older persons to the benefit of having a larger number of young and middle-aged respondents. (Due to some technical slips, however, the sample did contain a few persons over 49 years.)

The original samples thus drawn consisted of 200 men and 198 women. This number was reduced in the following ways:

1. Due to the age of the tax list, 47 men and 33 women (24% and 17%, respectively) had moved from the address under which they were listed (or had died).

2. Of the reduced sample, 18 men and 15 women telephoned after they had received the prior notification and called off the interview. Some of the cancellations were blunt refusals; others involved different reasons, such as going on vacation. (We had about 40 additional telephone calls, mostly from people accepting our request to make a more specific appointment for the interview; in a number of cases we succeeded in persuading reluctant respondents to permit the interview.)

3. In addition, 18 men and 21 women refused to be interviewed when the interviewer called. Total cancellations and refusals added up to 18% of the original sample.

4. Finally, 14 men and 16 women (7% and 8%) could not be contacted in spite of several visits, telephone calls, and a second appeal by letter.

The total loss in the original sample was thus 95 men and 85 women, a reduction by 49% and 43%, respectively. Of this loss, the reduction due to respondents who had moved was anticipated and actually "built into" the sampling method. As expected, this reduction did not in any significant way alter the original composition of the sample. Therefore, if the loss due to refusals, cancellations, and failure to contact was computed on the basis of this "reduced sample," the total yield was 68%. This is above average for similar surveys in Copenhagen. The effect of the procedural preparations is also evident from the fact that 61% of persons in the "reduced sample" were contacted at the first call. A vigorous attempt to exhaust the material during the days that followed did not add more than another 7%.

1. A sample was provided by the technical department of the Institute of Social Research. Finn Madsen, head of the department, and whose expertise in this area was to a great extent responsible for the success of this survey, took care of the selection of the sample from tax lists. These lists, although the newest available, were not very up-to-date. The time and the budget available (both being very scarce) prevented procurement of better lists. However, as will be seen, the deficiencies in the tax lists did not affect the selection of the respondents in any serious way.

Since records were kept of the "fate" of each person in the original sample, we have been able to check the effects of the different losses on some of the major factors in their background, namely sex, age, marital status, and city district.

Sex. As it appears from the description above, the reduction in each stage was very evenly divided between men and women.

Age. Young persons had moved more often than older persons. As for refusals, it was the other way around. However, neither of these biases changed the original age composition in a statistically significant way (see Table 2). The total losses in the different age groups ranged from 51% of the persons under 30 and over 49, to 42% among the age groups in between.

Marital status. Men who were divorced or widowed had moved twice as often as the rest of the respondents (including the divorced or widowed women). On the other hand, the unmarried respondents—both men and women—more often canceled the interview. These changes in the material were statistically significant, although not very serious. The total losses among the married, formerly married, and unmarried persons in the sample were 40%, 48%, 56%, respectively. A differential reduction in relation to marital status is inevitable, and this factor was therefore taken into consideration when stratifying the sample. However, the reduction was smaller than predicted among the formerly married persons, and consequently this category was, in fact, somewhat overrepresented as compared to the total population in Copenhagen.

District. Differences between losses from different districts were quite insignificant as can be seen from the following list of total percentages lost in each district: 50, 49, 46, 54, 46, 49, 32, and 43%. With one exception, the percentages lie between 43% and 54%. Some of the differences in losses could be predicted (including the loss of only 32%) and were discounted in advance by an increase or decrease in their numbers in the original sample. Consequently, we ended up with very much the same figures for the different districts: five districts had 28 successful interviews each, and one had 29; only in two districts was the reduction higher than predicted, the final figures being 22 and 23 persons.

In conclusion, this analysis of Sample 1 suggests that in spite of the two-step reduction of the original sample, the only significant difference as to available background data between the original sample and those interviewed was that the loss of unmarried persons was higher than the loss in other categories. This difference, however, is hardly liable to have serious consequences for the material as a whole.² (The relation of the respondents in Sample 1 to the whole Copenhagen population will be discussed later.)

Sample 2 was introduced in addition to Sample 1 for several reasons. We wanted a final survey population as close as possible to 200 men and 200 women. If only one sample was to be used, we would have to start with a certain higher number since we would have to count on a loss from the original sample. However, not being able to make more than a clever guess about the absolute size of the losses, chances were slight that we would end up with the right figures. Furthermore, the manner in which the material was to be collected—namely by 100 interviewers during one evening—rendered such a sampling procedure highly

2. In addition, possible consequences may be traced by means of a cross-tabulation of the results with marital status. Such an analysis has not yet been completed.

impractical. Each interviewer would have to be furnished with more than four addresses—seven would be more accurate—but there would only be time for four interviews. So if an interviewer obtained his four interviews before he had tried all addresses (which was bound to happen in several cases) we would be suffering an extra loss in the sample, in addition to all the others. On the other hand, an interviewer who had “a bad day” might obtain only one or two interviews, which would mean a waste of time.

For these reasons and others it was obviously necessary for each interviewer to have two lists of addresses with him: one list of four addresses which would be the “original sample,” and another list with an unlimited number of addresses to furnish “substitutes” for dropouts from the original sample. For many reasons it was considered advisable, under the circumstances, to let the “substitute” sample consist simply of persons living in the same place as the ones on the original list. In addition to saving precious time for interviewing rather than running around to find addresses, it was considered that the best “substitute” for a person who had moved out would be the person who had moved in afterwards.

On the other hand, it would have been a mistake, on the whole, to treat Sample 2 as a fully adequate supplementary to Sample 1. Instead, it was treated as a separate sample, and in addition it functioned as a control for the effect of the prior notification which, of course, only persons in Sample 1 had received. If no differences between the results of the two samples were found, it would indicate that neither the different sampling methods nor the fact that Sample 1 had been prenotified and Sample 2 had not could have had any noticeable effect. On the other hand, if differences were found we would not have been able to tell whether this was caused by one factor or the other. Fortunately, there were extremely few differences between the two samples. This was the case both for background variables and for interview data. In regard to the interview data used in this article not one significant difference was found between Sample 1 and Sample 2—this goes for both men and women. In fact, the two samples rarely differed by more than a slight percentage. In all tables we have therefore combined the two sets of data. (The background data will be dealt with in the following section.)

Representativeness of the survey

Sample 1 and Sample 2 were compared on all background factors covered in the interview. No statistically significant differences were found in regard to place of growing up, marital status, occupation, social level (including social level of husbands and fathers), religious attitudes, and political affiliation. The only background variable which did show differences was the age distribution. This is illustrated in Table 2, which in addition shows the age composition of the unreduced Sample 1, and for comparison, the age distribution in Copenhagen.

It can be seen in Table 2 that the age groups 20-29 and 50 upwards were overrepresented in Sample 2 as compared to Sample 1. Part of the difference is easily explained: as mentioned earlier, persons over 49 years old were deliberately excluded (or almost excluded) in the original Sample 1. As concerns the 20-29-year-olds, two factors probably brought about the underrepresentation in Sample 1 as compared to Sample 2: first, persons in this age group were more likely to be at home in the evening because they had small children; and second,

they tended less often to refuse and interview, perhaps because they were of the same age as the interviewers. These age-dependent differences were counteracted in Sample 1 due to the prior notification.

Since Sample 1 and Sample 2 differed only as to the age distribution, further attempts to substantiate the representativeness of the material can be based (luckily enough) on the combined data of the two samples.

In all areas that we have had the opportunity to check, the representativeness is quite satisfactory. On the basis of "father's occupation" the social level of respondents' fathers have been determined using the coding system of Svalastoga (Svalastoga, 1959). These data can readily be compared to Svalastoga's own data, since they date from 1954, and are valid for all Denmark. The results are shown in Table 3. The resemblance is very close.

Finally, recent municipality elections four months after the survey made it possible to compare data concerning political affiliation in the present investigation to the actual figures from Copenhagen. The comparison is shown in Table 4.

Table 2

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN

Age groups	18-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-		Total	
	M %	W %	M %	W %	M %	W %	M %	W %	M %	W %	M %	W %	M %	W No.
Sample 1														
Original distribution	2	5	32	29	25	27	36	31	5	7	1	1	100	198
Population interviewed	3	5	28	31	30	22	33	38	4	4	2	0	106	110
Sample 2	3	6	38	38	12	19	13	16	16	12	17	10	92	90
Total population	3	5	33	34	22	21	24	28	10	8	9	5	198	200
Copenhagen, adult population	5	5	32	28	17	16	21	23	25	29	—	—		

Table 3

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: RESPONDENTS' FATHERS' SOCIAL LEVEL
(Total distribution compared to all Denmark, both based on Svalastoga's Code)
N=398

Father's social level	Survey	All Denmark
Lower and middle lower class	21%	25%
Upper lower class	36	34
Lower middle class	29	30
Middle middle class	11	8
Upper middle class	4	3
Total	101%	100%

Table 4

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: RESPONDENTS' POLITICAL PARTIES

(Distribution of political parties respondents would vote for if there were going to be an election tomorrow compared to actual elections three months later*)

N=313

Name of party	Survey data (Dec. 1969)	Election data (March 1970)
Socialdemokratiet	49.2%	51.2%
Radikale (Center-party)	11.2%	7.9%
Konservative	16.0%	24.0%
Venstre (right wing party)	3.5%	2.3%
Socialistisk Folkeparti	15.1%	9.2%
Kommunister	2.9%	2.9%
Venstresocialister (left wing)	2.2%	2.4%
Total	100.1%	99.9%

* Includes only parties getting more than 1% of total.

It appears from the table that in most cases our investigation made correct "predictions" of the election four months later; however, there were also a few "flops." Some of the differences may be due to actual changes in the political situation. However, the differences as to *Konservative* and *Socialistisk Folkeparti* probably indicate a slight bias in our material. This bias—which is in a "leftist" direction—is presumably due to the age bias: the older age groups, more likely to vote conservative, were deliberately underrepresented in our material. Although the bias is slight (and not statistically significant), it should be kept in mind.

The fact that we found no unexpected or serious biases among the background data we were able to validate does not mean that there were not any biases in the material. The fact that 22% of Sample 1 canceled the interview or refused to receive the interviewer should certainly warrant caution. It might be expected that persons who are opposed to pornography would be somewhat overrepresented among the refusers. However, there is certainly a great variety of reasons for refusing to be questioned, many of which may have nothing to do with the topic of pornography. (See also Kutschinsky, 1971b, section 4.)

In conclusion, therefore, it would seem fair to say that the preliminary analysis has shown no biases of such dimensions that generalizations could not be made from the present survey. In fact, by all usual standards, the survey population seemed to be quite representative of the universe that it was intended to represent, namely the younger and middle-aged part of the Copenhagen population.

RESULTS

Data on victimization

One series of questions was asked with the purpose of getting some data on the respondents' actual experience as victims of sex crimes. No definition of "sex crimes" was given, but this part of the interview was preceded by another in

which the respondents were presented with a list of sexual acts and were asked to indicate whether they considered them "criminal" or not (see the following section). The interviewer then went on to ask: "Have you ever experienced any of these kinds of things yourself? They do not necessarily have to be exactly the same." Whenever a case was mentioned, the interviewer went on to ask whether it had been reported to the police, and whether the respondent would report it if it happened again.

Fifty-two men (26%) and 121 women (61%) mentioned having experienced at least one of "these kinds of things." Fourteen men (7%) and 35 women (18%) mentioned two cases (a few "third cases" have been omitted from the present analysis). Thus, the men mentioned a total of 66 cases; out of these, four (6%) were reported to the police. The same number declared that they would report to the police if something similar happened again. The women mentioned a total of 156 cases, of which 29 (19%) were reported to the police. When asked whether they would report if a similar thing happened again, 51 (33%) said yes.

Most of the cases reported by the men concerned minor homosexual interference, or attempts. In addition, the men mentioned 12 cases of exhibitionism, three cases of peeping, and two cases of verbal indecency. In the following analysis we shall concentrate on the cases mentioned by the female subjects, since the present survey only provides comparable data concerning sex crimes against women and girls.

Table 5 presents the cases reported by the women. The data should be regarded with many reservations: First of all, as we shall see presently, there is no fixed borderline between sex crime and noncriminal acts with a sexual implication. What one person regards as criminal is not considered worth mentioning by another. Second, accuracy in memory varies, perhaps especially in regard to these kinds of things; what is remembered by one person is forgotten by another, and the problem, of course, increases the further back in time you go. Third, a

Table 5

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: SEXUAL OFFENSES MENTIONED BY VICTIMIZED FEMALE RESPONDENTS*

Type of sex crime	Number of cases	Number reported	Reporting frequency	Report if . . . again Number	Frequency
Rape	2	1 (1.0)	—	1	—
Exhibitionism	78	8 (8.8)	10.3%	19	24.4%
Peeping	10	3 (2.5)	30.0%	7	70.0%
Coitus with minors	0	0 (1.3)	—	—	—
Verbal indecency	11	3 (1.6)	27.3%	4	36.4%
Other indecency (women)	39	5 (4.6)	12.8%	19	35.8%
Other indecency (girls)	14	8 (8.2)	57.1%		
Incest	2	1 (—)	—	1	—
Total	156	29 (28.0)	18.6%	51	32.7%

* Includes frequencies of reports to police and avowed readiness to report if it happened again. Figures in parentheses are expected values (see text).

number of cases may have been omitted because the respondents thought it too embarrassing to talk about. Finally, as already mentioned, it would seem that the number of respondents in this study are in many cases too small to provide reliable victimization data.

The reservations above mentioned seem to be so many and so forceful that it might seem senseless to use the data for any serious purpose. On the other hand, for the following analysis we need some information about victimization of sex crimes in Copenhagen, and we do not have any source of information other than the present one. It therefore seems worthwhile to see if our data do not—in spite of all their deficiencies—have some measure of validity.

While the total victimization figures in this survey cannot be directly validated in any way, we can compare the cases said to be reported to the police with the criminal statistics that are available. This can be done in a number of different ways. For the present preliminary analysis, we used the following simple procedure: on the basis of the percentage distribution of the different types of sex crimes in Copenhagen, and we do not have any source of information other than “expected” absolute distribution of the 28 crimes³ in our survey stated by the female respondents to be reported to the police. The “expected” figures for each type of crime (with one decimal) are shown in parentheses in Table 5. The agreement between the figures found and the figures “expected” is very high.⁴ Undoubtedly, such an extraordinary exactitude is a stroke of luck. Nevertheless, it does convey to our data a certain air of reliability.⁵

If it is true that the survey figures concerning reported crimes have been shown to possess some degree of validity, this means two things: First, it indicates that the women in our survey form a representative sample of the women in Copenhagen, also from the standpoint of victimization. Second, it indicates that we can rely on the women’s memory and their truthfulness as regards crimes they have reported to the police. Both of these conclusions would seem to increase somewhat the general validity of the victimization data. Nevertheless, there is still

3. One type of sexual offense in our survey, namely incest, of which one case was reported to the police, could not be counted because this type is not included in the police statistics shown in Table 1.

4. Although the present analysis does not claim to be more than preliminary, it should be mentioned that the comparison has one weakness whose seriousness is unknown: While the survey data include sex crimes reported as far back as the 1930’s, the police statistics, to which they have been compared, are only from 1958 to 1969. We do not, at the moment, have sufficiently refined statistics available prior to that period. Nor would it be sufficient to use only our survey data from the last 12 years for the comparison. So far, we shall have to rely on the assumption that the ratio of the different types of sex crimes has remained more or less constant during the last few decades.

5. We have tried to make yet another type of comparison between the survey data and the police statistics, based on the total incidence of “reported” sex crimes (by our female respondents) versus “registered” sex crimes (by the Copenhagen police) per 1,000 women during a certain period. Such a comparison, however, presents serious problems, since the “risk of becoming a victim” has to be taken into consideration. We know that the risk varies a lot according to the age of the woman—and age is exactly the variable for which our study is not representative, since we deliberately left out the older age groups. Undoubtedly this and other problems of such a comparison can be solved. Meanwhile, we have made a preliminary analysis using rough estimates of victimization risks and data only from the last 10 years. This analysis indicated that the incidence of reported victimization in our material was probably somewhat higher than should be expected on the basis of registered crimes. The finding of a discrepancy in that direction agrees very well with the common notion that the police will sometimes avoid recording less serious complaints, for instance, when the report is made by telephone or when there is merely a suspicion and no evidence. Cases which the police fail to register probably may be found for most types of sex crimes, except possibly for rape and indecency towards children.

plenty of reason to distrust the data concerning cases that were not reported to the police. The limitations of the victimization data in general (mentioned above) would seem to be even more applicable to cases which the victim did not report to the police.

Fortunately, the survey provides a means for testing in some measure the internal consistency of these data. Knowing both the total number of cases of each type of crime and the number of such cases that were reported, we can compute a "reporting frequency" (fourth column in Table 5). Since we already have some confidence in the figures for cases reported, a validation of these "reporting frequencies" would have a bearing on the validity of the total number of cases within each type. We can, on an internal level, obtain some idea about the validity or the consistency of the "reporting frequencies." As will be shown later, some of them can be compared to a "reporting readiness" in a number of hypothetical cases of a similar type. We will return to that later; at the moment we will merely mention that a comparison between the two rather different types of data shows a satisfactory degree of consistency (see Figure 2).

The conclusion from the above deliberations is that, in spite of the small number, and many other deficiencies and problems, there is a reasonable basis for making a cautious analysis and application of the victimization data shown in Table 5.

The total number of crimes mentioned by the women (Table 5, first column) would seem to confirm the common assumption that the "dark figures" for minor sex crimes are indeed very high. Furthermore, a comparison between these figures and the reporting figures shows (also not unexpected) that the latter—and consequently the police statistics—give a very distorted picture of the actual incidence of sex crimes. Thus, indecency towards adult women would seem to be much more frequent than indecency towards girls, although the cases reported—both in this study and according to the police statistics—were more frequently of the latter type. Part of the explanation for this may be that childhood events of this type are more often forgotten. On the other hand, the low reporting frequency of indecency towards women very adequately reflects the fact that the majority of cases mentioned were of a trifling nature. Quite often the incidents did not amount to much more than "annoying in the street" or similar occurrences which the "victim" would never think of reporting to the police. This is reflected also in the motives for not having reported the incidents (see Table 8, last column). These motives and some other matters concerning the victimization data will be discussed later.

We shall comment finally on the fact that more respondents said they would report "if it happened again" than did actually report to the police. Somewhat naively, one might have expected the opposite, indicating a decrease in reporting tendency. Obviously, however, these figures do not reflect "real" reporting frequency but rather "reporting intentions," which are clearly something else. In cases such as "peeping" the tendency to "report if it happened again" probably also reflects the increased feeling of nuisance or danger caused by repeated interference. The figures for "tendency to report again" are quite similar to the figures concerning "reporting readiness" in the hypothetical cases to be dealt with later.

The victimization data—at least at the present stage of analysis—seem to have little value bearing directly on the question of why there has been a decrease in

sex crimes registered by the police. The already small figures become much too small when cut up into decades or years. In this article, we shall use the data for an analysis of the consequences of a possible change in attitudes towards reporting sex crimes. First, however, we shall take a look at the public concept of a sex crime.

Definition of a sex crime

As mentioned earlier, one possible explanation of the decrease in reported sex crimes could be that there has been a change in people's definition of what types of sexual interference constitute a criminal act. It is conceivable that what might be called "the lower threshold" of the public concept of sex crime may, for one reason or another, have been raised so high that a great number of sex offenses previously considered criminal are no longer seen in that light. They may still be considered annoying or even offensive, but they have lost their quality of being "criminal," a quality which is probably a necessary condition for reporting the act to the police.

In the survey we set out to obtain a rough picture of the "threshold area" of the present public concept of sex crimes. For this purpose eight different types of sexual interference were described to the respondents (questions 7 through 14). Each of these was a typical criminal act according to the law, but they were chosen so as to represent relatively unharmed cases of the respective types of sex crimes. In each case the respondents were asked to tell whether, in their personal opinion, this act was to be considered criminal or not. The results for men and women are shown in Table 6, listed by order of "severity" based on the total percentage of respondents who considered the act to be criminal. (Cross-tabulations were not available at the time of this report.)

As can be seen, six of the crimes were indeed positioned in an area which might be called a "threshold area": between one-third and two-thirds of the respondents considered these crimes to be "criminal acts." One crime fell beneath this area, namely "A man rapes a woman who has just before permitted impertinent petting." Only a small minority (12% of the respondents) considered this a criminal act.

Table 6

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: SEXUAL OFFENSES AS CRIMINAL ACTS (In percentage of men and women subscribing to this view)

Question no.	Short description	"A criminal act: yes"		
		Men	Women	Total
7	Indecent touching four-year-old girl	92%	93%	93%
13	Petting 16-year-old daughter	68%	68%	68%
12	Peeping through letter slit	60%	47%	53%
14	Exposure to lady in park	57%	48%	52%
8	Obscene telephone call to woman	49%	30%	40%
11	Touching lady's breast in streetcar	46%	32%	39%
9	Consensual coitus with 14-year-old girl	33%	31%	32%
10	Rape after consensual petting	17%	9%	12%
	Number	(198)	(200)	(398)

At the other end of the spectrum: "A stranger takes a four-year-old girl down in the basement and touches her between the legs." There was almost complete consensus that this is a criminal act; it was above the "threshold area."

Since there are no comparable data from earlier studies, these figures do not provide any direct information about changes in the definition.⁶

Nevertheless, the results do bring out one thing of interest to our specific problem, namely the fact that "indecent interference with a four-year-old-girl" was considered a sex crime by no less than 93% of the respondents. As can be seen in Table 1, reported "indecent interference with children" had a drop of 69% during the last 10 years. If this 69% decrease were explained by a change in the definition of this type of crime as criminal or noncriminal, one would have to expect that many respondents would consider the case presented here as non-criminal.⁷

A comparison between men and women showed that, on the whole, the women tended to be more lenient than the men. It appeared, however, that men and women tended to "agree" about cases in which the victim is a child or a youngster (indecent touching of a four-year-old girl, touching a 16-year-old daughter, coitus with a 14-year-old). However, the women were more lenient than the men in cases where the victim was an adult woman—that is, cases in which the victim might be themselves. Since victims of most sex crimes are in fact women, the conclusion of this finding, compared to findings in earlier studies (Kutschinsky, 1970), suggests that the decrease in reported sex crimes might be attributed at least partly to a change in the women's concept of themselves as victims of sex crimes.

Attitudes towards reporting

While the concept of an act as "criminal" may be considered a necessary condition for reporting it to the police, it would certainly not be a sufficient condition. For a number of reasons a person who feels victimized by a sex crime may decide not to report it. Even if there had been no change in people's concept of a sex crime, serious changes in readiness to report such acts might account for at least part of the decrease in the police statistics.

Part of the interview in the present investigation was designed to obtain data bearing on attitudes towards reporting sex crimes, changes in such attitudes, and reasons for not reporting. (See Appendix, questions 29 to 44.)

Four different crimes were described to the respondent, each representing one of the four types of sex crimes that had decreased the most in numbers during the last 10 years. These included (physical) indecency towards girls, (physical) indecency towards women, exhibitionism, and peeping.

6. It was considered ill-advised to include a question such as "would you have considered it a crime 10 years ago?" Adding such a question would have further complicated this already quite abstract issue. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to repeat some of the questions in similar surveys in other parts of Denmark and in other countries. It is also planned to repeat the survey in Copenhagen at a later date. Such investigations will furnish data for some interesting comparisons, especially with the crime statistics.

7. An alternative possibility is that a majority of the cases of this type registered by the police in 1959 were much less serious than the ones we presented in the survey. Preliminary investigations of this question indicated that this was not the case. A detailed comparison of all the cases of sexual offenses in 1959 and 1969, which is now being planned, will definitely throw light on the question.

The questions were phrased in such a way that they were expected to arouse a degree of ego-involvement (“... what would you do if that happened to you,” or “... your child?” or “... your wife?”). In each case the interviewer asked what the respondent would have done if the same thing had happened 10 years ago.

Table 7 classifies the results with the closest bearing on the question of whether there has been a change in readiness to report. The table compares, in each of the four cases, the percentage of persons old enough and willing to report 10 years ago with the percentage of all the respondents who would report now. As can be seen, there was in all cases a difference in the percentage of those who said they would report 10 years ago and those who would now. The size of this difference averaged 7% among the men and 10% among the women, and the variation from case to case was slight.

However, if we intend to use these data for an interpretation of the crime statistics—that is, to estimate changes in actual reporting frequency on the basis of

Table 7

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: READINESS TO REPORT SEX CRIMES
10 YEARS AGO AND NOW*

	Men	Women	Total
Indecency towards five-year-old girl (Q. 29)			
Would report 10 years ago	71%	78%	74%
Would report now	65	68	67
Difference	6	10	7
Relative decrease	8	14	10
Indecency towards woman (Q. 33)			
Would report 10 years ago	52	44	48
Would report now	43	32	38
Difference	9	12	10
Relative decrease	17	27	22
Peeping (Q. 41)			
Would report 10 years ago	32	52	42
Would report now	27	48	37
Difference	5	4	5
Relative decrease	16	8	11
Exhibitionism (Q. 37)			
Would report 10 years ago	19	30	25
Would report now	12	18	15
Difference	7	12	10
Relative decrease	40	39	40
Mean of all four cases			
Would report 10 years ago	44	51	47
Would report now	37	41	39
Difference	7	10	8
Relative decrease	16	19	17

* Figures for 10 years ago based on respondents aged 25 or more.

declared changes in "reporting readiness"—it would be misleading to look at the difference between "10 years ago" and now. In police statistics it is the relative decrease, not the absolute, that counts. The lower the reporting frequency of a certain type of crime, the stronger will be the impact on the police statistics of a further decrease. We therefore have to look at the *relative "decrease"* and disregard the difference in "reporting readiness."

It can be seen from Table 7 that the relative "decrease" varies much more than the absolute difference—from only 8% among the women in the case of "peeping" to 40% for "exhibitionism." Apparently there had indeed been a considerable "change" in "reporting readiness" in some types of sex crimes but not in others.

Later we will discuss to what extent these results may be used for an interpretation of the crime statistics. Meanwhile, the important question is whether these self-declared "changes" in the hypothetical cases adequately reflect real changes in reporting readiness. Can we really trust peoples' ability (and willingness) to tell what they would have done 10 years ago, *if* such and such a thing had happened?

Unfortunately, this question cannot be adequately discussed in a few sentences—and this is not the place for a lengthy psychological discussion. For the present, we will briefly mention three good reasons for regarding the data on changes of "reporting readiness" as at least better than pure guessing:

(1) We could not think of any better way of getting the information we needed. Since we could not go back into the past and ask people about their reporting attitudes, we had to ask people to do the time-traveling for us through their memory and imagination.

(2) Pilot studies showed that for many respondents such a question as "Do you think you would have reported to the police if such a thing had happened 10 years ago?" made sense: it was the kind of question which could be answered with a reasonable degree of subjective certitude. The studies indicated that while most respondents would stick to the answer they had given about "reporting now," some people would change in one direction or the other when asked if they would have "reported 10 years ago." Very few would say "don't know"; those who did so would also be in doubt as to whether they would report now. Very often people would comment on their answer (for instance, "No, I haven't changed the way I look at things like that . . ."). Consequently, the answers given also made sense—to the interviewer.

(3) Finally (as we will see later) the results of this part of the survey made sense in two ways: they were consistent with other findings in the survey, and they were useful in an attempt to explain the decrease in registered sex crimes.

Reasons for not reporting a sex crime

Each time a respondent said that he had not reported, or would not report, a sex crime to the police, he was asked to tell why. We are thus able to compare reasons given for not having reported actual crimes with the reasons given for not wanting to report the hypothetical crimes. The main results are gathered in Table 8.

Table 8

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: REASONS FOR NOT WANTING TO REPORT SEX CRIME TO POLICE
 (Percentages of men and women failing to report)*

	Indecency towards four-year-old girl		Indecency towards woman		Peeping		Exhibitionism		Total		Self been victim	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Trifle/not dangerous	46%	40%	54%	50%	57%	68%	74%	71%	61%	56%	59%	51%
Too much trouble	1	13	9	16	8	7	8	9	8	11	8	11
Taken care of without police	8	10	7	2	7	6	5	1	7	4	6	5
Forcible self-help	5	0	4	2	13	1	2	0	6	1	3	3
No use	7	8	15	24	7	9	2	7	7	12	0	0
Too embarrassing	15	28	6	2	0	0	0	1	3	5	11	16
Miscellaneous	26	13	16	13	15	13	14	12	16	13	21	19
Total percentage	108%	112%	111%	109%	107%	104%	105%	101%	108%	102%	108%	105%
Number who would/did not report	(61)	(60)	(101)	(128)	(135)	(99)	(168)	(161)	(465)	(448)	(63)	(125)
Percentage of all respondents who would/did not report	32%	31%	51%	64%	68%	50%	85%	81%	59%	56%	92%	72%

Note: More than one reason per person possible.

A comparison between reasons given for not reporting the hypothetical cases and for not reporting the actual cases shows a considerable likeness.⁸ There are only two exceptions from the general agreement between the hypothetical and the victimization data: "No use" was given as the reason in about 10% of the hypothetical cases while this reason was never mentioned in the real cases, and "too embarrassing" was given somewhat more often as a reason for not reporting an actual crime compared to not reporting the hypothetical crime.

In all of the four hypothetical cases the main reason for not wanting to report was that the incident was trifling or not dangerous; an average of 61% of the men and 56% of the women gave this reason. As might be expected, the percentage was higher in crimes for which the tendency to report was low, and vice versa. The only exception to this was the women's reaction in the case of indecency towards a woman. While 50% said that the case was trifling, 40% said that it would do no good to report, or that it would take too much trouble; however, these two types of reasons probably also implied that the crime was not considered too serious.

"Avoiding embarrassment" was common only in the case of "indecency towards five-year-old girl," in which this would mean "preventing the child from suffering the pain and embarrassment of the investigation, the trial, etc." It is possible, however, that a motive of this sort may be latently or even unconsciously present as a much more powerful reason for not reporting than appears from the figures.

A reason for not reporting which is common in the United States, namely "fear of the offender," does not seem to have played any role at all.

Change of attitudes towards sex crimes

In addition to the somewhat indirect ways of getting information about changes in attitudes, a number of questions went directly to the point (questions 45 through 48).

The first question was: "Do you think that you look differently at sex crimes now than you did earlier?" The following two questions asked about the direction of and the reasons for any change, and when it took place. The results are shown in Tables 9 and 10.

It can be seen in Table 9 that 40% of the women and 33% of the men declared that their attitudes towards sexual offenses had changed in a more tolerant direction. Included in those figures are respondents who had come to look at sexual offenders as sick persons. Apparently more women than men had changed in their attitudes, which is in keeping with other findings in this survey. It would seem, however, that the figures for change in a liberal direction for both men and women are surprisingly high as, for instance, when compared with changes in reporting readiness. The reason may be that the question was somewhat suggestive. It is also quite possible, however, that a "change in a liberal direction" simply means that the respondent no longer thinks that sexual offenders should

8. A fully adequate comparison would have to take into consideration that, in the total for the hypothetical cases, each of the four cases has an equal weight, while in the victimization data a number of different types of crimes have very different frequencies, and accordingly very different weights in determining both the frequencies of not reporting and the reasons for not reporting.

Table 9

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS SEXUAL OFFENSES AND DIRECTION OF CHANGE

Attitude changed?	Men	Women	Total
No	60%	45%	52%
Don't know	4%	5%	4%
Yes	37%	51%	44%
Direction of change			
More severe	3%	5%	4%
More tolerant	33%	40%	37%
Misc. + don't know	1%	6%	3%
Number	(198)	(200)	(398)

Table 10

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES: REASONS FOR CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS SEXUAL OFFENSES*

Reason for change mentioned	Men	Women	Total
Increased knowledge	37%	49%	44%
Mass media	31	26	29
Age	25	26	26
Personal experience	21	19	19
Pornography	21	5	11
Associates	10	10	10
Miscellaneous	15	23	19
Don't know	7	3	5
Total percentage	167	161	163
Total number who changed	(73)	(102)	(175)

* More than one answer per person possible.

be punished very hard; it does not necessarily mean that he completely tolerates the crime.

Table 10 shows sources of the change mentioned by those who said they had changed. It will be noticed that 21% of the men said that pornography had had an influence on their attitudes, as against only 5% of the women. Of the total population, however, the percentage of persons who said they had become more tolerant due to pornography only amounted to 7.6% of the men and 2.5% of the women.

When asked when the change took place, 88 persons who had changed in a liberal direction gave information which could be transformed into a specific year.⁹ Of these, 23 mentioned different dates during the period up until 1959,

9. Since this question (like the others) was open ended, the respondent either gave a vague answer such as "long ago" or "gradually," or said "in 19--", or "when I was . . . years old," or ". . . years ago." All information of the latter kind was computed into years. If two consecutive years were mentioned, the first one was counted; if a period was mentioned covering more than two years (e.g. ". . . four to six years ago") the mean year was counted.

while the rest (26 men and 39 women) gave dates that fell within the 1960's. The distribution of these persons is shown in Figure 2. It can be seen that the distribution of men and women shows the same tendency, namely, a rapid increase of change after 1963 and a slow decrease after 1965.

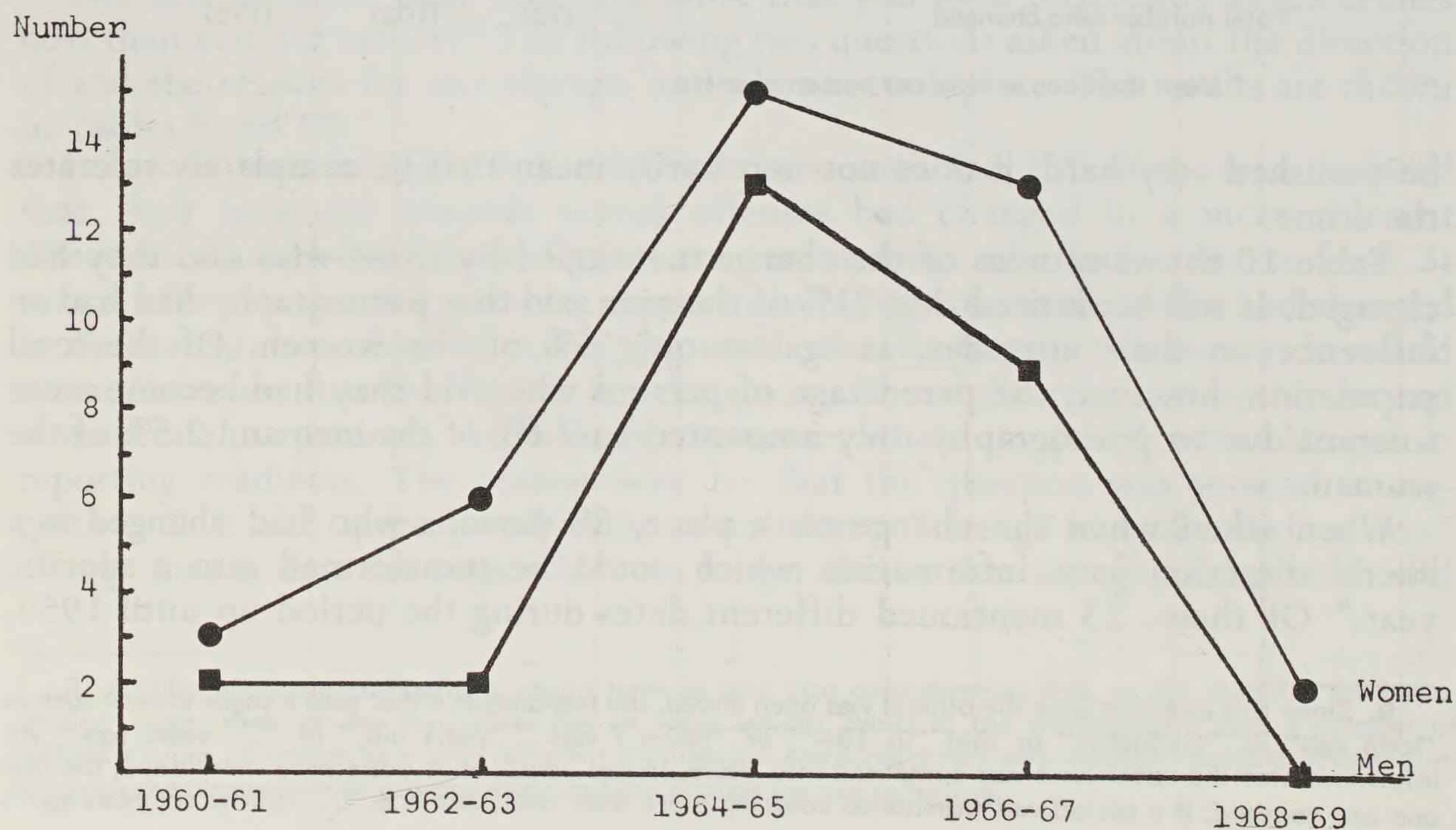
Only two women—and none of the men—said their attitudes had changed within the last two years. There may be a psychological reason for the apparent lack of very recent changes: it may be awkward for people to say that they changed their mind only a year or six months ago. On the other hand, the curve in Figure 2 coincides rather precisely with a period of heated debate and rapid change in the Danish sexual scene. Those were also the years of the so-called “porno wave”—the years in which Denmark was flooded by pornographic literature—which ended with the “first amendment” of the section on pornography in the Danish Penal Code, in 1967.

DISCUSSION AND PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

We have presented the major data provided by this survey which bear on the decrease in police statistics concerning sexual offenses. Further analysis of the results, including a number of cross-tabulations, will undoubtedly improve the possibilities of making valid conclusions. Meanwhile, we will now see how far we can proceed on the basis of the present information—the preliminary analysis may enable us to form ad hoc hypotheses which later may be put to a test through a more refined analysis.

Figure 2

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES. General change in attitudes towards sex crimes. Numbers of men and women who mentioned time of change from 1960 to 1969.



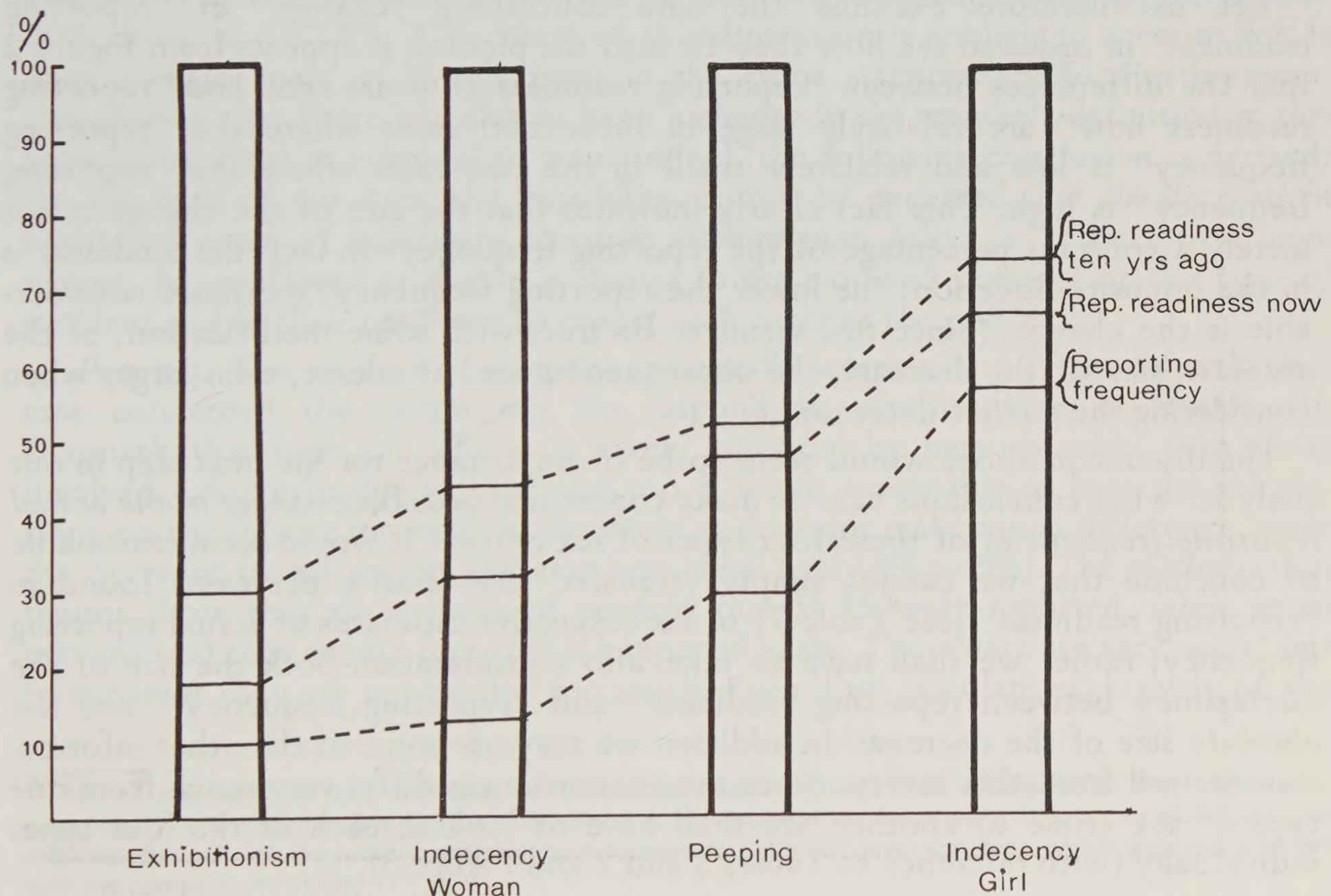
Reporting readiness and reporting frequency

There are two types of relatively detailed data in this survey which may reveal something about the decrease in registered sex crimes. On the one hand, data on the "reporting frequency" exist for certain sex crimes (Table 5); on the other hand, the declared changes in "reporting readiness" during the last 10 years have been recorded for four different crimes (Table 7). Assuming, as we did, that these sets of data have some degree of validity, then if they could somehow be combined we might be able to draw some conclusions about changes in reporting frequency. A condition for doing so, of course, is to demonstrate an invariant relationship, or at least some degree of consistency, between the two sets of data.

In Figure 3 we have illustrated a comparison between the two sets of data. The figure shows four columns, each representing one of the four types of sex crimes which have shown the most significant decrease in the police statistics during the last 10 years. Each column represents two kinds of survey totals: (1) the total number of female victims for the respective type of crime (as a basis for the "reporting frequency" marked in each column), and (2) the total number of relevant, potential "reporters" of the hypothetical example of the respective type (as a basis for "reporting readiness now" and "reporting readiness 10 years ago"). (What is meant by "relevant, potential 'reporters'" will become clear presently.) For the sake of clarity, we have arranged the columns by order of "seriousness."

Figure 3

SURVEY ON SEX CRIMES. Comparisons between "reporting frequency," "reporting readiness now," and "reporting readiness 10 years ago," for four types of sex crimes.



Let us first compare "reporting frequency" and "reporting readiness." Two regularities are obvious: (1) In all of the four types of sex crimes "reporting readiness" is higher than "reporting frequency," and (2) the higher the "readiness," the higher is the "frequency." There is a third tendency towards regularity: with one exception, the ratio "reporting readiness/reporting frequency" decreases with increasing seriousness.

It would seem that the two sets of data are, in fact, rather consistent; considering the very small numbers involved, one could hardly expect to find a stronger relationship than this.

There are two obvious reasons for the discrepancy between "reporting frequency" and "reporting readiness." First, the former is based on a total number of cases, many of which were only attempts (this was especially the case with "indecent towards women") while the hypothetical cases all involved consummated acts. Clearly, attempts are not as often reported as consummated acts. Second, as indicated earlier, it seems to be a rule that not all reporting intentions lead to action. The tendency towards a third regularity is very much in keeping with this "rule": It would seem reasonable to assume that, other things being equal, the more trifling the type of crime and, consequently, the lower the reporting frequency, the more often will intentions *not* lead to action.

The fact that we have been able to demonstrate a rather consistent and, as it seems, quite meaningful relationship between the "reporting readiness" data and the "reporting frequency" data in our survey by no means "proves" that "reporting readiness" and reported changes therein truly reflect facts about actual reporting frequencies. It would seem, however, that we do have enough justification for a continued analysis of the "reporting readiness" data, with the tentative assumption that it does contain some useful information.

Let us therefore examine the data concerning "change" in "reporting readiness" in order to see how they fit into the picture. It appears from Figure 2 that the differences between "reporting readiness 10 years ago" and "reporting readiness now" are relatively large in those two cases where the "reporting frequency" is low and relatively small in the two cases where the "reporting frequency" is high. This fact clearly indicates that the size of the change is not merely a constant percentage of the reporting frequency—in fact, the tendency is in the opposite direction: the lower the reporting frequency, the more considerable is the change. (Since this seems to be true, with some modification, of the *absolute* size of the decrease, the consequences are, of course, even larger when considering the *relative* decrease.)

The discussion above would seem to be of importance for the next step in our analysis: what conclusions can we make concerning possible *changes in the actual reporting frequencies* of these four types of sex crimes? It would seem reasonable to conclude that we cannot simply "transfer" the *relative decreases* found in "reporting readiness" (see Table 7) to the respective estimates of actual reporting frequency; rather we shall have to take into consideration both the *size of the discrepancy* between "reporting readiness" and "reporting frequency," and the *absolute* size of the decrease. In addition we may use some of the other information derived from this survey. Since the circumstances differ very much from one type of sex crime to another, we shall have to look at each of the four types individually (with reference to Tables 5 and 7 and Figure 3).

Exhibitionism. The relevant data to be compared are the female victimization data and the "reporting readiness" figures of the women (since the hypothetical case concerns a woman). The decrease in "reporting readiness" of the hypothetical case was from 30% to 18%, a relative decrease of 39%. However, the victimization figures show that only eight out of 78 cases (10%) of indecent exposure were reported. Accordingly, both of the "reporting readiness" figures are far "too high" (but correspond very well with the 24% of the victims who would report "if it happened again"). It seems reasonable to infer that while 10 years ago the actual reporting frequency was somewhat over 10%, today it would be much lower. At such a low level, the *relative* decrease easily becomes very marked. Thus a change in reporting frequency from 12% to 5% means a decrease by 57%—a figure which corresponds exactly with the decrease in exhibitionism according to the police statistics (58%, see Table 1).¹⁰ On the basis of our data, therefore, the possibility cannot be excluded that *the decrease in exhibitionism registered by the police during the last 10 years may be fully explained by a change in people's attitudes towards this crime and towards reporting it to the police.*

Indecency towards women. In this type of crime, also, the relevant figures are those of the female respondents. The "reporting readiness" in the hypothetical case showed a decrease from 44% to 32%. In the victimization figures, however, there was a "reporting frequency" of only 13%. While the "readiness" figures are undoubtedly "too high," the "reporting frequency" found is probably somewhat "too low." This is indicated by the fact that there were many attempts and many trifling cases (probably inspired by a rather "mild" example used in the "definitions," see Table 6), some of which would generally be considered noncriminal. Because of the difficulty in defining this type of sex crime, a variety of different figures seem equally acceptable as points of departure. However, a reasonable choice is to calculate with a decrease in reporting frequency from approximately 20% down to 10-12%. A decrease of this dimension is enough to account for at least a major part of the decrease in the crime statistics (56%). Furthermore, considering that there has clearly been a change in the women's definition of this type of incident as criminal or noncriminal, the following conclusion is derived: On the basis of our data, the possibility cannot be excluded that *the decrease in registered cases of indecency towards women may fully, or at least to a large extent, be explained as due to a change in the women's concept of this type of incident and in their readiness to report such cases to the police.*

Peeping. The victims of peepers are usually women, and in the hypothetical case concerned the victim was the respondent, whether male or female. (In Denmark this type of offense is rarely reported by persons other than those involved.) Accordingly, in this case too it seems reasonable to base the calculations on the figures for women. However, it does not make much difference, since the decrease found was in any case very small (only 4% to 5%). The victimization figures show that three cases of peeping out of 10 were reported, while seven persons said they would report if it happened again. These data are very weak, but fortunately they are not needed too much. Even if we calculate exclusively on the

10. In this estimate and the ones to follow we have not taken into consideration the "registration frequency" by the police (see footnote 5). Since at the moment we know very little about this factor, we shall, for the sake of the present analysis, have to consider it an unknown constant, which does not interfere with the comparisons made.

basis of the men's (much lower) figures, the relative decrease does not amount to more than 16%. For comparison, the decrease in this type of sex crime from 1959 to 1969 was 80%. On the basis of our figures, therefore, *the possibility seems to be excluded that more than a small fraction of the decrease in reported peeping can be explained by a change in the reporting attitudes of the victims.*

Indecency towards girls. Since it is not the respondents themselves but rather their children who are the hypothetical victims, the relevant "reporting readiness" figures would be the total for men and women. The decrease was from 74% to 67%. In the victimization section there were 14 cases of this type of indecency towards girls (including attempt), eight of which were reported to the police. Furthermore, the hypothetical case was a consummated act and not an attempt. Finally, it should be remembered that a similar case was defined as a sex crime by 93% of the respondents. In the light of these facts, it would seem that the "reporting readiness" in the hypothetical case is not very exaggerated. However, even if we maximize the decrease estimated in reporting frequency, for example, from 50% to 40%, the relative decrease still would not exceed 20%. For comparison, the decrease in that type of crime from 1959 to 1969 was 69%.

On the basis of our data, therefore, *it seems unlikely that more than a fraction of the decrease in indecent acts towards children could be explained by a change in the definition of or the attitudes towards reporting this type of crime.*

Concerning changes in the attitudes of the police

When we set out to explore the reasons for the decrease in sex crimes registered by the police, our main hypothesis was that the decrease was due to a change in people's attitudes towards reporting. What we have found so far indicates that this hypothesis was rather well supported in two types of sex crimes, namely exhibitionism and indecency towards women. As regards two other types of crimes which were put to the test, namely peeping and indecency towards children, the results, although tentative, rather convincingly indicated that the hypothesis would have to be rejected: Unless our results are misleading, there cannot possibly have been a change in people's attitudes towards reporting these types of crimes of such a dimension that it may explain more than a small fraction of the decrease. It seems that in the latter two cases we shall have to look elsewhere for a reason for the decrease.

In the introduction we mentioned five possible reasons for the decrease. Having tentatively excluded three of the reasons, only the following two seem to be left: Either the police have changed their way of handling the crimes in question, or we shall have to accept as a fact that there has been a real decrease in the total incidence of the type of crime in question. Let us examine the two types of crimes "left over" regarding the possibility of a change in police attitudes. The examination is based partly on a number of informal interviews with police officers.

As concerns peeping, for a number of reasons the police may have changed in their attitudes, in spite of the fact that the victims apparently have not. The police know that peepers are not dangerous (a fact which many people are not aware of); furthermore, they know that it may be extremely difficult to apprehend peepers; and finally, since the victims are almost always indoors (and

may be afraid to go out), there will probably be a tendency to try to make the report by telephone. All of these factors seem to increase the likelihood that the police will tend to calm people down instead of registering the complaints (this was admitted by police officers interviewed). On the other hand, the factors mentioned have existed for a long time, and there is no specific reason why they should have become much more prevalent during the last few years. It does not seem possible to form any conclusive hypothesis as to this question.

As concerns indecency towards children the ground is somewhat firmer. We know that most people look rather seriously upon this type of crime, and there is hardly any reason to believe that the police do not share this view. There are no indications that the police have changed their policy as to the registration of this crime. According to the police officers interviewed, the police have always regarded sex crimes towards children as very serious and will automatically register *all* reports regardless of the circumstances. Accordingly, it seems to be difficult to find alternatives to the remaining explanation in this discussion, namely that *there has been a considerable decrease in the actual number of cases of indecent interference with children.*

Sex crimes, sexual attitudes, and pornography

In this article we have repeatedly talked about "reasons" for and "explanations" of the decrease. In fact, what we have tried to do is only to locate the point in the chain of events where we may start to look for the functional causes of the decrease. We have concluded, on the basis of a preliminary analysis, with some specific suggestions about such points, which was the primary purpose of the survey and this article.

Nevertheless, we will attempt to move one or two steps further towards a causal explanation of the decrease. Even though the conclusions in this study are tentative, it would be fruitful to see whether they make sense in such a way that they are compatible with the functioning of one or more potentially causative factors. If they do not make sense, it would seem better to start the exploration into the intriguing problem of the decrease from the very beginning. If the results do make sense in the way mentioned, we have not only acquired a good reason for trying to establish our findings more firmly (which, in fact, means trying in different ways to overthrow them); we have at the present stage also obtained a number of additional points at which to attack the problem.

Among the many explanations put forward with reference to the decrease of registered sex crimes in Denmark, two factors, both of which have a temporal coincidence with the decrease, would seem to be most relevant.

The first has to do with the *general change in sexual mores and attitudes* which has taken place in Denmark during the last decade. The indications of such a change are numerous (see, for example, a series of articles in *Politiken*, starting January 1, 1970); we shall have to abstain from listing them here. It has resulted in greater sexual freedom for both men and women, fewer prejudices, less "double morality," more openness, and so on. There are many indications that the rapid change started early in the decade (*An ABZ of Love*, by Inge and Sten Hegeler, which is considered by many to be an important factor in, or manifestation of, the change, appeared in 1962). Although the "sexual revolution" is

undoubtedly still going on in the Danish society, there are indications that the period of the most rapid change had ended by the time of the repeal of the ban on pornographic literature in 1967. It is reasonable to expect, as many have, that the "sexual mores factor" (as it will be called hereafter) might be at least partly responsible for the decrease in registered sex crimes. It might have affected the potential offender in making it easier for him to obtain a noncriminal outlet for his sexual urge; and it also might have affected the victims, making them less inclined to report the offenses to the police.¹¹ In the present study we have, in fact, seen a number of indications that there has been a change in the attitudes towards a number of specific sex crimes, especially among the women, as well as towards sex crimes in general. There is evidence in this survey that such a general change in attitudes towards sex crimes also had its peak around the middle of the decade (see Figure 2).

The second explanation we have in mind has to do with a specific offshoot of the general change in the Danish sexual scene, namely the *change in public attitudes towards pornography and the ensuing high availability of pornographic material*, especially in Copenhagen. There are two clearly distinctive phases in the "pornography scene" in Denmark in the 1960's. The so-called "porno' wave" was a period in which millions of pornographic books were disseminated in Denmark; it started around 1962, culminated in 1964 to 1965, and was more or less over by 1967. However, around 1965 a "second porno' wave" had its beginning: a growing number of increasingly "stronger" pornographic picture magazines and films became available. Possibly the "picture porno' wave" culminated in 1969, but it is not yet possible to determine whether the local sale has stabilized or is going down (Kutschinsky, 1971b).

Many theories have been put forward concerning the relationship between pornography and sex crimes. We will not engage in that discussion but merely consider the one theory which is applicable in the present context, the so-called "safety valve" theory (see, for example, Clor, 1969, p. 155ff.). For our purpose, we restate this theory in the following way: It is unquestionable that with few exceptions the purpose of the sexual offender when committing a sex crime is to obtain sexual satisfaction, usually in the form of orgasm. In many cases of sex crimes, the orgasm is obtained through masturbation either while committing the crime or immediately afterwards. Since pornography is well suited (and quite often used) as a source of sexual stimulation for masturbation (Kutschinsky, 1971b, Table 12), it seems likely that some earlier offenders may have stopped or at least reduced their criminal activity, while potential new offenders may never engage in committing sexual offenses because they get sufficient sexual satisfaction through the use of pornography.¹² (Hereafter we refer to this possible explanation of the decrease in registered sex crimes in Copenhagen as the "pornography factor" theory.)

11. It also might have affected the police by making them less inclined to register reports. In order to avoid making the discussion too complicated, we shall leave out this question. In general, there are indications that the police's attitudes may serve to amplify in some measure tendencies already present in the attitudes of the public but hardly to modify them.

12. In theory, a decrease in the actual number of crimes committed does not necessarily mean that there are fewer offenders—the same number of offenders may just be committing fewer crimes. More likely, however, such a decrease is due to fewer offenders committing fewer offenses.

An apparent objection to this theory is that, according to the findings of Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, and Christenson (1965, p. 669ff.) sexual offenders are not, as a rule, more sexually aroused by pornography than noncriminal males—in fact, some types of sexual offenders seem to be much less responsive to pornography than are other men. One reason for this would be, according to the same authors, that the use of pornography requires the ability to empathize and fantasize, an ability which is correlated with education. The poorly educated, a group to which the majority of sexual offenders belong, “are apt to be much more pragmatic and require something more concrete in order to respond” (Gebhard et al., 1965, p. 671).

This objection seems relevant to the “pornography factor” theory of the decrease, as concerns the effect of the “porno’ literature wave.” The abundance of pornographic books could be expected to be used as a “safety valve” only by the better educated (or more intelligent) potential sex offenders. The picture pornography, on the other hand, is not affected by this objection: on the contrary, one might expect that these “full color” magazines and films with the reputation of “leaving nothing to fantasy” would be very well suited as a means of sexual stimulation for persons with a poor imagination, who need “something more concrete.”

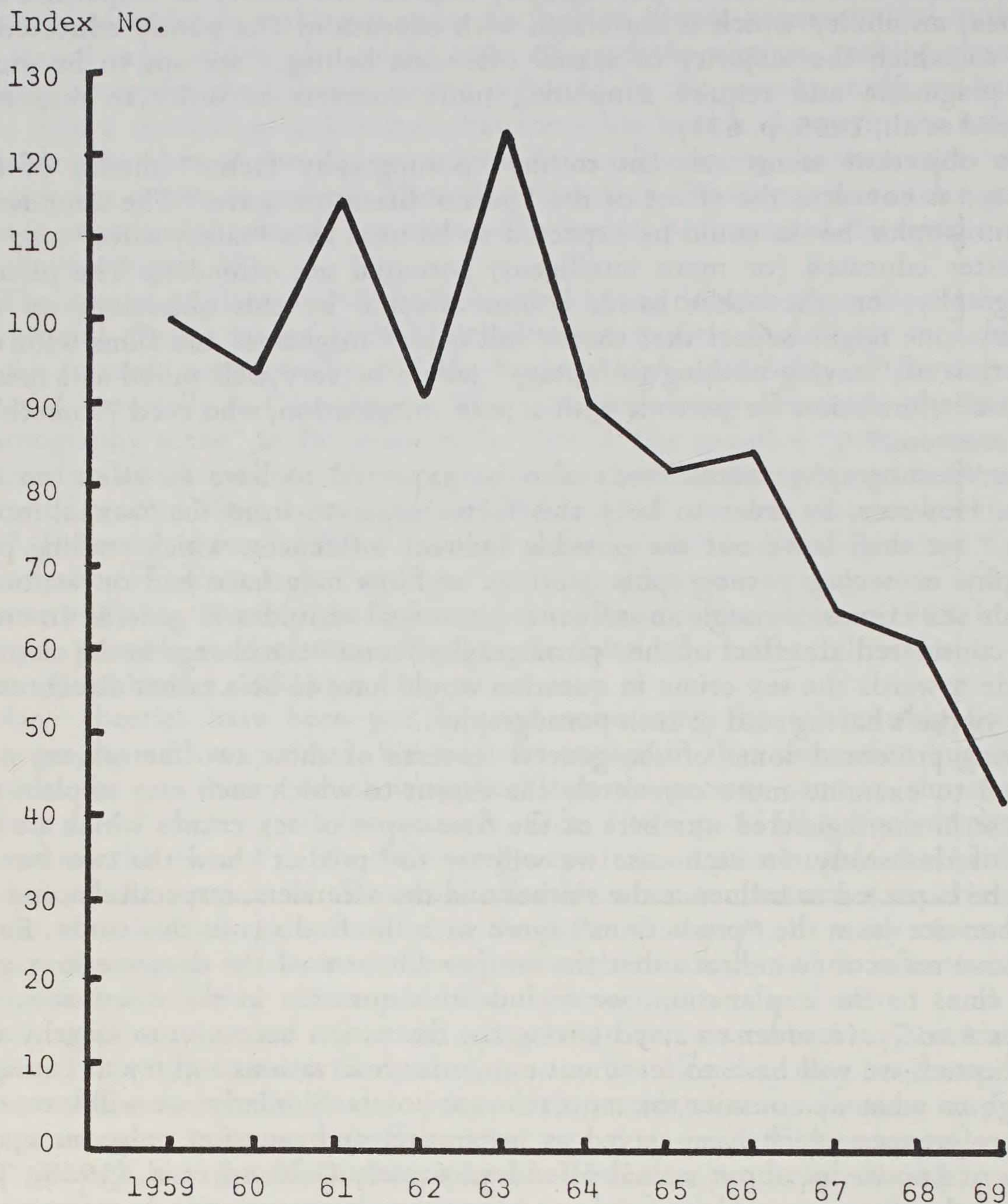
The “pornography factor” may also be expected to have an effect on the victim. However, in order to keep this factor separate from the “sexual mores factor,” we shall leave out the possible indirect influences, which reading pornography or seeing pornographic pictures or films may have had on attitudes towards sex crimes, through an influence on sexual attitudes in general. In order to be considered an effect of the “pornography factor” the change in the victim’s attitude towards the sex crime in question would have to be a rather direct result of the victim’s having read or seen pornography.

Having presented some of the general features of these two factors, we now proceed to examine more concretely the extent to which each may explain the decrease in the registered numbers of the four types of sex crimes which are the focus of this study. In each case we will try to “predict” how the two factors might be expected to influence the victims and the offenders, respectively, and we will then see how the “predictions” agree with the findings in this study. Since the above reflections indicate that the *temporal course* of the decrease may give some clues to the explanation, we include this question in the discussion (see Figures 4 to 7). In order to avoid having the discussion become too lengthy and complicated, we will have to leave out numerous reservations and try to cut right through to what we consider the most relevant points. Similarly, we will leave out many references which have served as inspiration and mention only one major source of knowledge about sexual offenders, namely Gebhard et al. (1965). The reader is kindly requested to forgive us for trying to summarize in a few pages what deserves at least a large chapter in a book.

Exhibitionism. This type of crime is undoubtedly the least dangerous and “innocent” of all sex crimes. The harm it causes is probably reduced to those cases where women or children who have never seen an erect penis before are shocked at the sight and perhaps scared that the exhibitionist is going to attack them. It seems reasonable to expect that a general change in sexual attitudes might lead to a reduction of the already very low reporting frequency. Such a

Figure 4

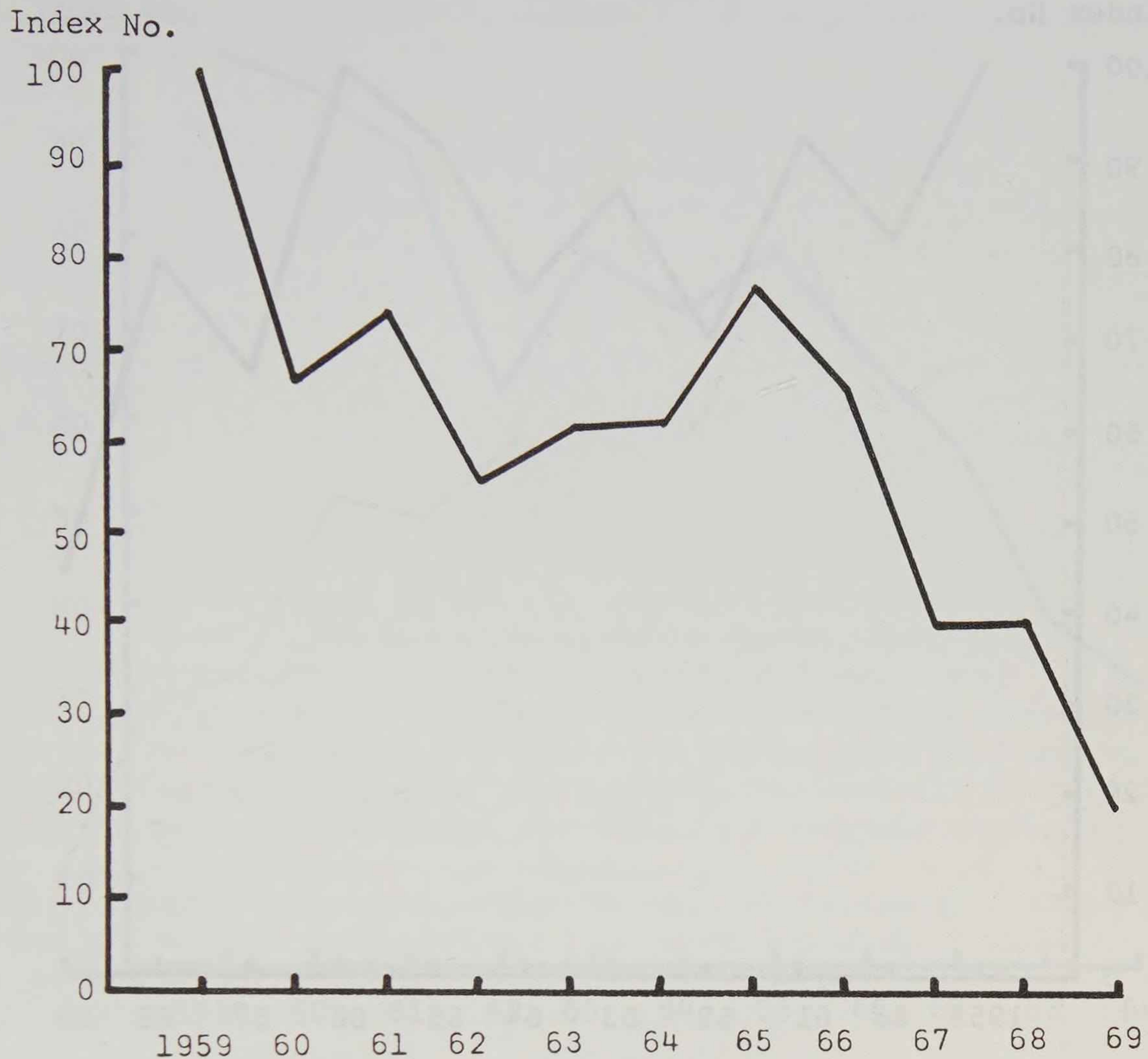
POLICE STATISTICS FOR COPENHAGEN. Index for exhibitionism registered by the police, 1959-1969. Index No. 100 = 249 cases.



reduction, however, would be expected to take place throughout the 1960's. The same goes for an effect of the "sexual mores factor" on the offender: Undoubtedly a number of exhibitionists are merely sociosexually deprived persons who might benefit, in the long run, from a change in the sexual scene and manage to approach the objects of their desire in a more adequate manner. It seems unlikely, however, that such a change could have taken place in the course of only a few years. Yet, it can be seen from Figure 4 that the decrease in registered cases

Figure 5

POLICE STATISTICS FOR COPENHAGEN. Index of peeping registered by the police, 1959-1969. Index No. 100 = 99 cases.



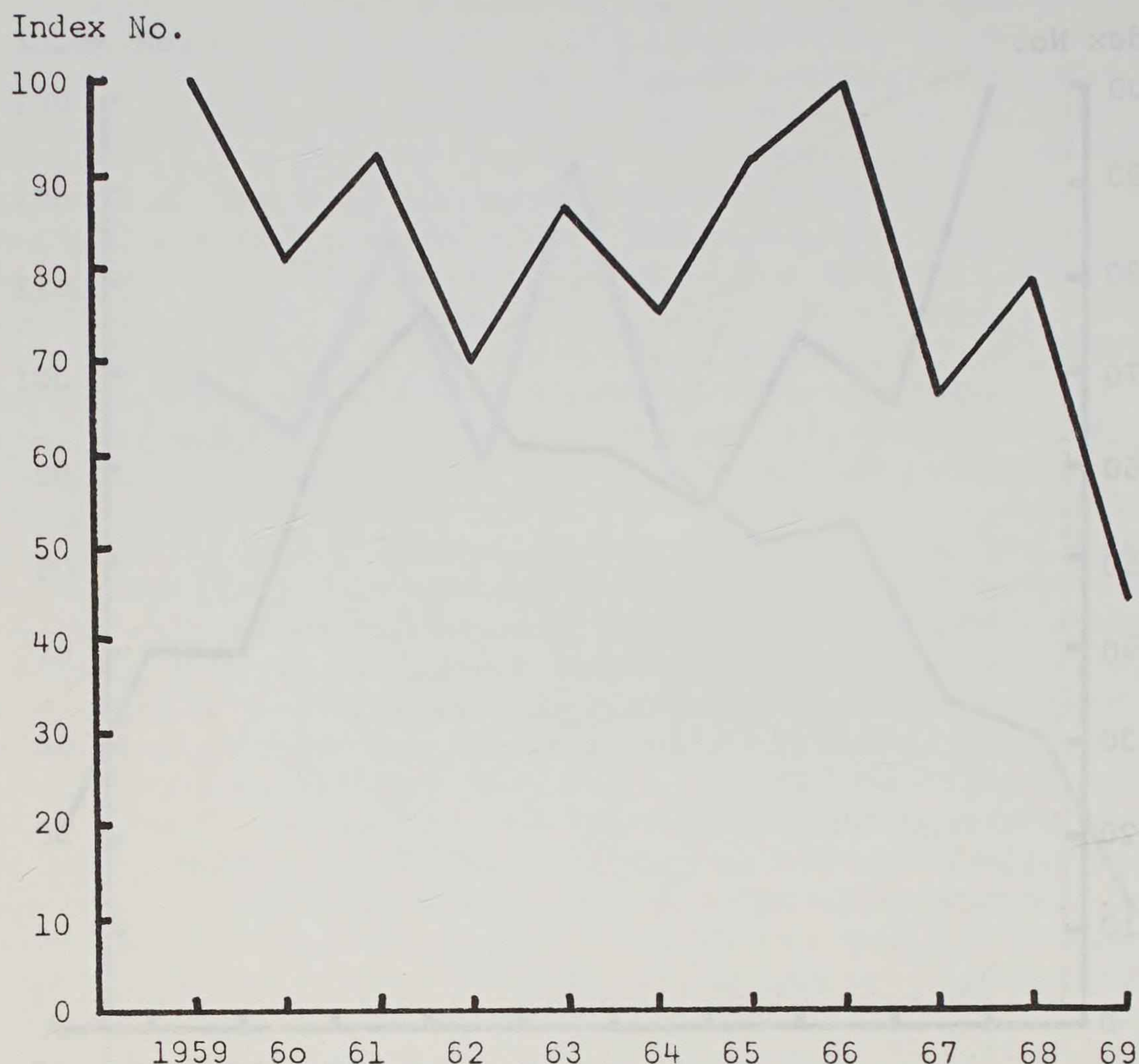
of exhibitionism did not start until the middle of the sixties and became rapid only after 1966. Accordingly, it would seem that the "sexual mores factor" renders an inadequate explanation in this case.

The "pornography factor" might be expected to influence some of the earlier or potential offenders of this type, since many of them seem to respond positively to pornography (Gebhard et al., 1965, p. 394). On the other hand, it seems doubtful that a person who desires so much to be looked at that he scorns the risk of arrest and punishment would readily substitute looking at others for self-exposure.

Let us therefore examine the remaining possibility, namely that pornography may have had a direct influence on the victim. This possibility seems quite reasonable: Some of the "chief works" of the porno' literature wave contained numerous detailed and exaggerated descriptions of the male sexual organ. Later, the porno' magazines took over with no less vigor. Although not all persons have

Figure 6

POLICE STATISTICS FOR COPENHAGEN. Index of (physical) indecency towards women registered by the police, 1959-1969. Index No. 100 = 137 cases.

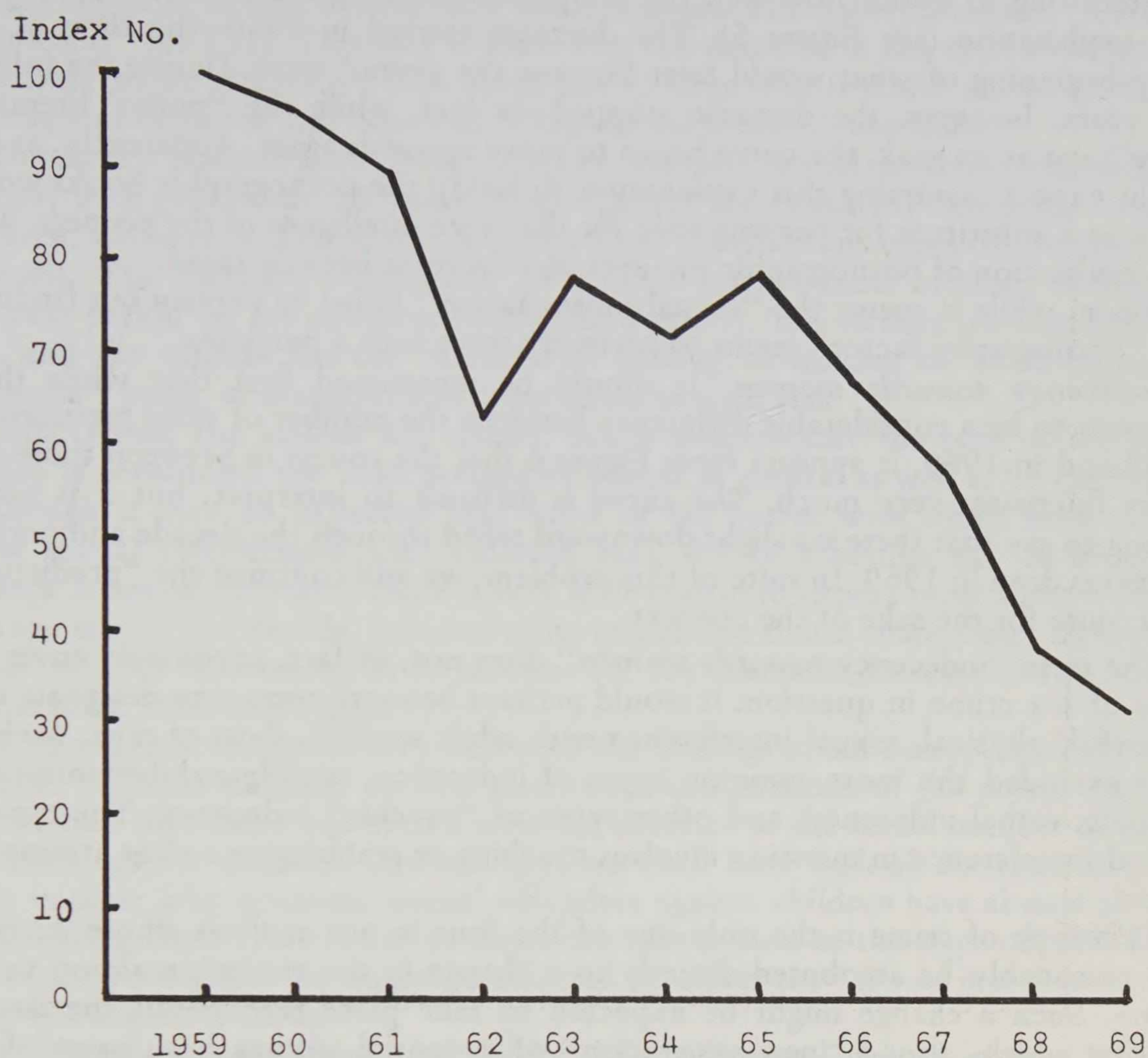


read pornographic books or magazines, probably very few have completely avoided being confronted with the material in one way or other. With this background it would be reasonable to expect a decrease in reporting frequency due to the fewer numbers of women and children who are shocked by the unexpected exposure of a real-life penis. The decrease would be expected to start at the peak of the pornography wave and to accelerate rapidly with the increasing availability of hard-core pornographic pictures. In our survey we did, in fact, find a decrease in reporting readiness, probably large enough to account for the whole change, and in Figure 4 it can be seen that the expectations as to the course of the decrease were fulfilled.

Peeping. This type of sex crime is, in itself, also quite harmless, but many victims do not know that. Peepers are more frightening and annoying than the exhibitionists, since they intrude into the privacy of the home. Some victims may even suspect that they are burglars (which, in fact, is true of some who are arrested for peeping), and the victim's reactions for that reason alone may have

Figure 7

POLICE STATISTICS FOR COPENHAGEN. Index of (physical) indecency towards girls registered by the police, 1959-1969. Index No. 100 = 282 cases.



nothing to do with sexual attitudes. In short, one would hardly expect the “sexual mores factor” to have much influence on people’s reaction to this type of crime. Nor would one expect to find any direct effect of the “pornography factor” on the peeper’s victim. Reading about or watching pictures of naked people will hardly make people acquainted with the thought of being looked at themselves. Thus, neither of the two factors which are the focus of this analysis would seem to lead to a change in people’s attitudes towards peeping. In fact, in the present survey we did not find more than a slight change.

Since the victim’s reaction towards this type of crime apparently has not changed much, we would have to look for an explanation of the decrease in registered sex crimes in the potential offender (leaving, for the present, the police attitudes out of the picture). There is no need to talk about the very unlikely possibility that due to the “sexual mores factor” the large majority of voyeurs, in the course of a few years, have changed their minds about the pleasures of watching. To the peeper, Denmark during recent years must have been something of a paradise: without running the risk of being caught or disturbed—something which

the peeper fears very much (Gebhard et al., 1965, p. 375)—he may view color magazines or films in his home, or he may become a member of the porno' film clubs, which show hard-core pornographic films from morning to midnight. (In 1969 the clubs even introduced "live" performance of "pornographic" scenes.) It is interesting to notice how well the temporal course of the decrease fits in with this explanation (see Figure 5). The decrease started in 1960—the time of the early beginning of what would later become the porno' wave. During the following years, however, the decrease stopped—in fact, while the "porno' literature wave" was at its peak, the curve began to move upwards again. Apparently, as one might expect (assuming this explanation to hold), the pornographic books would serve as a substitute for peeping only for the more intelligent of the peepers. With the legalization of pornographic pictures, the decrease became rapid.

Again, while it seems the "sexual mores factor" failed to explain our findings, the "pornography factor" seems to perfectly serve such a purpose.

Indecency towards women. It should be mentioned first that while there happens to be a considerable difference between the number of cases registered in 1959 and in 1969, it appears from Figure 6 that the course in between those two years fluctuates very much. The curve is difficult to interpret, but it is hardly wrong to say that there is a slight downward trend through the decade and perhaps a serious drop in 1969. In spite of this problem, we will continue the "prediction" procedure for the sake of the context.

The term "indecent towards women" does not, in fact, adequately cover the type of sex crime in question. It would perhaps be more correct to designate it as unlawful, physical, sexual interference with adult women, short of rape. We have thus excluded the most common types of indecency, namely exhibitionism and peeping, verbal indecency, and other types of "psychic" indecency. The type of sexual interference in question involves touching or grabbing or a clear attempt to do so.

This type of crime is the only one of the four in our analysis whose decrease can reasonably be attributed directly to a change in the victim's reaction to the crime. Such a change might be expected to take place throughout the decade (during which, also, a "new generation" of potential victims have come of age who might view these things differently from the "older generation"). In fact, our survey findings did indicate a change in the women's attitudes towards reporting this type of crime which was large enough to account for the decrease throughout the decade (except perhaps the last drop in 1969). There is hardly any reason to think that pornography played any direct role in this change; nor is there any need for this factor to explain the decrease.

Although we have already found an adequate and (almost) fitting explanation for the decrease, we should also, with regard to this type of crime, take a look at the offender. According to Gebhard et al. (1965), the heterosexual offender against adults is a "simple, unimaginative, impulsive opportunist" who "seeks gratification of [his] desires via the easiest and most immediate route with a minimum of reflection. . . He is the sort of man who is doomed to land in jail on some minor charge sooner or later, and the sexual element is almost fortuitous" (p. 132). If this is true of the Danish sexual offender against adult women—and we have no reason to believe otherwise—it would hardly make sense to expect that greater sexual freedom and so forth would induce the potential offender of

this type to keep hands off. Nor would it be expected that the high availability of pornography could mean much to this type of offender, who is, in fact, according to Gebhard et al. (1965, p. 127), quite uninterested in pornography: The offender was "very strongly heterosexual and . . . interested (and singularly successful) in gratifying [his] sexual desires with adult females. The other outlets . . . were unimportant" (p. 131). This may explain why the decrease in this type of crime was relatively slight and, as we have seen, not so large that it could not be explained through an expected and observed change in the women's attitudes.

Indecency towards girls. This category includes sexual interference, short of coitus, with girls under 15 years of age (as was the case with indecency towards women, we have separated this category from the different types of "psychic" sex crimes). The category constitutes 29% of all heterosexual offenses during the 10-year period we are concerned with (see Table 1). The victims are usually under 12, and the offense has the character of petting, or making the child touch the offender's penis, or attempts and approaches to such acts.

Apart from the violent sex crimes, this is undoubtedly the type of sex crime which is considered the most serious by people in general as well as by the police. Although it may be expected that some of the horror with which most people view sexual interference with children may slowly diminish due to a general change in sexual attitudes, there is very little reason to expect more than a modest change during the decade. It seems quite impossible that a change may have taken place of such dimensions as to account for the dramatic decrease in this sort of crime since 1965 (see Figure 7).

This expectation agrees very well with the findings in our survey. As mentioned earlier, it seems difficult to find alternative explanations of the police statistics other than that there has been a veritable decrease in the actual number of sexual offenses against children. Accordingly, we shall have to look for reasons which may explain why potential sexual offenders against children have abstained from committing these crimes. Let us therefore take a look at this type of offender in order to see whether he might be affected by either the "sexual mores factor" or the "pornography factor."

The heterosexual offender of children (according to Gebhard et al., 1965, pp. 54-82) is very different from the offender of women (who, as will be recalled, could not be expected to benefit from either of the two factors). Whereas the latter is bold and successful with women, the former is shy and very unsuccessful. Whereas the offender of women is an unscrupulous opportunist, quite often with a criminal record of nonsexual crimes, the offender of children is usually "moralistic and conservative," "caught in a conflict between [his] morals and [his] behavior" (Gebhard et al., 1965, p. 81), and he rarely has a nonsexual criminal record. He is generally older, quite often mentally deficient, and nearly always sociosexually deprived.

Only one-fourth to one-third of the sexual offenders of girls examined by Gebhard et al. were classified as pedophiles, and in about half of those cases "some degree of sociosexual deprivation existed at the time of the offense, which may have triggered the behavior" (p. 74). Gebhard et al. further mention that "the term 'pedophile' is somewhat unfortunate since these men did not consciously prefer children as sexual partners, but simply found them acceptable" (p. 74).

In other words, to the majority of sexual offenders of children, the criminal interference with children was not a coveted goal in itself; rather it served as a poor (and much regretted) substitute for a preferred, but unobtainable, normal heterosexual experience. In striking contrast to the offender of adult women, one would expect the offender of girls to be more than ready to seize available alternatives to his criminal behavior.

The question now is whether it is likely that the Danish society and/or the potential sexual offender of children may have changed so much that a majority of the latter have been able to obtain a satisfactory normal heterosexual life. It is possible that something like that has really happened. On the other hand, it does not seem very likely that such a change has been so strong and rapid that this alone may account for the decrease during the last five years, in which the number of offenses were more than halved (Figure 7).

A more reasonable explanation would be that a considerable number of earlier or potential offenders of children have succeeded in *replacing one poor substitute by another*, perhaps just as poor but noncriminal and harmless to other people—namely pornography. This assumption agrees with the course of the decrease seen in Figure 7: there was a drop during the early years of the “porno’ literature wave,” followed by a stagnation and even a slight increase until 1965 (the beginnings of the “porno’ picture wave”), whereupon the decrease became rapid. The assumption also agrees with the findings by Gebhard et al. (1965) that these offenders (in contrast to the offenders of adult women) respond rather positively to pornography, that they masturbate frequently, and that their masturbation fantasies are quite average (that is, they did not especially fantasize about children).

CONCLUSION

We have completed an analysis in which we have tried to combine information from several different sources, including the tentative findings in the present survey, in order to explain the recent decrease in the numbers of four different types of sex crimes registered by the police in Copenhagen. Concerning three of these types of crimes—exhibitionism, peeping, and (physical) indecency towards girls—it was possible, without restraint or ad hoc constructions, tentatively to explain this registered decrease as being due to the influence on either the victims or the potential offenders of one single factor, namely the development in the availability of pornography. While the general change in the sexual behavior and attitudes of the Danes may, in different ways, have had a contributory influence on the decrease of the above three types of sex crimes, the analysis tentatively indicated that the influence of such a change on the *victims* was the major reason for the registered decrease in (physical) indecency towards women.

For two types of sex crimes—peeping and (physical) indecency towards girls—the analysis led to the tentative conclusion that the abundant availability of hard-core pornography in Denmark may have been the direct cause of a veritable decrease in the actual amount of crime committed.

It is realized that the perspectives of these conclusions—if they are true—are considerable. We should therefore like to stress once more that the conclusions are tentative and will have to be reexamined on the basis of a more complete

analysis of this survey and the crime statistics. Others will have to judge whether these preliminary conclusions carry enough weight to have any political consequences. There is no doubt, however, that they should result in a serious effort to examine the theory that pornography may prevent certain types of sex crimes, especially sexual offenses against children.

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APPENDIX

THE PORNO' INVESTIGATION

Interviewer's form

1.	What is your opinion about the repeal of the ban on pornography?	For	1
		For?	2
		Against	3
		Against?	4
		Don't know	5
2.	Do you think that pornography may sometimes be harmful?	Yes	1
		Yes?	2
		No	3
		No?	4
		Don't know	5
3.	(If yes): How?	Promotes sex crimes	1
	(More than one cross possible)	Breaks down morality	2

	Vulgarizes sex life	3
	Arouses people sexually	4
	Promotes feelings of inferiority	5
	Leads to lethargy/escape	6
	Promotes sexual aberrations	7
	Harmful for children	8
	Harmful for adolescents	9
	Debases the woman	10
	Harms the models	11
	Harmful for certain people	12
	Miscellaneous	13
4.	Do you think that pornography may sometimes be beneficial?	
	Yes	1
	Yes?	2
	No	3
	No?	4
	Don't know	5
5.	(If yes): How? (More than one cross possible)	
	Entertainment	1
	Alleviates the sexual urge/ substitute for sex	2
	Gives sexual satisfaction	3
	Increases sex life	4
	Improves sex life	5
	Decreases sex crime	6
	Breaks down taboos	7
	Reduces feelings of guilt	8
	Gives information	9
	Promotes tolerance	10
	Miscellaneous	11
6.	What in general do you think about pornography?	
	Like it	1
	Exciting	2
	Entertaining	3
	Some good, some bad	4
	Does not interest	5
	Boring	6
	Poor	7
	Offensive in general	8
	Offensive from a religious viewpoint	9
	Repulsive	10
	Don't know	11
	Miscellaneous	12

I am now going to mention some sexual acts for you, and I would like you to tell me whether you think they are criminal or not. It is your own personal opinion we would like to know, not what the law says.

7.	A stranger takes a four-year-old girl down in a basement and touches her between the legs. Should this in your opinion be considered a criminal act?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
		Yes, but sick	4
		No, but sick	5
		Don't know, but sick	6
8.	A man calls a strange lady on the phone and says obscene things to her. Should this in your opinion be considered a criminal act?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
		Yes, but sick	4
		No, but sick	5
		Don't know, but sick	6
9.	A 28-year-old man has intercourse with a 14-year-old girl. They are in love with each other. Should this in your opinion be considered a criminal act?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
		Yes, but sick	4
		No, but sick	5
		Don't know, but sick	6
10.	A man rapes a woman who just before has permitted impertinent petting. Should this in your opinion be considered a criminal act?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
		Yes, but sick	4
		No, but sick	5
		Don't know, but sick	6
11.	In a crowded streetcar a strange gentleman touches a lady's breasts. Should this in your opinion be considered a criminal act?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
		Yes, but sick	4
		No, but sick	5
		Don't know, but sick	6
12.	A man peeps through the letter slit of an apartment hoping to see a naked woman. Should this in your opinion be considered a criminal act?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
		Yes, but sick	4
		No, but sick	5
		Don't know, but sick	6
13.	A man caresses sexually his 16-year-old daughter who does not object. Should this in your opinion be considered a criminal act?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
		Yes, but sick	4
		No, but sick	5
		Don't know, but sick	6
14.	In a park a man exposes his penis in front of a lady who is passing by. Should this in your opinion be considered a criminal act?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
		Yes, but sick	4

	No, but sick	5
	Don't know, but sick	6
15. Have you ever experienced something of that kind yourself? It does not necessarily have to be exactly the same.	Yes	1
	No (Proceed to question 29)	2
	Don't know/don't remember (Proceed to question 29)	3
16. (If yes): What?	Indecent assault attempted	1
	Indecent assault	2
	Verbal indecency and similar	3
	Attempt at rape	4
	Rape	5
	Coitus with minor	6
	Peeping	7
	Indecent exposure	8
	Incest (parent)	9
	Incest (sibling)	10
	Homosexual interference	11
	Miscellaneous	12
17. About how old were you when it happened? years old	
	Don't know/don't remember	1
18. Was it reported to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know/don't remember	3
19. (If no): Why not? (If possible only one cross)	Trifle/undangerous	1
	Taken care of without police	2
	Forcible self-help	3
	Too much trouble	4
	Too embarrassing (not rake up)	5
	No use	6
	Miscellaneous	7
20. If something of the same kind happened to you again, do you think that you would then report it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
21. (If no): Why not? (If possible only one cross)	Trifle/undangerous	1
	Taken care of without police	2
	Forcible self-help	3
	Too much trouble	4
	Too embarrassing (not rake up)	5
	No use	6
	Miscellaneous	7
22. Have there been other cases?	Yes	1
	No (Proceed to question 29)	2

	Don't know/don't remember (Proceed to question 29)	3
23. (If yes): What?	Indecent assault attempted	1
	Indecent assault	2
	Verbal indecency and similar	3
	Attempt at rape	4
	Rape	5
	Coitus with minor	6
	Peeping	7
	Indecent exposure	8
	Incest (parent)	9
	Incest (sibling)	10
	Homosexual interference	11
	Miscellaneous	12
24. About how old were you when it happened? years old	
	Don't know/don't remember	1
25. Was it reported to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know/don't remember	3
26. (If no): Why not? (If possible only one cross)	Trifle/undangerous	1
	Taken care of without police	2
	Forcible self-help	3
	Too much trouble	4
	Too embarrassing (not rake up)	5
	No use	6
	Miscellaneous	7
27. If something similar happened to you again, do you think that you would then report it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
28. (If no): Why not? (If possible only one cross)	Trifle/undangerous	1
	Taken care of without the police	2
	Forcible self-help	3
	Too much trouble	4
	Too embarrassing (not rake up)	5
	No use	6
	Miscellaneous	7
29. Imagine that a five-year-old girl comes home and says that a strange gentleman has made her touch his penis. Apart from that nothing has happened, and the	Try to find the offender	1
	Report to police (proceed to question 32)	2
	Report to others	3

girl is not frightened. What would you do if that was your child?	Talk sensibly with child	4
	Nothing	5
	Don't know	6
	Miscellaneous	7
30. (If not "report to the police"): Would you report it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
31. (If no): Why not?	Trifle/undangerous	1
	Taken care of without police	2
	Forcible self-help	3
	Too much trouble	4
	Too embarrassing (not rake up)	5
	No use	6
	Miscellaneous	7
32. If a thing like that had happened 10 years ago, do you think you would then have reported it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
33. Imagine that a lady in a stairway passes a strange gentleman, who while passing puts his hand up under her skirt and touches her between the legs outside her pants. He runs out in the street and is gone. What would you do if that were you (your wife)?	Report to police (proceed to question 36)	1
	Report to others	2
	Run after offender	3
	Forcible self-help	4
	Nothing/walk on	5
	Miscellaneous	6
34. (If not "report to the police"): Would you report it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
35. (If no): Why not? (If possible only one cross)	Trifle/undangerous	1
	Taken care of without police	2
	Forcible self-help	3
	Too much trouble	4
	Too embarrassing (not rake up)	5
	No use	6
	Miscellaneous	7
36. If something like that had happened 10 years ago, do you think you would then have reported it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
37. Imagine that one day, while walking through the park, you	Report it to the police (proceed to question 40)	1

suddenly see a man who is standing there and exposing his penis. He does not say anything and does not do anything but show his sexual part. What would you do?	Report to others	2
	Try to stop him	3
	Nothing/pass by/ ignore it	4
	Miscellaneous	5
38. (If not "report to the police"): Would you report it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
39. (If no): Why not? (If possible only one cross)	Trifle/undangerous	1
	Taken care of without police	2
	Forcible self-help	3
	Too much trouble	4
	Too embarrassing (not rake up)	5
	No use	6
	Miscellaneous	7
40. If something similar had happened to you 10 years ago, do you think you would then have reported it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
41. Imagine that one evening you are undressing yourself and detect a man watching you through the letter slit. What would you do?	Report to the police (proceed to question 44)	1
	Report to others	2
	Close the view	3
	Chase the man away	4
	Nothing/ignore it	5
	Forcible self-help	6
	Miscellaneous	7
42. (If not "report to the police"): Would you report it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
43. (If no): Why not? (If possible only one cross)	Trifle/undangerous	1
	Taken care of without police	2
	Forcible self-help	3
	Too much trouble	4
	Too embarrassing (not rake up)	5
	No use	6
	Miscellaneous	7
44. If something similar had happened 10 years ago, do you think that you would then have reported it to the police?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3

45. Do you think that you look differently at sex crimes now than you did earlier?	Yes	1
	No (proceed to question 49)	2
	Don't know (proceed to question 49)	3
46. (If yes): In what direction has your attitude changed? (More than one cross possible)	More liberal/tolerant	1
	More severe	2
	Sex offenders are sick people	3
	Miscellaneous	4
	Don't know	5
47. About when do you think you changed your attitude? (More than one cross possible)	_____ years ago	1
	When I was _____ years old	2
	Year: _____	3
	Gradually	4
	Don't know	5
48. What do you think made you change your attitude?	Increased knowledge	1
	Mass media	2
	Associates	3
	Personal experience	4
	Pornography	5
	Age	6
	Don't know	7
	Miscellaneous	8

Here are a few more questions in relation to pornography.

49. Have you ever read a pornographic book?	Yes	1
	No (proceed to question 54)	2
	Don't know/don't remember	3
50. About when did you read a pornographic book for the first time?	_____ years ago	1
	When I was _____ years old	2
	Year: _____	3
	Miscellaneous	4
	Don't remember	5
51. What was the name of it?	<i>Fanny Hill</i>	1
	<i>Miller (Sexus)</i>	2
	<i>The Red Ruby</i>	3
	<i>Lady Chatterley's Lover</i>	4
	<i>Seventeen</i>	5
	Miscellaneous	6
	Don't remember	7
52. About how many pornographic books have you read altogether?	0-1	1
	2-4	2

	5-9	3
	10-19	4
	20-49	5
	50-99	6
	100+	7
	Don't know/don't remember	8
53. Have you read one within the last month?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know/don't remember	3
54. Have you ever seen a porno- graphic picture magazine?	Yes	1
	No (Proceed to question 59)	2
	Don't know/don't remember (Proceed to question 59)	3
55. About when did you see a porno' magazine for the first time?	_____ years ago	1
	When I was _____ years old	2
	Year: _____	3
	Miscellaneous	4
	Don't remember	5
56. Could you mention the names of some of the magazines you have read?	1
	Don't remember	2
57. About how many porno' maga- zines have you read altogether?	0-1	1
	2-4	2
	5-9	3
	10-19	4
	20-49	5
	50-99	6
	100+	7
	Don't remember	8
58. Have you seen a picture maga- zine within the last month?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know/don't remember	3
59. Have you ever seen a porno' film—that is one of these short sex films that used to be for- bidden?	Yes	1
	No (Proceed to question 64)	2
	Don't know/don't remember (Proceed to question 64)	3
60. About when did you first see a porno' film?	_____ years ago	1
	When I was _____ years old	2
	Year: _____	3
	Miscellaneous	4
	Don't remember	5

61. About how many porno' films have you seen?	0-1	1
	2-4	2
	5-9	3
	10-19	4
	20-49	5
	50+	6
	Don't remember	7
62. Where did you see those (that) film?	At home	1
	With friends	2
	In a shop	3
	In a film club	4
	In an association	5
	Miscellaneous	6
	Don't remember	7
63. Have you seen a porno' film within the last month?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know/don't remember	3
64. Do you have children at the age of three to 14 years?	Yes	1
	No (Proceed to question 67)	2
65. (If yes): Do you hide the pornography from the children?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
	Do not have pornography	4
66. What would you do if you saw that your child had a strong pornographic magazine?	Remove the magazine	1
	Punish/scold	2
	Give sex information	3
	Take it easy	4
	Talk sensibly	5
	Nothing	6
	Miscellaneous	7
Don't know	8	
67. If you were about to go to the movies and you found out that the film had some strong pornographic scenes, would that make you stay away?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
68. Did you go to the Sex Fair, which was held in the X-Hall recently?	Yes	1
	No	2
69. If there is going to be a Sex Fair next year, do you think you might go there?	Yes	1
	Yes?	2
	No	3
	No?	4
	Don't know	5

70. Apart from the message you got last Friday, have you read or heard anything about this investigation?	Yes	1
	No (Proceed to question 73)	2
71. (If yes): Where?	Television	1
	Radio	2
	Newspaper (which?)	3
	Other people	4
72. When did you first hear about this investigation (apart from the message you got last Friday)?	Today	1
	Yesterday	2
	Within the last week	3
	More than a week ago	4
	Don't know	5
73. (Only prenotified respondents): Have you tried to make yourself more conversant with the problems around pornography, because you knew you were going to be interviewed?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
74. (If yes): How?	Read in papers	1
	Watched TV	2
	Thought it over	3
	Talked to others about it	4
	Read or looked into some porno'	5
	Miscellaneous	6
75. Have you talked to anyone about that you were going to be interviewed?	Yes	1
	No	2
76. Have you thought about what you would answer, if you were going to be asked about this or that?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3
77. (If not mentioned directly in the answers the following question is asked): Have you looked into some porno' since you got the message that you were to be interviewed?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know/don't remember	3
78. (If positive answer to the above): Do you think that what you have heard/read/thought has made you change your opinion about some of the questions that I have put to you?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	3

79. Sex	Male	1
	Female	2
80. How old are you?	_____ years.	
81. Did you grow up in Greater Copenhagen? In the country? or in a provincial town?	Greater Copenhagen	1
	Provincial town	2
	Rural district	3
	Abroad	4
	Changing	5
	Miscellaneous	6
82. (If country or town): What was the name of the town?	_____	
83. What is your marital status?	Married	1
	Unmarried	2
	Divorced/separated	3
	Widowed	4
84. (If the answer is other than married): Do you go steady with someone?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Doubt	3
85-88: Questions determining level of education		
89. What is your occupation?	_____	
90. (To married women): What is your husband's occupation?	_____	
91. What is or was your father's occupation?	_____	
92. (To be filled in by the interviewer): The respondent's attitude towards the interview.	Neutral	1
	Positive	2
	Negative	3
	Miscellaneous	4
93. Were there other people present?	Yes, but did not interfere	1
	Yes, and interfered	2
	No	3
94. (If yes): Who?	_____	
94a. Sex of the interviewer.	Male	1
	Female	2

Other observations about the interview etc. can be noted here:

Closed section

(The questionnaire was handed to the respondent who was asked to fill in the following part by himself)

TO EACH QUESTION, PLEASE CHECK THE ANSWER(S)
THAT SUIT YOU BEST

95. What do you think has the most sexually exciting effect on you?
- Books 1
 - Pictures 2
 - Films 3
 - None of it 4
 - Don't know 5
96. Do you use pornography when you masturbate?
- Always 1
 - Usually 2
 - Now and then 3
 - Never 4
 - (Do not masturbate) 5
97. Do you use pornography in relation to sexual intercourse?
- Always 1
 - Usually 2
 - Now and then 3
 - Never 4
 - (No sexual intercourse) 5
98. Have you ever tried special erotic implements such as
- Whipping and the like 1
 - Vibrators 2
 - Special covers 3
 - Special clothings 4
 - Substitute penis (dildo) 5
 - Others 6
 - Not tried 7
99. Have you ever taken part in group sex (including "triangles")?
- Yes, about ____ times 1
 - No 2
 - Don't remember 3
100. Do you think that you would like to try it (again)?
- Yes 1
 - Perhaps 2
 - I don't think so 3
 - Absolutely not 4
 - Don't know 5
101. Do you think that extramarital sex relations can be excused?
- Never 1
 - Sometimes 2
 - Always 3
 - Don't know 4
102. When do you think intercourse can be allowed to people who are not married?
- When you are engaged to be married with a ring 1
 - When you go steady 2
 - When you are in love with each other 3
 - When you feel like it 4
 - Never 5
 - Don't know 6

103. Do you think you look differently at the following things now than you did 10 years ago?

	More severely	The same way	More leniently	Don't know
Pornography	—	—	—	—
Homosexuality	—	—	—	—
Group sex	—	—	—	—
Adultery	—	—	—	—
Premarital relations	—	—	—	—

104. With regard to religion, do you consider yourself religious, passive, nonbeliever or antireligious?	Religious	1
	Passive	2
	Nonbeliever	3
	Antireligious	4
105. If there was going to be an election tomorrow which political party would you vote for?	Socialdemokratiet	1
	Radikale	2
	Konservative	3
	Venstre	4
	Socialistisk Folkeparti	5
	Kommunisterne	6
	De Uafhængige	7
	Venstre-socialisterne	8
	Miscellaneous	9
Would not vote	10	

Erotica and Antisocial Behavior

An Analysis of Selected
Social Indicator Statistics

LENORE R. KUPPERSTEIN

W. CODY WILSON

Although "expert" opinions about the relationship between pornography and antisocial behavior are both numerous and divided, many people believe that exposure to erotic materials is not only *related* to antisocial behavior, but actually *causes* it. Law enforcement officials, for example, frequently cite instances in which offenders are found to have erotic materials on their person or among their possessions, or admit under direct questioning to having been exposed to erotica.¹ References are also made to absolute statistical increases in rape and other offenses over the past decade which are said to be the result of the increased availability of erotic materials. Based on the accumulation of such instances, a causal relationship has been inferred (Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, 1955, pp. 104, 117; 1959, pp. 68, 164, 212, 314; Hoover, 1965).

Professor Eugene Levitt of the Indiana University Medical Center analyzes the causal connection often asserted by the critics of visual erotica as follows:

As evidence they suggest that in the last decade, the heightened availability of visual erotica—not infrequently described as "a flood"—has been accompanied by a parallel rise in the rates of juvenile delinquency and crime, especially sex crimes. Granting the veradicality of these quantitative propositions, the scientist will have no difficulty in recognizing a garden-variety, *post hoc* fallacy. Correlation alone never demonstrates a causal relationship. A myriad of confluctuations in this world are the consequences of an independent cause. The flowers bloom and the grass turns green at the same time each year, but one does not influence the other. The price of Cuban rum and the salaries of Presbyterian

1. These inferences tend to disregard instances of offenses which are unaccompanied by association with pornography and instances of nonoffenders' exposure to erotica.

ministers in New England vary together over the years, but one would hardly hypothesize that either is cause and the other effect. We can allow that the establishment of a correlation permits a reasonable *hypothesis* concerning cause and effect, but no more (1969, p. 251).

Levitt does not question the existence of the correlation, but rather focuses on the issue of imputation of causality given a correlation.

This paper will focus on the prior question—the assertion that the heightened availability of erotica during the past decade has been accompanied by a parallel rise in the rates of juvenile delinquency and crime, especially sex crimes. The general strategy will be to examine social indicator statistics for the past decade in order to determine whether there is a correlation between indices of availability of erotica and indices of sex crimes and illegitimacy.

CHANGES IN THE AVAILABILITY OF EROTICA

One possible index of the increased availability of erotic materials is the circulation growth of *Playboy* magazine. Statistics compiled and reported annually by the Magazine Advertising Bureau of the Magazine Publishers' Association reveal that *Playboy* circulation increased by 311% between 1961 and 1968. The dimensions of this increasing popularity are further indicated by the fact that, in 1959, *Playboy* ranked 49th in circulation on the list of this nation's 100 leading magazines; by 1969 it had jumped to 12th, with an estimated readership of over five million (1970 *World Almanac*, p. 350).

Post Office records constitute another possible index of the increased availability of erotic materials. These records indicate that the number of complaints for receipt of unsolicited mail, much of it sexually oriented materials, increased by 170% between 1961 and 1968. The exact figures are reproduced in Table 1.

Table 1

NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS RECEIVED BY U.S. POST OFFICE
FOR UNSOLICITED SEXUALLY ORIENTED MAIL
(PRINCIPALLY ADVERTISEMENTS)
1961-1968

Year	Number of complaints
1961	62,000
1962	52,263
1963	52,711
1964	86,291
1965	128,140
1966	197,277
1967	140,786
1968	167,792
Percent change 1961-1968	+170.6%

Source: Document supplied on request by the Chief Postal Inspector's Office, United States Post Office.

These two social indicators lend some support to the assertions of the critics of erotica regarding its heightened availability during the past decade. The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography has recently conducted studies specifically aimed at testing this assertion, and the results (Sampson, 1971) provide still further support. The number of theaters showing "sexploitation films" or "skin flicks" has increased from somewhat less than 100 in the early 1960's to over 500 at the present time, and a similar expansion has taken place in the self-labeled "adult bookstores" which specialize in sexually oriented paperback books and magazines. The volume of direct mail advertising of sexually oriented materials has also increased significantly during the 1960's (Sampson, 1971).

THE RATE OF SEX CRIMES

Isolated and unrefined statistics are often quoted to support a position regarding the increasing incidence of crime; for example:

Pornography in all its forms is one major cause of sex crimes, sexual aberrations, and perversions . . . it is not surprising to note that forcible rape in 1966 increased 10 percent over the 1965 total . . . Since 1960, forcible rape has increased 50 percent (Hoover, 1968).

Statements such as this, however, are misleading, because these absolute increases do not reflect changes in the amount of crime relative to population change. Even when corrections for population growth are introduced, the statistics presented often take the form of crude rates rather than age or sex-specific rates, and thus fail to take into account variations in the age and sex distribution of the population and of the offenders.

The assertion that the rise in sex crimes during the decade parallels the availability of erotica may be tested provisionally by examining the data in the *Uniform Crime Reports* compiled and published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The *Uniform Crime Reports* constitute the only existing national data on the volume and trends of crime in the United States.²

The crimes reported in the *UCR* are divided into Part I and Part II offenses. The seven crimes of homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over \$50.00, and auto theft are Part I offenses and make up the crime index.

According to the FBI, the rationale behind incorporation of Part I offenses as a crime index was guided by the following considerations: (1) offenses reported to the police provide the best indicator of the unknown universe of all offenses committed; (2) not all crimes become known to the police with equal consistency; (3) the most serious offenses must be selected; (4) consideration is given regarding the uniformity of definition of the offense; (5) crimes should occur with sufficient regularity to be meaningful in an index; (6) an optimum or efficient number of offenses should comprise the index (Wolfgang, Savitz, & Johnston, 1969, p. 39).

2. The *Uniform Crime Reports* (hereafter called *UCR*) are intended to provide a "nationwide view of crime based on police statistics made possible by the voluntary cooperation of local law enforcement agencies" (*UCR-1967*, p. vi).

As an index of crime, however, the *UCR* has been criticized on the grounds that:

1. The errors and biasing factors affecting the crime index largely operate to show spurious increases, rather than decreases, in the rate. 2. The crime index does not provide a sound basis for determining whether criminal behavior is increasing or decreasing in the United States. 3. The crime index is highly sensitive to social developments that are almost universally regarded as improvements in the society. Thus, it is altogether possible that year-to-year increases in crime rates may be more indicative of social progress than of social decay (Biderman, 1966, p. 115).

Part II offenses (non-index crimes) are subdivided into 20 categories ranging from runaways to minor assaults and petty larceny. Included in this group are all sex-related offenses other than forcible rape.

For the Part I offenses, *UCR* presents both the number of known cases and arrests. Because of the existing variations in legal nomenclature, statutory criteria, reportability, and administrative policies and procedures (all affecting the comparability of the resultant statistics), the FBI makes no attempt to provide estimates of the number of Part II offenses known to the police. Only arrest statistics are presented for this category.

This paper will examine, in particular, the Part I offense of "forcible rape"³ and the Part II offense category of "sex offenses"⁴ (except forcible rape, prostitution, and commercialized vice).

One must use the figures reported in *UCR* with considerable caution. The arrest figures in 1960, for example, vary from the 1968 report to the 1969 report because the summaries are based on differing numbers of agencies reporting. At times, two tables in the same report will contain different figures for a given category for the same reason. These, however, are the only figures available.

General statistics

National police statistics for the period 1960 to 1969 show that the total number of arrests for sex offenses increased by 15% and the number of arrests for all nonsexual offenses increased by 24% (Table 2).

The *UCR* for 1969 states that the number of forcible rapes known to the police increased by 116% between 1960 and 1969 and that the total number of arrests for that offense rose 56.6% during that same period. These figures are smaller than those for the crime index as a whole and for four out of the other six index offenses (Table 3).

Because there was an increase in the size of the general population as well as in the absolute number of crimes during this period, the relatively crude

3. Includes "rape by force, assault to rape, and attempted rape." Excludes statutory rape where no force is used and the victim is under age of consent, *UCR-1969*, pp. 53-54.

4. Includes "statutory rape, offenses against chastity, common decency, morals and the like." Includes attempts (*UCR-1969*, p. 54).

Table 2

NUMBER AND PERCENT CHANGE IN ARRESTS FOR SEX OFFENSES
1960-1969

Offense category	1960	1969	Percent change
All offenses, sexual and nonsexual	3,323,741	4,126,216	+24.1
All sexual offenses	77,741	89,464	+15.1
Forcible rape	6,862	10,747	+56.6
Prostitution and commercialized vice	25,633	41,265	+61.0
Other sexual offenses	45,246	37,452	-17.2
All nonsexual offenses	3,246,000	4,036,752	+24.4

Note: Adapted from Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice. *Uniform Crime Reports-1969*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, 110.

Table 3

PERCENT CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF CRIMES KNOWN AND
ARRESTS FOR INDEX OFFENSES
1960-1969

Index offense	Percent change in number and rate of index offenses		Percent change in number of arrests for index offenses
	Number	Rate ¹	
Criminal homicide	+62.1	+44.0	+88.0
Forcible rape	+116.3	+92.6	+56.6
Robbery	+177.1	+146.1	+95.3
Aggravated assault	+101.6	+79.2	+54.1
Burglary	+117.3	+92.9	+52.0
Larceny (grand)	+198.9	+165.4	+83.9
Auto theft	+167.7	+137.8	+73.5
Total index offenses	+147.7	+120.0	+71.2

1. Per 100,000 inhabitants.

Note: Adapted from Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice. *Uniform Crime Reports-1969*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, 59, 110.

comparisons of absolute numbers of offenses may be misleading.⁵ A better index of the change in volume is the number of crimes per unit of population at risk.

5. It should be noted that an accurate index of a given social phenomenon should be based on an appropriate age-, and where necessary, sex-specific rate, thus taking into consideration changes over time in the population of interest. In the case of illegitimacy (discussed below), the best index is based on the number of unmarried females in the population of childbearing age (15 to 44 years). In the case of forcible rape, the most appropriate base would consist of males in the population, 10 to 50 years of age. By definition, only males can be charged with this offense, and males in this age range accounted for 98% of all arrests for forcible rape during the period under study (1960-1969). The same kind of refinement calculated for all offenses would undoubtedly reduce the magnitude of the percentage increase or decrease over time. Sex offenses and illegitimacy were selected as a focus of refinement here because of the Commission's particular interest in their relationship to the availability of erotica.

A rather accurate index of the recent trend in forcible rape is the number of crimes per unit of male population between 10 and 49 years of age. In 1969, offenders 50 years of age and over accounted for 1.9% of all arrests for forcible rape, while children 10 and under comprised only 29 of the 14,428 arrests for that offense (*UCR-1969*, pp. 113-114). Those age groups together, however, constituted 43.4% of the total population.

Table 4 presents the data on the change between 1960 and 1969 in the number of forcible rapes known to police and the number of arrests for that offense when corrected for differences in the age and sex composition of the population. These figures indicate that the difference between the two years becomes smaller as the index of forcible rape offenses becomes more refined.

Although the number of forcible rapes known to the police and the number of arrests for these offenses have increased between 1960 and 1969, a careful examination of the statistics reveals that this increase is not as dramatic as has sometimes been asserted; in fact, the increase in forcible rape offenses is not as great as the increase in total index offenses during this period.

Adult statistics

Police statistics for the period 1960 to 1969 show a 50% increase in adult arrests for forcible rape and a 60% increase in adult arrests for prostitution and commercialized vice. At the same time, however, there was a decrease in arrests for all other sex offenses which may, at least in part, be attributable to a reduction in arrests of homosexuals (Table 5).

Two points about the offenses of forcible rape, prostitution, and commercialized vice deserve mention here. First, these offenses, when combined,

Table 4

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN KNOWN CASES OF AND ARRESTS FOR FORCIBLE RAPE, 1960-1969

Unit of Count	1960	1969	Percent change
Number of forcible rapes known to police ¹	16,860	36,470	+116.3
Number per 100,000 inhabitants ¹	9.4	18.1	+ 92.6
Number per 100,000 males 10-49 years ³	34.5	64.2	+ 86.1
Number of arrests for forcible rape ¹	6,862	10,747	+ 56.6
Number per 100,000 inhabitants ²	3.8	5.3	+ 39.5
Number per 100,000 males 10-49 years ³	14.5	19.0	+ 31.0

1. Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice. *Uniform Crime Reports-1969*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

2. Adapted from *Uniform Crime Reports-1969*.

3. Based on United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *U.S. census of population, 1960. United States summary, final report*. PC(1)-IC. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

Table 5

NUMBER AND PERCENT CHANGE IN ADULT*
ARRESTS FOR SEX CRIMES, 1960-1969

Offense category	1960	1969	Percent change
All offenses, sexual and nonsexual	2,846,479	3,145,763	+10.5
All sex offenses	66,860	79,069	+18.3
Forcible rape	5,671	8,533	+50.5
Prostitution and commercialized vice	25,240	40,405	+60.1
Other sex offenses	35,949	30,131	-16.2
All nonsex offenses	2,779,619	3,066,694	+10.3

* 18 years of age and over.

Note: Compiled from Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice. *Uniform Crime Reports-1969*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, 110.

accounted for only 1.1% of all adult arrests in 1960 and 1.6% in 1969. Second, the number of known cases of and arrests for forcible rape increased at a lower rate than for four of the other six serious crimes which comprise the FBI Crime Index and at a lower rate than for other serious offenses such as narcotic drug law violations (adult arrests up 380.4%) and weapons law violations (adult arrests up 129%).

In sum, available evidence shows that, although adult arrests for sex offenses have increased on the whole, the increase has not been as great for these offenses as for such other serious offenses as robbery and narcotic law violations. Further, arrests for sex offenses constituted no more than 2% of all adult arrests during the period studied. If the heightened availability of erotica were directly related to the incidence of adult sex offenses, one would have expected an increase of much greater magnitude than the available figures indicate. Thus, the data do not appear to support the thesis of a causal connection between increased availability of erotica and the commission of sex offenses by adults; however, neither do they conclusively disprove such a connection.

Juvenile statistics

Many critics of erotica express particular concern about the effects of pornography on juvenile involvement in sex offenses. It is particularly difficult, however, to estimate the true volume and trend of sex offenses committed by minors. Several explanations for this phenomenon may be offered: (a) sex offenses are frequently hidden under various offense categories which do not necessarily imply, but may include, sexual misconduct; (b) police and judicial authorities are generally hesitant to charge a youngster with or convict him of a sex offense (they will often assume a more protective posture and place the youth under the supervision of the court as a neglected or dependent child); (c) differences in age jurisdiction of the juvenile courts as well as the corresponding age limits for application of the "statutory rape" charge also contribute to the problems of obtaining accurate and comparable data; and (d) the lack of

statistical data on juvenile sexual misconduct is further compounded by the low reportability of such offenses (Mueller, Kupperstein, & Gage, 1969).

From the above, it becomes apparent that national delinquency statistics on sex offenses are generally inadequate, because much of the incidence of juvenile sexual misconduct is masked by virtue of inadequate terminology, low reportability, and protective measures on the part of officials. Nevertheless, the 1969 UCR reports that juvenile arrests for all sex offenses decreased by 4% even though the number of juveniles arrested for all nonsexual offenses increased by 108% between 1960 and 1969 (Table 6).

The decrease in juvenile arrests for sex offenses may in some part be the product of a change in law enforcement policy resulting in the reduction of arrests for certain forms of homosexual behavior. Further, the overall decrease obscures an absolute increase of 86% in juvenile arrests for forcible rape and a 119% increase in such arrests for prostitution and commercialized vice. When population changes are taken into account, however, it becomes clear that the increases in juvenile arrests for these offenses are not so large as the absolute numbers suggest.⁶ Juveniles also accounted for a very small proportion of all arrests for prostitution and commercialized vice (1.5% in 1960 and 2.1% in 1969) and for about one-fifth of all arrests for forcible rape (17.3% in 1960 and 20.6% in 1969) and for other sex offenses (20.5% in 1960 and 19.5% in 1969). Thus, to the extent that arrest data are valid indicators of changes in the nature and volume of crime, it appears that juveniles did not contribute substantially more to the sex crime rate in 1969 than they did in 1960.

In sum, then, while the availability of sexual materials increased considerably during the 1960's, and while juvenile arrests for all crimes more than doubled, juvenile arrests for sex crimes actually decreased slightly. Despite the change in arrests for homosexual activity and the increases in arrests for rape, prostitution,

Table 6

NUMBER AND PERCENT CHANGE IN JUVENILE*
ARRESTS, 1960-1969

Offense Category	1960	1969	Percent change
All offenses, sexual and nonsexual	477,262	980,453	+105.4
All sex offenses	10,881	10,395	- 4.3
Forcible rape	1,191	2,214	+ 85.9
Prostitution and commercialized vice	393	860	+118.9
Other sex offenses	9,297	7,321	- 21.3
All nonsex offenses	466,381	970,058	+108.0

* Under 18 years of age.

Note: Compiled from Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice. *Uniform Crime Reports-1969*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, 110.

6. The rate of juvenile arrests for forcible rape was 9.3 (per 100,000 males 10-17 years) in 1960 and 13.9 in 1969. The rates (per 100,000 juvenile males and females 10-17) of juvenile arrests for prostitution and commercialized vice were 1.5 in 1960 and 2.7 in 1969.

and commercialized vice, these statistics do not provide support for the belief that increased availability of sexual materials leads to sex crime among juveniles. The data do not, however, disprove a connection between sexual material and sex offenses such as forcible rape.

ANOTHER INDEX OF ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR: ILLEGITIMACY

Illegitimate births constitute another possible index of antisocial sexual behavior. This index, however, must also be used with caution because it may reflect social changes other than sexual behavior. The number of illegitimate births may reflect, for example, the incidence of induced abortion, the reduction of sterility associated with venereal disease, or the popularity of birth control techniques.

Three different statistics have been used to estimate the trend of illegitimacy:

1. The actual number of reported illegitimate births;
2. The ratio of illegitimate to total live births; and
3. The illegitimacy rate, that is, the number of illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried females of childbearing age (15-44 years).

The number of illegitimate births increased by approximately 51% between 1960 and 1968, and the increase was greatest in the age groups under 25. The *number* of illegitimate births, however, is not an adequate index because it does not take into consideration changes in the population of females of childbearing ages.

The illegitimacy *ratio* (the number of illicit births per 1,000 live births) generally reveals dramatic differences among age groups and frequently is cited to demonstrate that illegitimacy among adolescents is inordinately high and increasing. Because the illegitimacy ratio is comprised of the number of illicit births relative to the total number of live births, it is clear that a relatively small number of illicit births to females in an age group in which the total number of all births is very small will yield an extremely high illegitimacy ratio. A very small number of illegitimate births to girls under age 15 would yield a very high illegitimacy ratio, but many times more illegitimate births to females age 25 to 29 would produce a very small ratio. Thus, the illegitimacy ratio does not seem to be a useful index for our purposes.

The illegitimacy *rate* is the most valid indicator for our purposes because it reflects not only the number of illegitimate births, but also the total number of unmarried females in any given age category.

When the first draft of this report was written, rates of illegitimate births had been made available by the Division of Vital Statistics of the United States Public Health Service for the period 1940-1965. Those data presented a clear and somewhat surprising picture. In relation to the 1960-1965 period, illegitimate birth rates for females 15 to 19 years rose from 15.7 to 16.7 (a 6.4% increase). Rate increases for *all* unmarried females 15 to 44, and indeed for almost every age group,⁷ were higher, and in some cases vastly higher, than the small increase among adolescent females. These 1940-1965 and 1960-1965 data accordingly cast extreme doubt on the thesis that increased availability of erotica was associated with increased illegitimate births among minors.

7. The rate decreased among females aged 20-24.

In late August 1970, the Public Health Service released partial data on illegitimate births during the 1965-1968 period. These new data tremendously complicate the picture and render it impossible to come to any firm conclusion as to whether there is a relationship between increased availability of erotica and the rate of illegitimate births. In brief, the illegitimate birth rate among females 15 to 19 increased 18.6%, while illegitimacy rates for *every* older age group *decreased*, in some cases to a very marked degree (e.g., by 24% among females aged 30 to 34 years). In other words, the years 1965-1968 were marked by a virtual reversal of the 1960-1965 (or 1940-1965) trends for almost all age groups, and the reversals occurred in both directions (i.e., the rates for those under 20 went up while all other rates went down; see Table 7). What this manifests is not a simple rate change, but a wholly changed social picture.

The question which is virtually impossible to answer is whether the increased availability of erotica in the 1965-1968 period was related to this phenomenon. The picture is simply too complex and is necessarily a product of several causes. It is difficult to conceive, for example, that the increased availability of erotica should have had one effect on minor girls and no similar effect—indeed, in a sense, the opposite effect—on all other women. Almost certainly, the increased availability of simple contraceptive methods and of abortion, and differences in their availability for different age groups, must be involved in the picture.

The complexity of the phenomenon is further attested to by the vast differences in illegitimate birth rates between such population subgroups as whites and blacks. In brief, the overall picture is simply too complex to lend itself to any simple, let alone single, explanation. All that can be said about the role of erotica is that it seems unlikely that so complex a change could result from so specific an element. Whether it played any role at all is a question that simply cannot be answered on the basis of available data.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The data presented indicate that the availability of erotica has increased substantially during the 1960's. This increase is conservatively estimated to be in the range of two- to five-fold.

Between 1960 and 1969, the number of arrests for sex offenses increased by 15%, while the number of arrests for all nonsexual offenses increased by 24%. Although the number of forcible rapes increased during this period, the increase was less than the comparable increase in the total number of serious crimes which make up the UCR "Crime Index." Similarly, the number of arrests for forcible rape increased, but not as much as the total number of arrests for the crimes included in the index. As the statistics regarding forcible rape are refined to take into account the age and sex composition of the population, the rate of increase from 1960 to 1969 is considerably diminished.

Although adult arrests for sex offenses have increased on the whole, the increase has not been as great for these offenses as for such other serious offenses as robbery and narcotic law violations. Further, arrests for sex offenses constituted no more than 2% of all adult arrests during the period studied.

National police statistics show that juvenile arrests for all sex offenses decreased by 4% even though the number of juvenile arrests for all nonsexual

Table 7

ESTIMATED ILLEGITIMACY RATES AND PERCENT CHANGE, BY AGE OF MOTHER: UNITED STATES, 1940-1968
 (Rates are illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried females in specified age group)

Year	15-44 years	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
1940	7.1	0.4	7.4	9.5	7.2	5.1	3.4	1.2
1950	14.1	0.6	12.6	21.3	19.9	13.3	7.2	3.0
1960	21.8	0.6	15.7	40.3	42.0	27.5	13.9	3.6
1961	22.6	0.6	16.0	41.2	44.8	28.8	15.1	3.8
1962	21.5	0.6	14.0	41.8	46.4	27.0	13.5	3.8
1963	22.5	0.6	15.8	39.9	49.4	33.7	16.1	4.3
1964	23.4	0.6	16.5	40.0	50.1	41.1	15.0	4.0
1965	23.4	0.7	16.7	38.8	50.4	37.1	17.0	4.4
1968	24.4	—*	19.8	37.3	38.6	28.2	14.9	3.8
Percent change 1940-1965	+229.6	+75.0	+125.7	+224.2	+600.0	+627.4	+400.0	+266.7
Percent change 1960-1965	+7.3	+16.7	+6.4	-3.7	+20.0	+34.9	+22.3	+22.2
Percent change 1965-1968	+4.3	—*	+18.6	-3.9	-23.4	-24.0	-12.3	-13.6

* Figures not available.

Note: Adapted from Public Health Service, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *Trends in Illegitimacy, United States—1940-1965*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968. Figures for 1968 received directly from the Public Health Service, Division of Vital Statistics.

offenses more than doubled. Juveniles accounted for a very small proportion of all arrests (about 2%) for prostitution and commercialized vice and for about one-fifth of all arrests for other sex offenses. To the extent that arrest data are valid indicators of change in the volume of crime, it appears that juveniles did not contribute substantially more to the sex crime rate in 1969 than they did in 1960.

Examination of illegitimacy data for the period 1940-1965 casts extreme doubt on the thesis that increased availability of erotica was associated with increased illegitimate births among minors, because rate increases for almost every age group over 19 were larger than those for females 19 years of age and younger. Marked reversal of the earlier trend between 1965 and 1968, however, suggested drastic changes in the entire social picture and thus rendered it impossible to determine whether the increased availability of erotica in the 1965-1968 period was related to this phenomenon. It seems unlikely, however, that so complex a change could result from so specific an element. Whether the increase in availability of erotica played any role at all is a question that simply cannot be answered on the basis of available data.

In sum, analyses of United States crime and illegitimacy rates do not support the thesis of a causal connection between the availability of erotica and either sex crimes or illegitimacy. Because of limitations in the data and in the inferences which can validly be drawn from them, the data cannot, however, be said absolutely to disprove such a connection. Obviously, the existing social indicator data do not satisfactorily answer the question. Perhaps they should not be expected to do so, however; they were neither designed nor collected for that purpose. Nonetheless, they are the only relevant (even if only indirectly) data in existence and, therefore, should not be ignored.

Social indicators can and probably will be made more reliable and standardized in the future, but they cannot permanently substitute for data directly relevant to an issue more appropriately resolved through experimental and quasi-experimental investigations. Until such directly relevant data are produced, it is necessary to use what is available. For the moment, the question of the relationship between availability of erotic materials and sex crimes must remain open to further question.

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A Pilot Comparison of Two Research Instruments Measuring Exposure to Pornography

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This is a report on a pilot study to compare the function and effectiveness of two interview instruments, each designed to elicit information concerning experience with and attitudes regarding pornography.

METHOD

The Instruments

One instrument is a Public Opinion Survey prepared by the Research Analysis Corporation, Princeton, New Jersey, and the Institute for Survey Research, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter referred to as *Temple*). The other instrument is a clinical research instrument prepared by the Legal and Behavioral Institute, Los Angeles, California (hereafter referred to as *LBI*).

The *Temple* survey consists of two instruments. The initial part is a precoded section administered and simultaneously scored by an interviewer. The second part is a self-administered questionnaire in booklet form which is handed to the respondent after completion of the interview. This self-administered section

probes into more personal matters concerning the respondent's sexual attitudes, opinions, and practices. To avoid possible embarrassment and inhibition of response, the respondent is also provided with an envelope in which he may seal the booklet when completed. This is then given to the interviewer who returns both the questionnaire and the sealed envelope containing the Self-Administered Questionnaire to the coding department for analysis.

The format of the *LBI* interview instrument is more complex. The instrument is clinically derived and attempts to cover broadly a respondent's degree of exposure to pornography while subsequently probing in depth his most vivid experiences with erotica. The first section of the interview commences with general background data. The second section then proceeds to elicit information related to exposure to erotica in the respondent's pre-adolescent period. The third section follows with intensive quantitative questions related to exposure in adolescence from three separate media in turn: photographs, movies, and books. The fourth section probes a "peak" experience with erotica. The fifth section repeats the intensive quantitative questioning focusing on the period one year prior to the interview. The sixth section probes the "peak" experience from the previous year. The seventh section deals with the respondent's fantasies and day-dreams related to erotica and his sexual life. The last section covers sex history, sources of sex information throughout life, attitudes, and current sex practices.

The entire interview is tape recorded. The data is coded from the resulting tape.

The approach

Each of the instruments was administered to each subject. The first interview in each instance utilized the *Temple* instrument. While the two interview instruments were designed for different purposes, there are a number of areas of overlap. Since the *Temple* instrument has been used to survey large populations while the *LBI* has been used with small, specially designed samples, it would be helpful to learn how data from these studies relate to one another. Are the frequencies of exposure elicited by each instrument comparable or are there systematic biases in either instrument which affect translation of data using one instrument into those collected with the second? In order to answer this question, a small scale study was carried out in which a sample of 10 male subjects was administered both instruments separated by a one-week interval.

The *Temple* instrument was administered in each case by one of three female interviewers. The *LBI* instrument was administered by one of three male interviewers.

All of the interviewers were professionally trained and experienced. In preparation for this study, each interviewer administered one test interview with the instruments they later were to utilize. These test interviews were examined and evaluated by a supervisor, and appropriate recommendations were made to the interviewers. One interviewer was replaced for lack of ability to cope with the interview.

The sample

Ten Caucasian males were interviewed in this study. They were selected in the age group of 29 to 39, and their ages were 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, and 39. Nine of the respondents were married, one was divorced.

Half of the respondents were born in a rural area, the other half in an urban area.

One respondent completed ninth grade, one eleventh grade, seven were high school graduates and one completed two years of college.

Seven were raised in the Protestant religion, two were of Catholic backgrounds, and one claimed no specific religious background.

Six currently belong to the Protestant faith, three to the Catholic faith, and one claimed no current religious affiliation.

Four respondents currently attend church weekly, three attend monthly, two attend church a few times a year, one does not attend at all.

All are at this time living in a medium sized town of approximately 18,000 inhabitants in a rural area.

All 10 are currently employed, seven in semiprofessional positions, the other three as unskilled custodial workers.

Their annual income (which includes their wife's earnings, if working) ranges from a low \$7,500 to a high of \$15,000, with an average of \$9,500.

They have 28 children among them.

The data

The *Temple* instrument is considerably less extensive than the *LBI* instrument. Accordingly, we have attempted to match questions from the *LBI* instrument to questions on the *Temple* instrument, so as to be able to compare responses. This will provide some indications of the relative effectiveness of each of the instruments in the areas that both cover.

A second type of comparison was also attempted, where appropriate, to indicate those instances where the more detailed probing of the *LBI* instrument produces significant information not obtained from the *Temple* instrument.

RESULTS

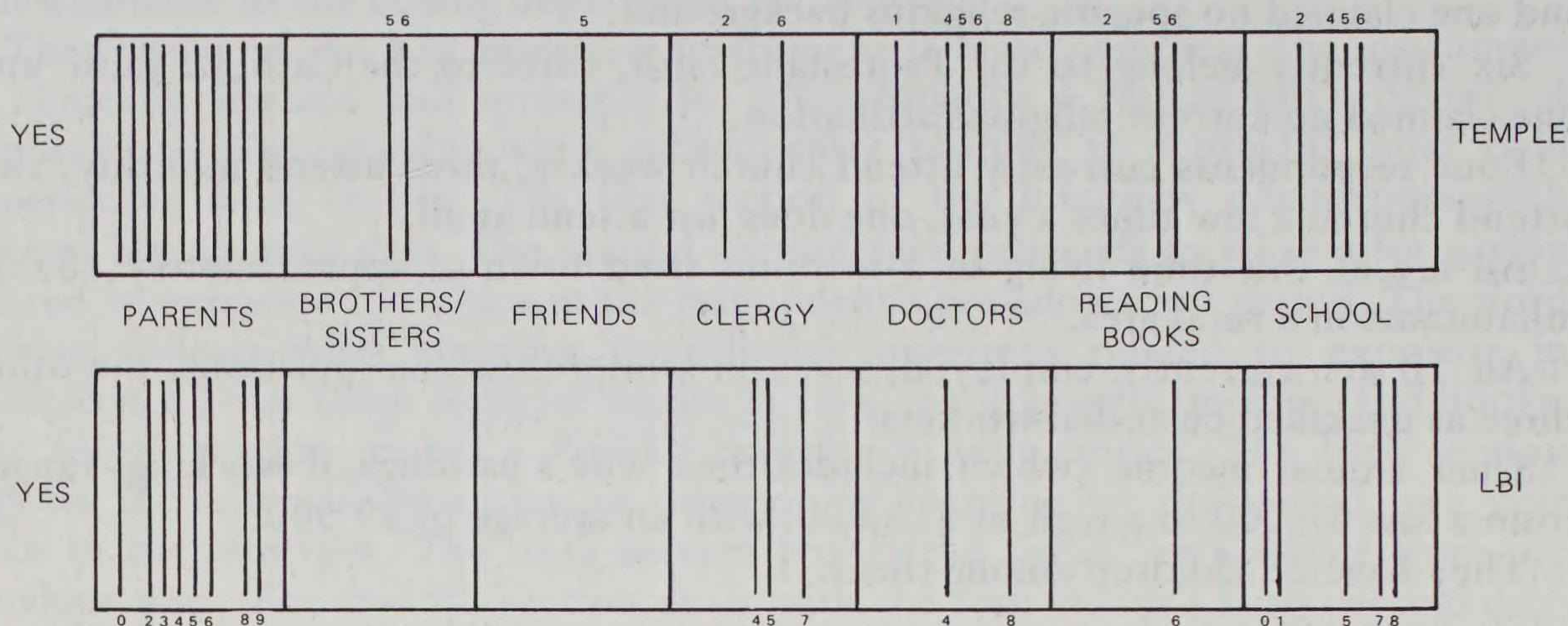
The first question on *Temple* suitable for direct comparison is question 10, "From which of these would it be best for the average boy or girl to get *most* of their information about sex?" This directly compares to *LBI* question 253, "What do you think is the best source of sex education for girls, boys?" As shown in Figure 1, both interviews obtained frequent replies in the category "parents." The other categories received similar responses from both interviews, though there were some discrepancies. On *Temple*, 50% responded to "doctors" as a suitable source, while on *LBI*, only 20% did so. On *LBI*, 50% responded "school," whereas on *Temple*, only 40% gave this response. Only one respondent replied affirmatively to "school" on both instruments.

The second direct comparison is between *Temple* question 11, "From which of these did you get most of your information about sex when young?" and *LBI* question 245, "Which of the following have given you a good deal of information about sex?" It can be seen in Figure 2 that *LBI* obtained an 80% figure of respondents who stated that they received a good deal from friends, while *Temple* yielded only 50% for the same category. The *LBI* question is fashioned to allow the respondent some thought on his history; it also allows for three variable

Figure 1

COMPARISON OF TEMPLE QUESTION 10 AND LBI QUESTION 253 DEALING WITH THE BEST SOURCE OF SEX INFORMATION

“From which of these would it be best for the average boy or girl to get most of their information about sex?”

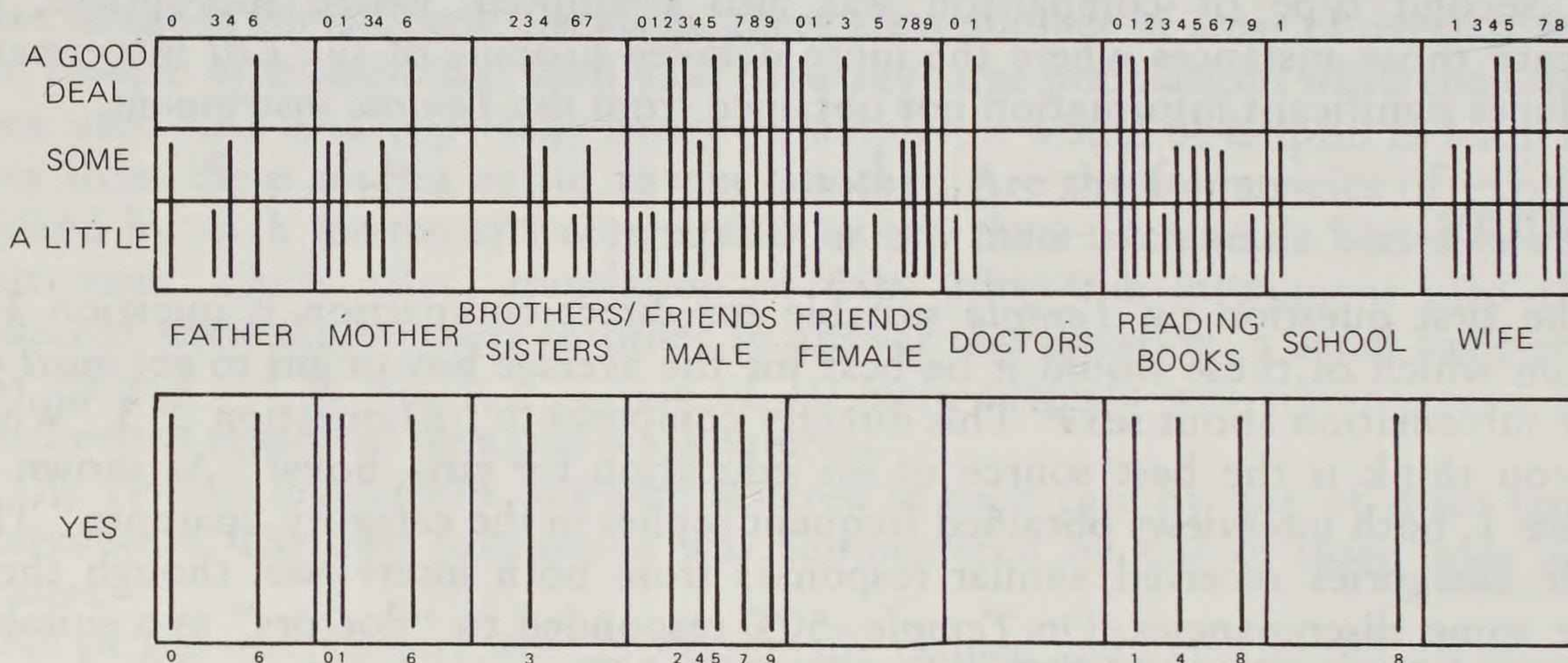


“What do you think is the best source of sex education for girls, boys?”

Figure 2

COMPARISON OF TEMPLE QUESTION 11 WITH LBI QUESTION 245 DEALING WITH SOURCES OF SEX INFORMATION

LBI: “Which of the following have given you a good deal of information about sex?”



TEMPLE: “From which of these did you get most of your information about sex when young?”

answers: “a little,” “some,” “a good deal.” We see from Figure 2 that considerably more information is obtained through this style of questioning and variable answering than the binary Yes – No format contained in *Temple*.

For the category of “books” as a source of sex information, only 30% of the respondents claimed information from this source on the *Temple* interview, whereas 90% did so on *LBI*, and 30% claimed a good deal. *LBI* makes a distinction between male friends and female friends as sources of sex information and we can see in Figure 2 that 30% of respondents received a good deal of

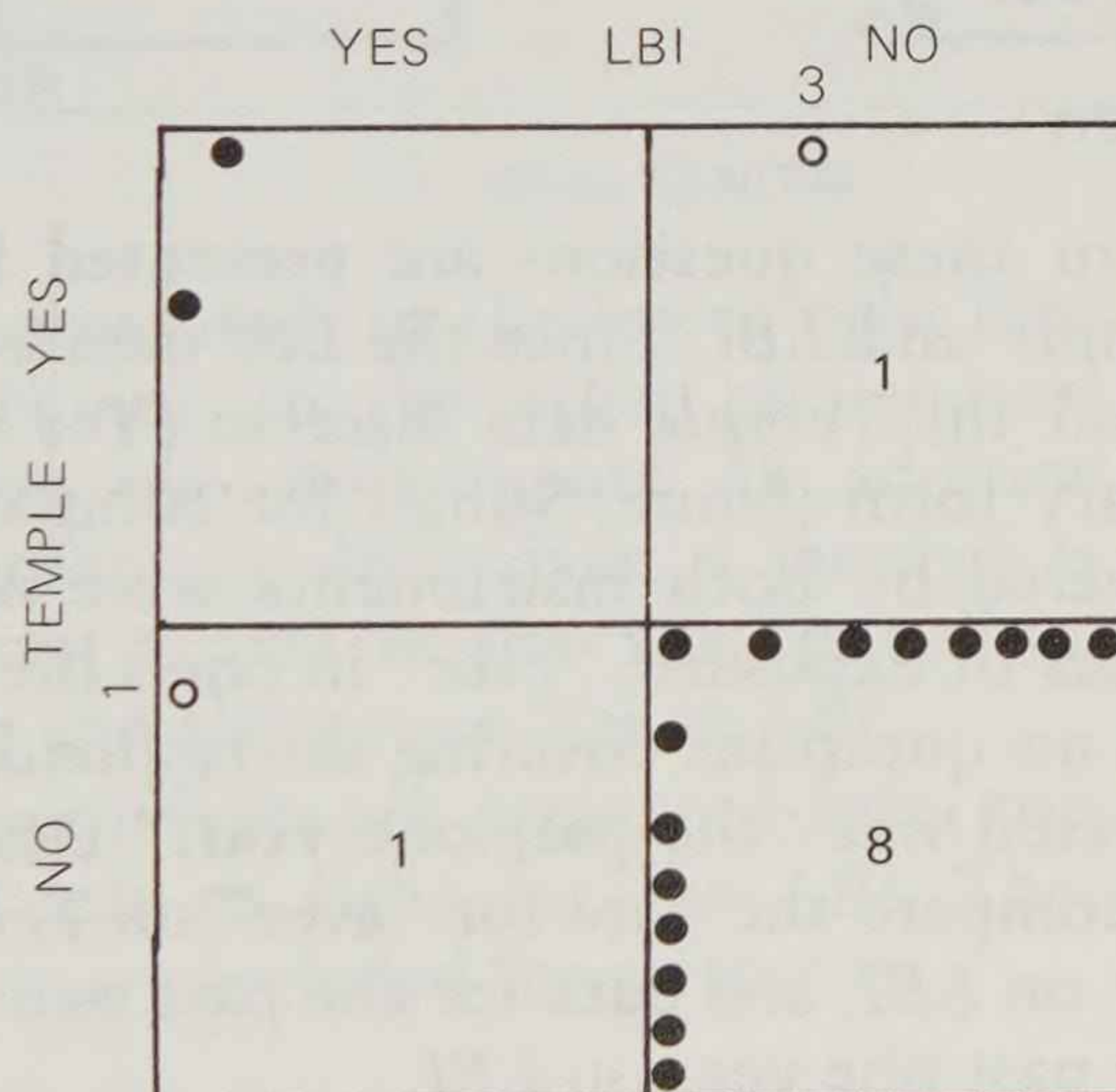
information from female friends, as well as male friends. Up to 70% of respondents received information at some time from female friends. Since *Temple* fails to make this distinction, it is difficult to know the sex of the friend specified by the respondent. *LBI* also has a separate category for "wife." Thirty percent of respondents stated they received a good deal of sex information from their wives, and 60% received "some" information.

Another question which permitted a direct *LBI-Temple* comparison was *Temple* question 12, "Did you have a formal course in sex education in school?" which directly compares with *LBI* question 246, "When did you have a course in school in which you received any sex education?" In Figure 3, the number of subjects who answered concordantly (Yes on *LBI*, Yes on *Temple* or No on *LBI*, No on *Temple*) is contrasted with the number of discordant replies (Yes on one, No on the other). Only two respondents reported a formal course in sex education in school, and they differed for each questionnaire. With the *LBI* data we checked this positive response for subject No. 1, and we were able to ascertain the course was at the respondent's junior high school, at age 15, that it was new information to him but did not include any instruction as to the act of sexual intercourse nor did it include any information regarding birth control. *Temple* does ask in question 13 if the respondent found this course helpful; the only respondent (No. 3) to be asked this question was unable to remember any specifics of the course and unable to answer the question.

Questions dealing with exposure to erotica

Temple question 14 deals with exposure to erotic stimuli through photographs, cartoons, and movies. It also covers two time areas, "ever" and "the past two

Figure 3
COMPARISON OF TEMPLE QUESTION 12 WITH
LBI QUESTION 246 DEALING WITH SEX
EDUCATION IN SCHOOL



TEMPLE "Did you have a formal course in sex education in school?"
LBI "When did you have a course in school in which you received any sex education?"

years.” During the *Temple* interview a card is handed to the respondent which describes certain erotic stimuli. The respondent is then asked if he has ever seen each stimulus. The categories asked about are as follows:

1. “Scenes which are mainly for the purpose of showing the sex organs of a man or woman.”
2. “Mouth-sex organ contact between a man and a woman.”
3. “A man and a woman having (or appearing to have) sexual intercourse.”
4. “Sexual activities between people of the same sex.”
5. “Sexual activities which include whips, belts, or spankings.”

For each “Yes” response, the same question is asked for the past two years. This was compared to the *LBI* data collected from answers to questions from two intensive quantitative sections, the first covering exposure to various erotic stimuli during adolescence, the second, exposure for the year preceding the interview. The areas of time differ, nevertheless a comparison is available.

The questions from the *LBI* instrument used for comparison with the *Temple* data are as follows:

“Now, thinking about your adolescent period, do you remember having seen photographs of nude women showing their sex organs?” (Question 50)

“What about photographs of nude males showing their sex organs?” (Question 52)

“How about photographs of sexual intercourse?” (Question 53)

“What about photographs of couples in mouth-genital contact?” (Question 54)

“How about photographs in which people were shown to whip, spank, or force each other to do something, or other similar activities?” (Question 55)

“How about pictures of homosexual acts (or lesbian acts)?” (Question 56)

Similar questions were asked of the respondent in the *LBI* interview dealing separately with movies. The *LBI* questions relating to movies in adolescence are: 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66.

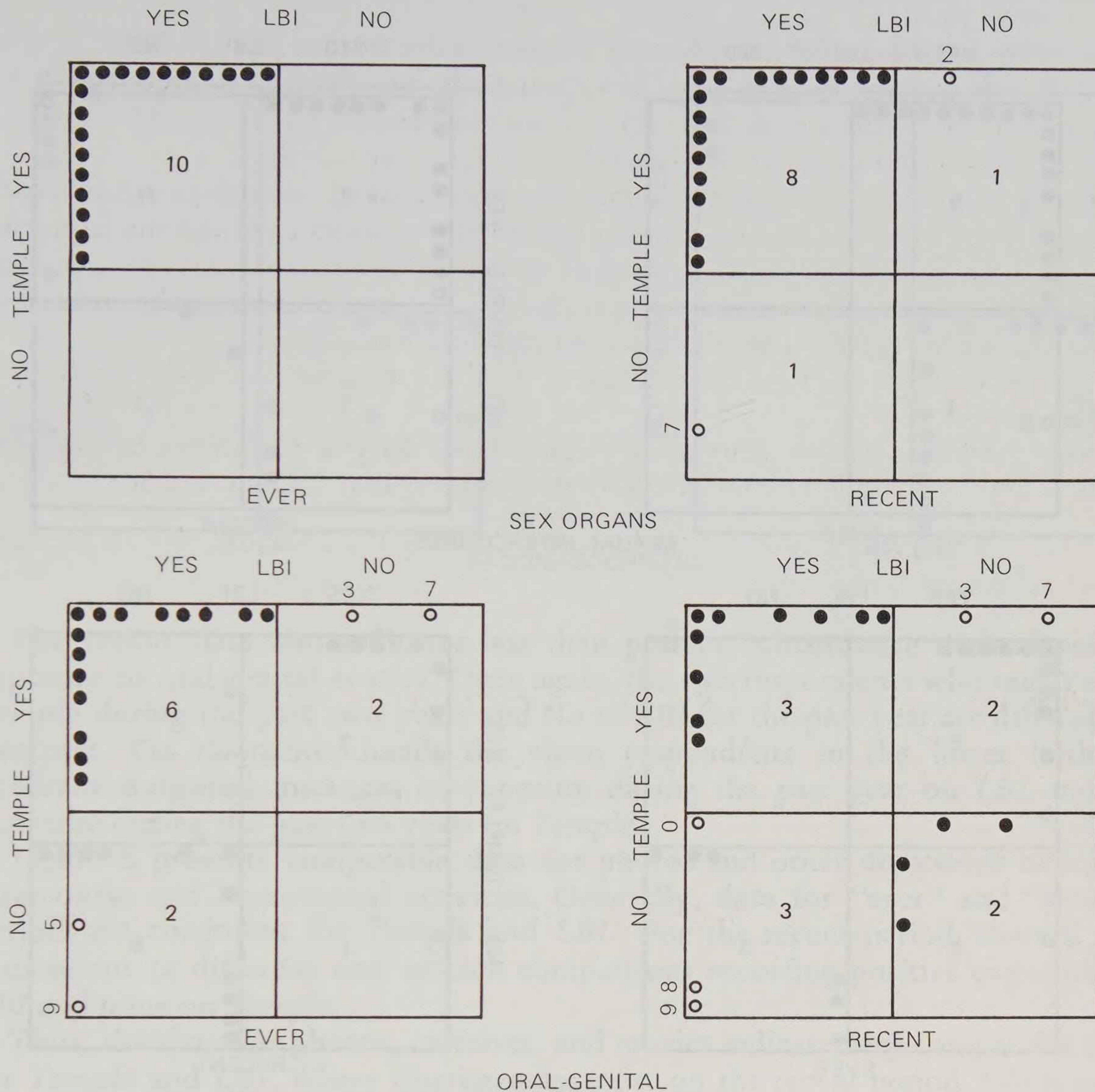
Method of cross-comparison

The data available from these questions are presented in a series of figures comparing data from *Temple* and *LBI*. Since the *LBI* data is continuous (number of exposures reported) and the *Temple* data discrete (Yes or No), the *LBI* data had to be reduced to binary form (None, Some) for comparison purposes. Also, the two time periods covered by both instruments were not identical. *Temple* focused upon two estimates of exposure, “ever” in one’s lifetime and “during the past two years.” *LBI* had no questions covering the respondent’s total life period and the recent period covered was “the past one year.” Despite these variations, an attempt was made to compare the data for “ever” on *Temple* with the sum of adolescence and past year on *LBI*, and data for the past two years on *Temple* was compared with that of the past one year on *LBI*.

In Figures 4, 5, and 6, a series of binary comparisons are presented. Each respondent is represented by a dot and the dot is in the same position on each chart. In the top left box of each chart, similar positive data (Yes or Some) from

Figure 4

COMPARISON OF TEMPLE AND LBI REPORTS OF EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS, CARTOONS, OR MOVIES SHOWING SEX ORGANS AND ORAL-GENITAL CONTACT



Temple and LBI are presented. In the lower right box, comparable negative data are presented (No, None). In the other two squares, dots indicate discrepant information from the two instruments. In addition to specifying which respondents are concordant or discordant, a number is shown in each cell of the number of cases. Thus, a nine in the Yes-Yes cell means that nine respondents gave a Yes on Temple and also gave a Yes to LBI.

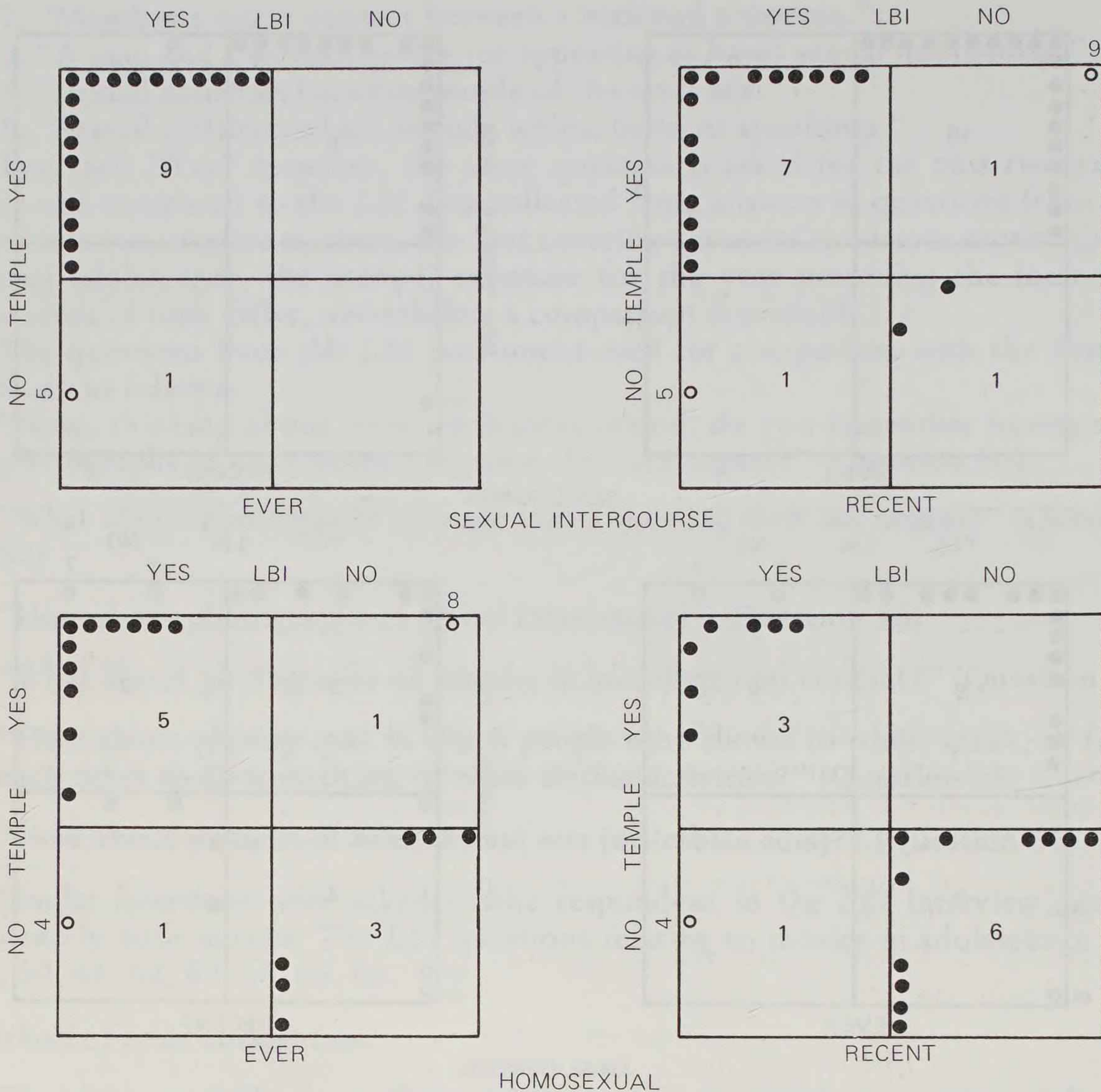
In these charts, respondents are presented from top to bottom of each square for the Temple and left to right for the LBI. The identification numbers of discordant respondents are included for reference.

Photos, cartoons, or movies of erotica

Figures 4, 5, and 6 present the data comparing the Temple and LBI data for photos, cartoons, or movies depicting various types of sexual scenes. We can see

Figure 5

COMPARISON OF TEMPLE AND LBI REPORTS OF EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS, CARTOONS, OR MOVIES SHOWING SEXUAL INTERCOURSE AND HOMOSEXUALITY

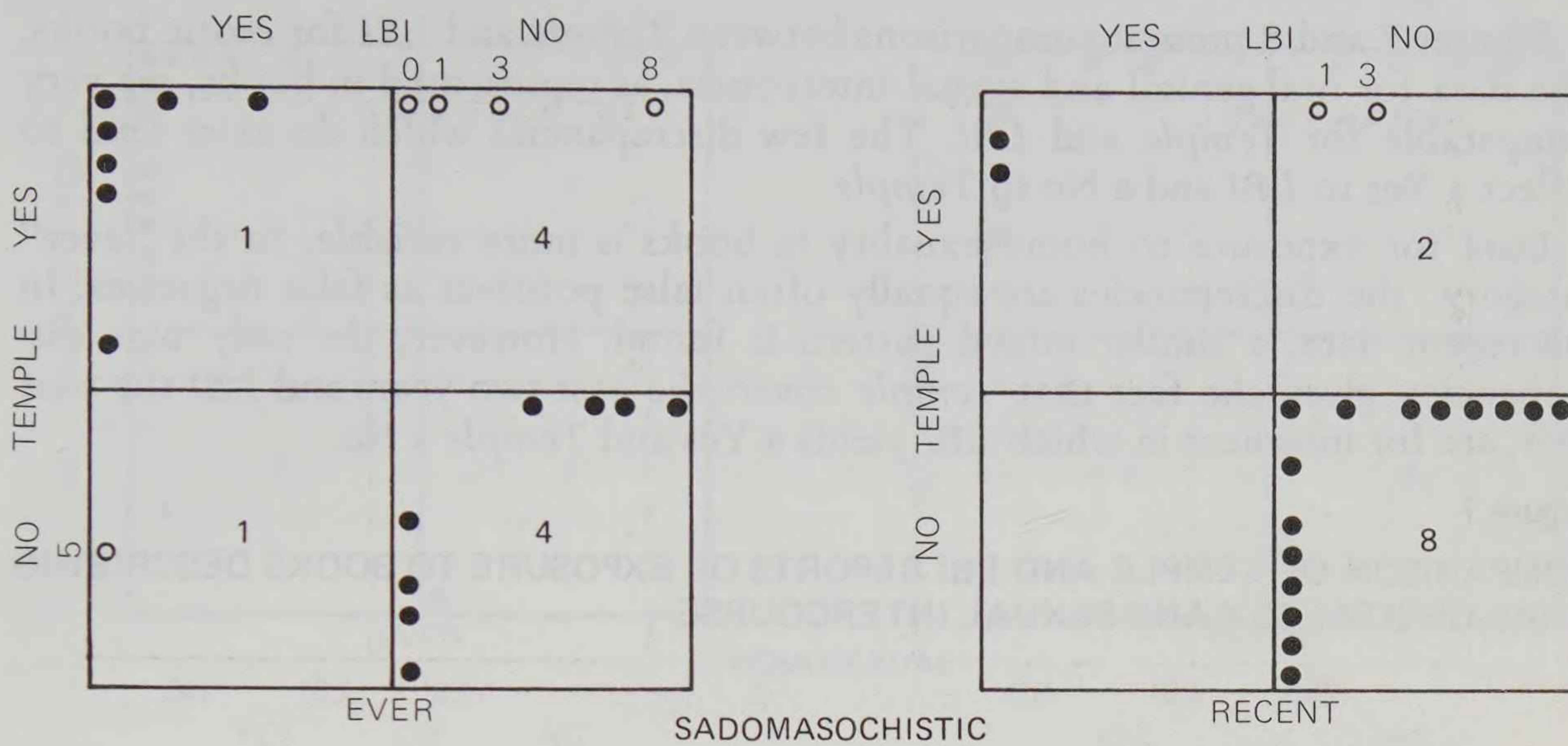


that the data for the category “showing sex organs” is very similar for *LBI* and *Temple*, as almost all respondents answered affirmatively for the “ever” and “recent” questions.

The data for photos and other depictions of oral-genital stimuli are less congruent. Four respondents showed discrepant information for the “ever” category, two showing false negatives and two false positives. In the case of the two false negatives (Yes on *Temple*, No on *LBI*), the difference was probably due to the broader time period covered by *Temple* (ever on *Temple* vs. sum of adolescence and past year on *LBI*). On the other hand, the two false positives (No on *Temple*, Yes on *LBI*) are not so readily explainable. In each instance, the respondent reported no exposure ever on *Temple*, yet reported exposure during either adolescence or the past year on *LBI*.

Figure 6

COMPARISON OF TEMPLE AND LBI REPORTS OF EXPOSURE TO PHOTOS, CARTOONS, OR MOVIES SHOWING SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY



The recent data also indicates less than perfect concordance with regard to exposure to oral-genital erotica. Once again, the two respondents who said Yes to *Temple* during the past two years and No to *LBI* for the past year are difficult to interpret. On the other hand, the three respondents in the lower lefthand quadrant indicated instances of exposure during the past year on *LBI* and no exposure during the past two years on *Temple*.

Figure 5 presents comparable data for photos and other depictions of sexual intercourse and homosexual activities. Generally, data for "ever" and "recent" periods are congruent for *Temple* and *LBI*. For the recent period, there is one respondent (a different one in each comparison) reporting positive exposure on *LBI* and none on *Temple*.

Thus, the data for photos, cartoons, and movies indicate very comparable data for *Temple* and *LBI*. Where discrepancies exist on the recent period, *LBI* is more likely to elicit a positive report than *Temple*. In many instances, when reference was made to *LBI* frequency data, it was obvious that a substantial difference existed between *LBI* and *Temple*. For example, respondent No. 5 reported no exposure to sadomasochistic pictorial material on *Temple* but reported 25 exposures during adolescence on *LBI*. Part of this discrepancy may be due to differences in the wording of items; for example, *Temple* asks whether the respondent has seen material in which there are "sex activities which include whips, belts or spankings," while *LBI* asks about stimuli, "photos in which people were shown to whip, spank or force each other to do something." These slight differences in wording may set off different trains of association in a respondent's thoughts.

Also, it seems clear that two classes of sexual stimuli, oral-genital and homosexual, are reported less consistently on *Temple* and *LBI*. It is possible that because these are more taboo acts, the memory of them is more capricious.

The one instance where this is not true is for sadomasochistic stimuli where *Temple* yielded more affirmative recent reports than *LBI* (Figure 6).

Books with erotic content

Figures 7 and 8 present comparisons between *Temple* and *LBI* for erotic books. The data for oral-genital and sexual intercourse, as represented in books, are very comparable for *Temple* and *LBI*. The few discrepancies which do exist tend to reflect a Yes to *LBI* and a No to *Temple*.

Data for exposure to homosexuality in books is more variable. In the "ever" category, the discrepancies are equally often false positives as false negatives. In the recent data, a similar mixed pattern is found. However, the only true discrepancies, given the fact that *Temple* covers the past two years and *LBI* the past year, are for instances in which *LBI* yields a Yes and *Temple* a No.

Figure 7

COMPARISON OF TEMPLE AND LBI REPORTS OF EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING ORAL-GENITAL SEX AND SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

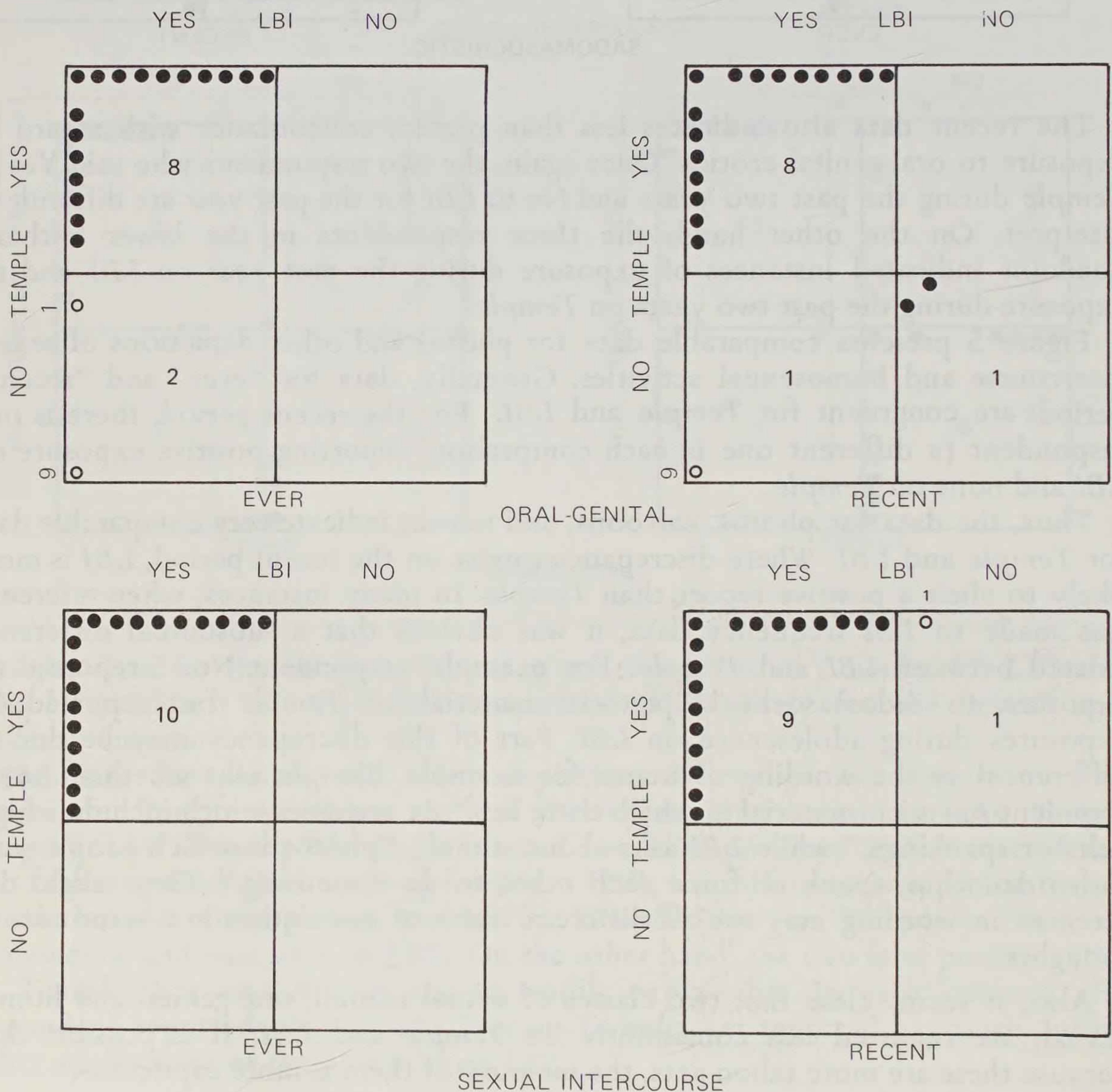
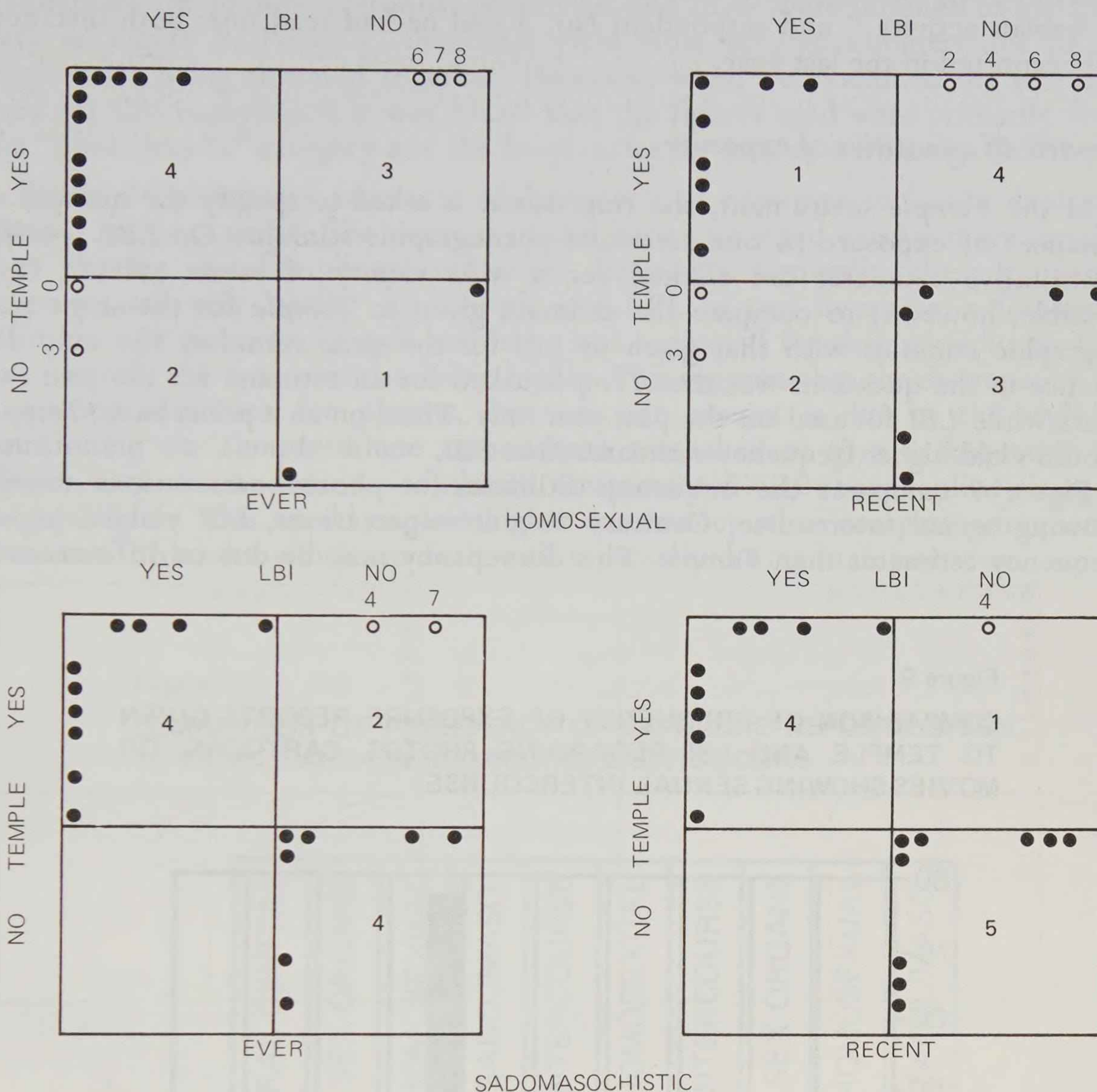


Figure 8

COMPARISON OF TEMPLE AND LBI REPORTS OF EXPOSURE TO BOOKS DESCRIBING HOMOSEXUAL AND SADOMASOCHISTIC ACTIVITY



Data for books containing sadomasochistic activity are virtually congruent for the two interview forms.

Overall, when the *LBI* data are reduced to binary form for comparison with the *Temple* data, very similar trends are found across a one-week interval. It is clear that *LBI* will occasionally yield a positive response of exposure during the past year in a respondent who has denied exposure during the past two years on *Temple*. At times the discrepancies, while few in number, are qualitatively very great. For example, respondent No. 1 when questioned with the *Temple* instrument said he had never read any books describing oral sexual activity. When presented with the same question during the adolescence section of intensive questioning on the *LBI*, this respondent reported having read 10 books which described this mode. Respondent No. 9 replied No to both categories on *Temple* but said he had read one book in the last year when asked during the *LBI* interview.

Two respondents were inconsistent when questioned about books describing "sexual activities between people of the same sex." Respondent No. 0 reported None during the *Temple* interview, as did respondent No. 3. During the *LBI* interview, respondent No. 0 said he had read two books describing "homosexual or lesbian activity," and respondent No. 3 said he had read one; both instances were reported in the last year.

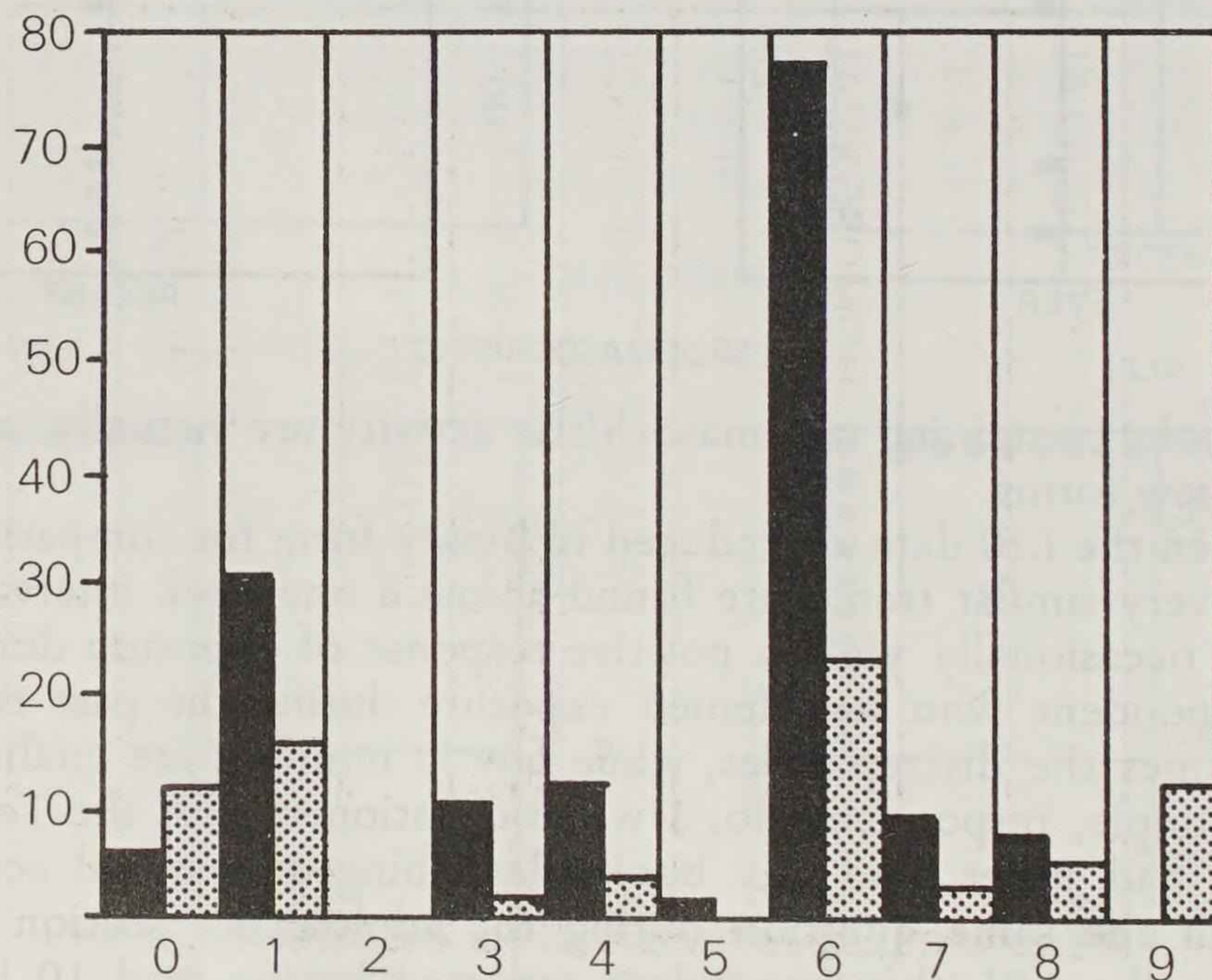
Reports of quantities of exposure

In the *Temple* instrument, the respondent is asked to specify the number of instances of exposure to one particular pornographic stimulus. On *LBI*, specific quantitative estimates are elicited for a wide variety of erotic stimuli. It is possible, however, to compare the estimate given to *Temple* for the single pornographic stimulus with that given to *LBI* for the same stimulus. The only difference in the questions was that *Temple* asked for an estimate for the past two years while *LBI* focused on the past year only. Thus, on an a priori basis, *Temple* should yield higher frequency estimates than *LBI*.

Figure 9 compares the frequency estimates for photos, cartoons, or movies showing sexual intercourse. Contrary to our expectations, *LBI* yielded higher frequency estimates than *Temple*. This discrepancy may be due to differences in

Figure 9

COMPARISON OF FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE REPORTS GIVEN TO TEMPLE AND LBI REGARDING PHOTOS, CARTOONS, OR MOVIES SHOWING SEXUAL INTERCOURSE



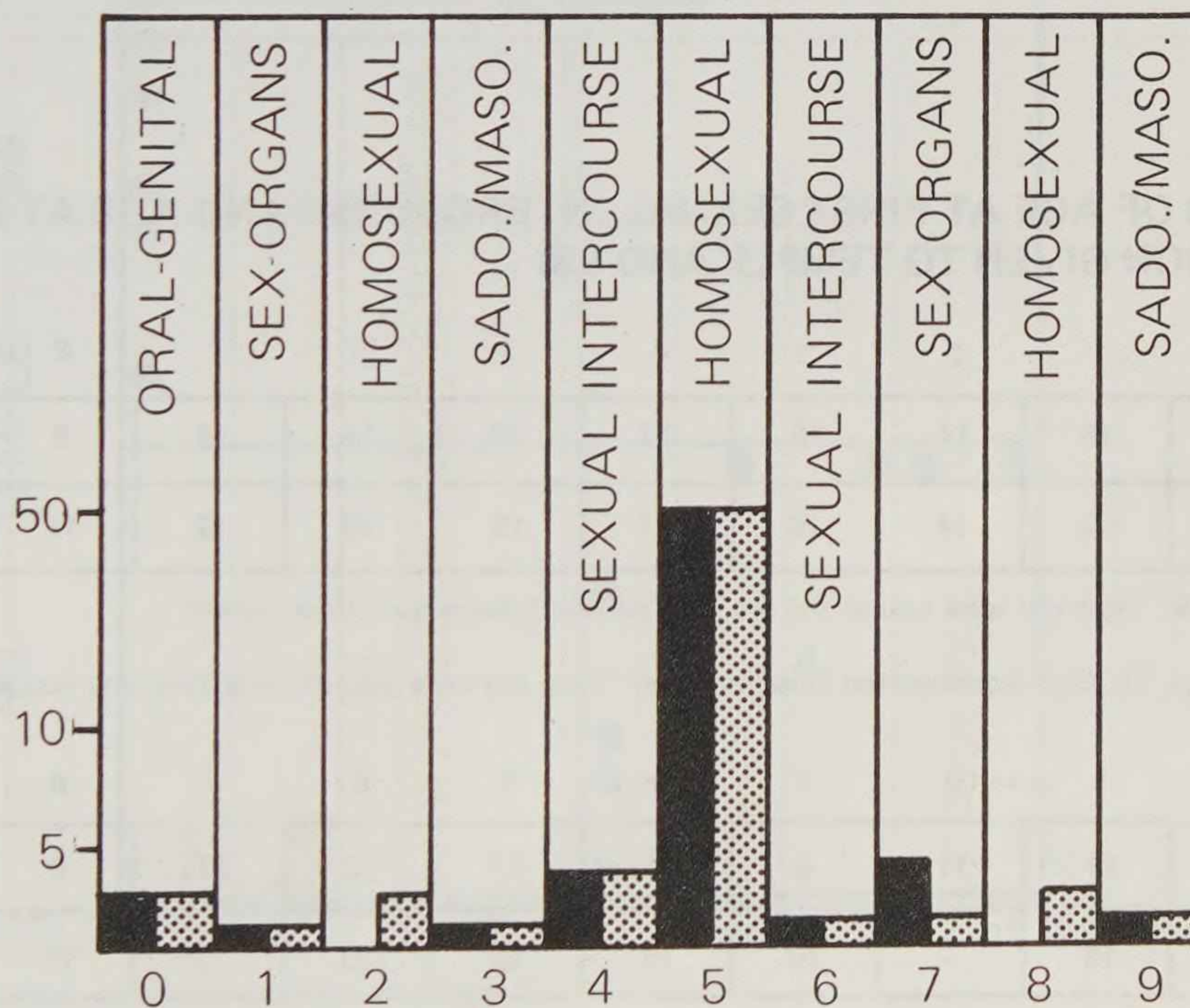
Solid data — LBI. Dotted data — Temple.

the mode of questioning. In *Temple*, the respondent was asked to provide a single frequency estimate for the combined category (photos, cartoons, or movies) of sexual intercourse. In *LBI*, respondents were asked to estimate separate frequencies for photos, cartoons, or movies, and these were summed to yield the data in Figure 9. Possibly, the latter yield more inflated numbers due to the frequencies being summed together. However, when we examined the *LBI* data used for this comparison it was found that the figures used were primarily from the "photographs" category and the frequencies for movies were insignificant.

Figure 10 compares estimates of frequency of exposure to books depicting specific erotic content. The content of the books surveyed was far more variable than was the case for photos and other depictions. Generally, these frequency estimates are very similar for *Temple* and *LBI*. In two instances, a frequency estimate was given to *Temple* and none was suggested for that stimulus to *LBI*. But, overall, the data correlate very highly. This suggests that the discrepancy for frequency estimates for photos, cartoons, or movies is due to the style of questioning on *Temple* where respondents are asked to give a frequency for photos, cartoons, and movies combined. Respondents might have replied giving an average figure. This would explain higher consistency when comparing frequency estimates for books, which are dealt with separately during each interview.

Figure 10

COMPARISON OF FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE REPORTS GIVEN TO TEMPLE AND LBI REGARDING EROTIC BOOKS



Solid data — LBI. Dotted data — Temple.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Since *Temple* and *LBI* were designed for different purposes, only a small sample of questions permitted direct cross-comparison. Where direct comparisons were possible, the data yielded regarding exposure to erotic stimuli are highly similar. The *LBI* instrument tends to reveal a greater number of instances of exposure. This seems due to the tendency of *LBI* to pinpoint periods in time prior to asking for data on exposure to erotica. Thus, in *Temple* a respondent might be asked whether he has ever seen a photo portraying sexual intercourse. He might reply in the negative. In *LBI* he might be asked whether as a teenager he had ever seen a similar object. Focused on a particular time period, memories of an experience recur and he replies positively. As in most psychological research, the greater the number of cues, the more likely memories will be retrieved.

It can be argued that the higher frequency estimates found occasionally for *LBI* are more due to the sex of the examiner than the form of the interview. We were unavoidably not able to control this variable. However, certain questions on *Temple* were given in a self-administered format in which the interviewer did not participate. Two of these questions were also asked on *LBI*, "How old were you at the age of your first heterosexual intercourse?" and "How old were you at the time of your first masturbation?" In Figure 11 below, we present the age estimates, given to *LBI* and *Temple*. Here we see that the age estimates correlate well, although some marked discrepancies can be seen. For the intercourse question, *LBI* reveals some strikingly earlier dates than the *Temple* self-administered. Similarly, for the masturbation question, *LBI* yields strikingly earlier dates than *Temple*, at times bizarrely so (three years old!). Thus, it appears that *LBI* tends to yield higher estimates of frequency of exposure to erotica and earlier ages of sexual experience. It appears that the depth-probing nature of *LBI*, rather than the sex of the interviewer, elicits earlier and more extensive memories than *Temple*.

Figure 11

COMPARISON OF AGE AT FIRST SEXUAL INTERCOURSE AND AGE AT FIRST MASTURBATION GIVEN TO TEMPLE AND LBI

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
LBI	9½	16	14	18	27	20	14	14	8	4
TEMPLE	16	13	14	18	27	15	10	12	11	4

LBI question 258: "How old were you at the age of your first heterosexual intercourse?"

TEMPLE question 11 (Self Administered Questionnaire): "How old were you the first time you had sexual intercourse?"

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
LBI	17	11	11	8	14	11	12	11	8	3
TEMPLE	17	13	—	10	13	13	10	12	14	12

LBI question 262: "How old were you at the time of your first masturbation?"

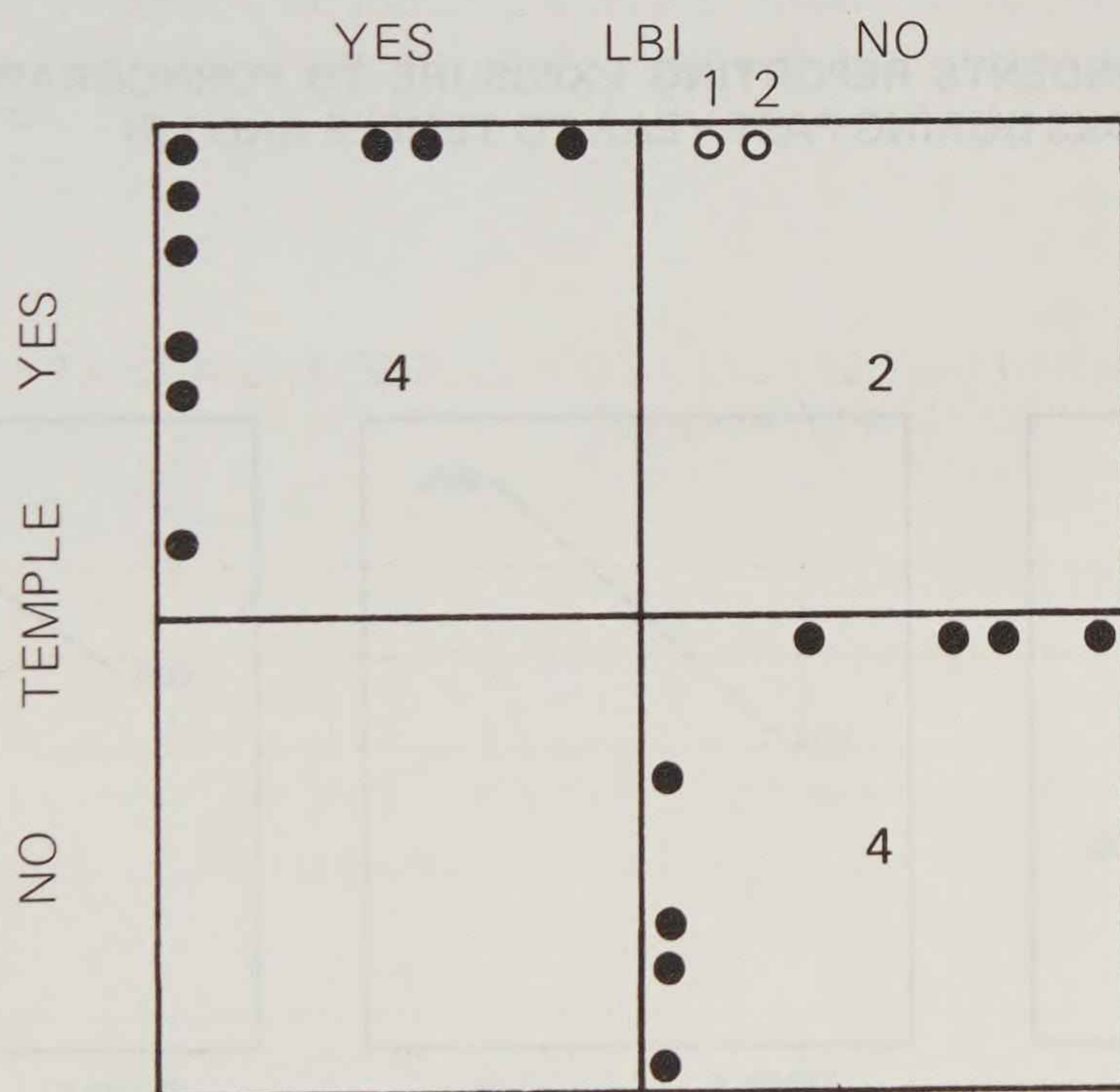
TEMPLE question 16 (Self Admin. Questionnaire): "At what age did you first have the experience of masturbation?"

It is also clear that the distortion present is limited to a few individuals and to certain types of questions. For example, a comparable opinion question regarding legal control of pornography was asked in *LBI* and *Temple*. The responses to this item are presented in Figure 12 below. Here we see that *Temple* and *LBI* yielded identical data. So it appears that where discrepancies exist, they do not concern attitudes, but rather personal estimates of experience. Despite these differences found between *Temple* and *LBI*, the great majority of comparable items yielded very similar data. Of course, the *LBI* instrument provides far greater detail in certain areas than does *Temple*, commensurate with its basic purpose.

As noted previously, there are some indications that differences between *Temple* and *LBI* are due to variations in the wording of the questions. Differences also arise when questions require the respondent to define what was pornographic for him. For example, in *Temple* the respondents were asked "During the past year, have you seen a movie which you regarded as pornographic?" One respondent in the set of 10 replied affirmatively. However, on *LBI* respondents were asked whether they had seen films containing sexual intercourse during the past year. Three respondents in 10 replied affirmatively. Evidently respondents saw such films but did not regard them as pornographic. Similarly, respondents were asked identical questions concerning magazines and books. On *Temple*, five

Figure 12

COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES REGARDING LEGAL CONTROL OF PORNOGRAPHY GIVEN TO TEMPLE AND LBI



TEMPLE question 57: "Some people should not be allowed to read or see some things."

LBI question 276: "Do you feel there should be laws as to what people see and read?"

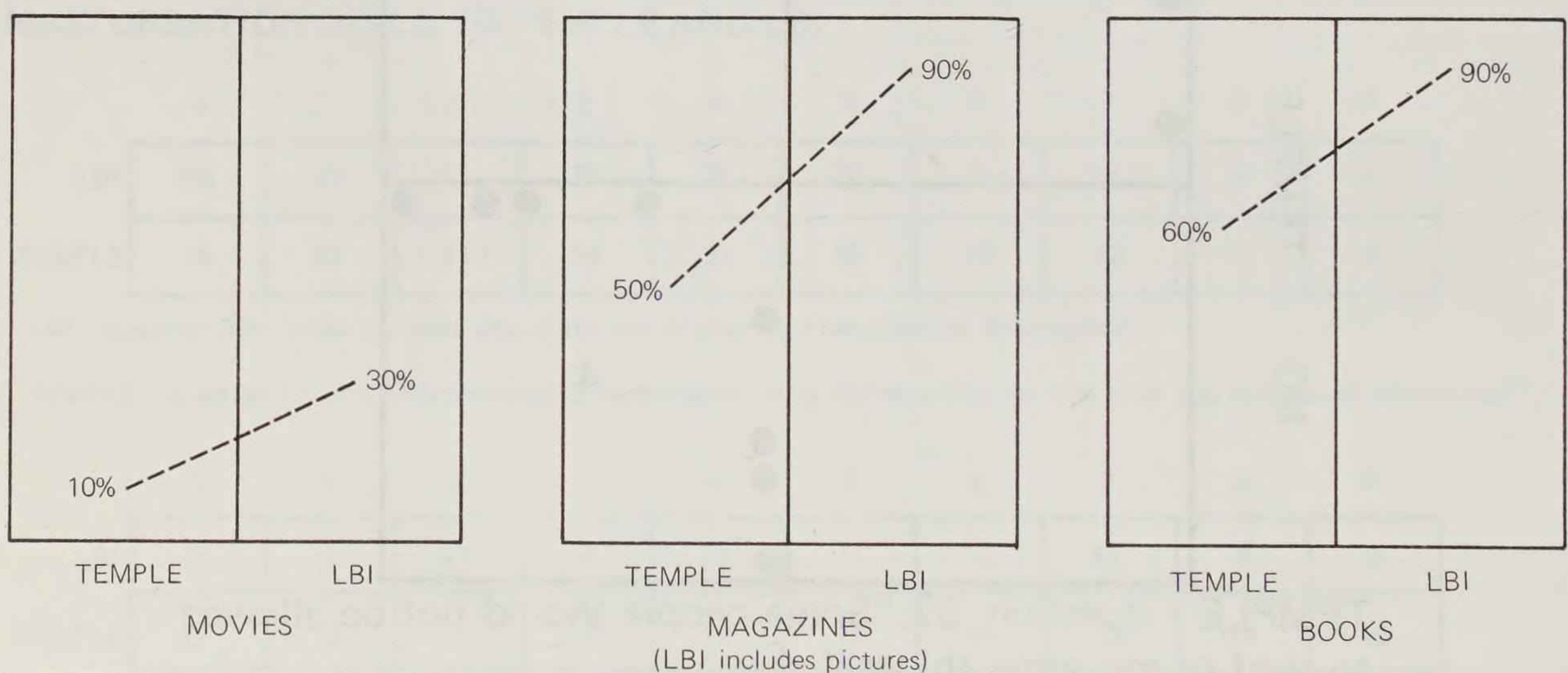
to six of the respondents reported having seen books or photos containing sexual intercourse and/or oral-genital relations. This means that there are marked individual differences in what respondents label as pornographic and that questions which require this judgment lead to underestimates of recent exposure to pornography. Therefore, if one wished to compare *Temple* and *LBI*, it would be better to rely on questions that deal with reports of exposure to stimuli defined by the interview instrument (e.g., "photos showing sex organs") than reports based on subjective definitions of pornography by the respondent.

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Figure 13

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING EXPOSURE TO PORNOGRAPHIC MOVIES, MAGAZINES, OR BOOKS DURING PAST YEAR TO TEMPLE AND LBI



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