

Pornography's Effect on the Circulation of Rape Culture

Megan G. Kleber

Point Loma Nazarene University

Fall 2018

### ABSTRACT

This study assesses the effects of pornography on an individual's acceptance level of rape myths. Rape myths are a society's set of attitudes and beliefs in regards to sexual assault and rape which circulate rape culture. Rape culture can be associated with certain ideas that place blame on victims, make excuses for the actions of a perpetrator or obscure the difference between consensual sex and rape. Research has revealed that higher exposure levels to pornography does in fact increase an individual's acceptance of rape myths. A connection has also been found between the amount of violent pornography a person watches and their inclination towards sexual violence. The data for this study was collected via Amazon Turk, by creating a survey and collecting 400 participant responses. This data was studied in SPSS by performing three Pearson's r tests and two t-tests. A total of three out of the five tests were found to be significant. The Pearson's r tests assessing the relationship between rape myth acceptance score and the amount of rough pornography watched as well as demeaning porn watched were found to be significant. A t-test testing the correlation between gender and rape myth acceptance was also found significant.

**Key Words:** Rape, Sexual Assault, Pornography, Rape Myth Acceptance, Victim, Sexual Violence, Rape Culture

Brock Turner has become an infamous name known for the rape of a female who had blacked out after drinking alcohol at a college party (Kebodeaux, 2017, p. 30). What makes this case stand out from the 20% to 25% of women who are victims of forced sex during their college years? The difference was the news coverage. The case was the center of a conversation on college sexual assault in countless public domains from news channels to social media sites (Kebodeaux, 2017, p. 46). The main focus on the case highlighted his sentencing, as he was convicted on three counts of sexual assault, though he was only sentenced to 6 months in prison, of which he only served 3 months, and 3 years of probation (Kebodeaux, 2017, p. 30). This conversation is a necessary one and a proportional response to the injustice done here. Yet, throughout the entirety of the case, my focus was not set as much on the sentence, but rather to an earlier area of issue; what led Brock Turner to rape?

The U.S. has maintained various rhetorics regarding the ways in which we, as a society, view criminals (Pager, 2009, p. 1). For a long time criminals were considered redeemable, however, with “the wave of tough on crime rhetoric” which spread throughout the nation in the 1970s, criminals have often been viewed as unsalvageable (Pager, 2009, p. 1). Notable commentary has been made during this time still, highlighting the backgrounds of criminals and arguing that they were not born criminal, but that their lives and experiences led them towards such a path (Pager, 2009, p. 2). Theories such as the broken windows theory, labeling theory, and the differential associations theory have followed this line of logic to explain why people commit crimes (Pager, 2009, p. 4). What causes an individual to commit a crime such as sexual assault or rape when they seem to have been raised around positive influences with privilege, wealth, success, and few to no life obstacles or hardships? When it comes to sexual assault and rape, I believe the answer could lie in the consequences faced when a society accepts rape myths.

The concept of rape myths was first introduced and defined in 1980 by Martha Burt, a Principal Research Associate at The Center on Labor. She defined them as the “prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists - in creating a climate hostile to rape victims” (Burt, 1980, p. 217) Some of the myths of rape culture include sexual assault victim blaming, such as the idea that the girl was “asking for it” by wearing revealing clothing or the idea that sexual assault occurs because men can not control their biological sex drive (Bieneck, 2010, p. 1786). Sexual assault is a widespread problem as 1 in 3 women and 1 in 6 men in the U.S. have experienced some form of sexual violence in their lifetime (NSVRC, 2015, p. 1). The circulation of rape myths further allows these assaults to go unreported by diminishing and silencing the voices of those who have been sexually abused (Michele, 2011, p. 80). In order to measure the amount to which an individual accepts rape myths, I utilized the updated Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Payne, 1999, p. 27). The scale is a compilation of questions to assess an individual’s inclination to accept rape myths.

In addition, pornography has been shown to be connected to sexual violence (Boeringer, 1994, p. 290). As a result, this led me to question whether exposure to pornography correlates to an individual's acceptance of the myths that circulate rape culture. Experimental studies have revealed that violent pornography has more effect than nonviolent in increasing rape myth acceptance, although nonviolent still demonstrate an effect (Allen, 1995, p. 5). To determine pornography’s effect on an individual's rape myth acceptance, I added questions about what kind of sexually explicit material individuals watch and how much they are watching. In doing so, the goal would be to provide a better understanding of what is circulating these rape myths, whether it be all of pornography or just the more violent and rough videos.

## LITERATURE

The following sections will discuss the research which has been conducted up to date on relevant topics to my study. I have separated the research into two different categories. The first section discusses and assesses pornography's effect on sexual violence, while the second defines and explores rape culture and the literature on the topic.

### *Pornography's Effect on Sexual Violence*

Pornography is viewed by Americans of all ages, races, and sexual preferences. In 2008, a study from the *CyberPsychology & Behavior Journal* found that the majority of adolescents are exposed to internet pornography before the age of 18 (Sabina et al. 2008, p. 692). With the surge of technology that can offer this material at the touch of a button, researchers have been charged with the question of how pornography affects its viewers. Anti-pornography feminists argue that pornography reinforces sexist attitudes as it only depicts women as sexual objects that are inferior to men (Dworkin, 1985, p. 5; MacKinnon, 1984, p. 321; MacKinnon, 1985, p. 1). A random sample of 50 pornographic video tapes were analyzed by Brosius, Weaver and Staab (1993) to identify the different themes depicted in tapes. They found that "women were depicted as sexual objects that were there only for the purpose of the male to have an orgasm" (Brosius, 1993, p. 24). In 1984, Luis Garcia, an associate professor in the Department of Psychology at Rutgers University and Camden college, found that men maintained more negative attitudes towards women and more positive attitudes towards sexual aggression, the more they were exposed to pornography. As a result, "pornography users are more likely than non-pornography users to disrespect women sexually, accept acts of sexual aggression as normal, and blame rape victims" (Bowen, 1987, p. 15).

Sexual violence is so prevalent in modern society that 1 in 5 women will be raped at some point in their lives compared to 1 in 71 men (Black, 2010). Regardless of how severe the issue at hand, however, these crimes are grossly under-reported. In fact, rape is the most under-reported crime as 63% of sexual assaults are not reported to the police (Rennison, 2002). These striking statistics beg the question of why and how the majority of these crimes are not being brought to the attention of law enforcement personnel and what barriers keep individuals from coming forward. I would argue that our society has created a culture that blames the victim of such crimes and finds ways to excuse the actions of the perpetrator, therefore holding a victim back from reporting a rape for fear of judgment and backlash. These kinds of beliefs originate from rape culture, which produce myths about rape such that it is a victim's fault if they are raped. Rape myths will be further assessed in the next section, but this section will be focused on a source of these myths: pornography.

There is a growing body of work studying the relationship between sexual aggression and pornography which continues to share the finding that violent pornography is connected to rape and sexual assault while nonviolent sexual material was found to have no effect or inconsistent findings. For example, 100 rape survivors were interviewed about their rapist's use of pornography, which a fair amount had knowledge of because of intimate partner violence, and their results revealed that pornography is very clearly implicated in these situations; the more extensive use of pornography, the more violent their actions (Bergen, 2000). Current studies can only confirm pornography to play a role in sexual assaults, but not that they are a direct cause. However, studies have also analyzed pornography's effects by categorizing the levels of sexual violence being viewed. Utilizing the three categories of non-violent, violent, and rape

pornography, the study found associations of increased sexual violence with each category (Boeringer, 1994, p. 289).

Additionally, it is well known that pornography can produce negative attitudes towards women. Seventy-five students were studied after being made to watch hours of erotica and then examined to see if they showed a difference in their perceptions of women. They found that their attitudes were not influenced by the pornography (Padgett, 1989). A difference would be made, I hypothesize, if researchers studied people who continuously watched pornography as well as if they incorporated the different intensities of pornography involved. It is clear that there is a correlation between pornography and sexual violence, but to further assess if it actually has a causal effect on this violence, an in depth analysis of the circulation of rape culture via rape myths is needed.

### *Rape Myth Acceptance*

Rape culture is a society's set of attitudes and beliefs in regards to sexual assault and rape. Rape culture circulates rape myths which can originate from gender stereotypes such as societal expectations of male dominance or ideas that blame the victim. When it comes to something like the expectation of a male to dominate a woman both in everyday life and sexually, it is clear how this ideology or rape myth can be portrayed in pornography and how this could increase sexual aggression in men. Rape myths have the ability to refocus the blame from the perpetrator to the victim, make excuses for the actions of a perpetrator or obscure the difference between consensual sex and rape (Iconis, 2011, 47).

A total of 22 studies, all of which analyzed the correlation between pornography and rape myth acceptance, were examined. Interestingly, although those who conducted experimental studies found that pornography exposure did increase an individual's rape myth acceptance,

those who used a survey found almost no effect between the two (Allen, 1995, p. 20).

Additionally, it has been found that although violent pornography has more of an effect on sexual aggression, non-violent pornography still had some effect as well (Bohner, 2006, p. 286).

Next, males have been found more likely than women to accept rape myths although women do as well (Iconis, 2011). Rape myths perpetuate rape by conveying two main ideas. The first is that a rape myth defines rape in much more narrow terms than legal definitions. Society has basically placed rules on what is to be considered rape. For instance, many people believe that it can only be considered rape if there was a substantial amount of resistance from the victim. Some even believe there must be a weapon involved for it to be considered rape. The second idea that rape myths convey is that the victim was at fault for being sexually assaulted or raped. Both of these ideas can lead potentially to unacknowledged sexual assault or rape (Iconis, 2011).

A 2017 study from the Centre for Forensic and Criminological Psychology explored the topic of rape myths. They studied participants ranging from convicted rapists to college students, they set out to “determine if adult, male rapists can be distinguished from adult, male child molesters, non-sexual offenders, or non-offenders on measures of Rape Myth Acceptance. A Rape Myth Acceptance scale was created in order to assess their RMA which was then used to compare and theoretically distinguish between the participants.

The study found various connections that reveal the deep-rooted problems that result from an individual accepting rape myths. For instance, it was found that those who were sexually motivated to rape scored higher on the “Sex Role Stereotyping” subscale within the RMA Scale than criminals who committed non-sexual, non-violent offenses. Some may assume that rape is like other offenses in that the crime was committed because they are criminals and it is what they



do. I would argue that rape is extremely different from other crimes and that categories within rape differ immensely as well. I believe that a rapist who is motivated by sexual gratification has values based in rape myths and would score highly on the RMA scale in contrast to rapists who are motivated by violence or sadism. For instance, criminals who commit other types of crimes are shown in this study to have lower RMA scores. Theoretically speaking, this could possibly suggest that those who rape for their own pleasure do so because they have been fed myths that make them feel like it is socially acceptable to rape as society tends to focus the blame to the victims of sexual assault (Michele, 2011, p. 76) (Bieneck, 2010, p. 1793).

Interestingly, it was also found that non-offenders scored higher RMA scores than those of pedophiles. Pedophiles are viewed by society as the pinnacle of sexual depravity, so the question that follows this finding is why are their RMA scores lower than a common person who has never offended? Theoretically, this may relate to the fact that because rape myths relate to males assaulting females of a similar age to them (such that a rape myth might be that a sexual assault might be a woman's fault if she goes to a man's apartment for a drink, but does not wish to have a sexual interaction) a low score for a pedophile may reflect the fact that rape myths do not involve children. It seems to show that pedophiles, nonsexual or violent offenders, and rapists with purely violent or sadistic motives, commit their crimes without rape myths driving their actions in the same way that they seem to for sexually motivated rapists. This isolates the sexually motivated rapists from other types of rape and offenses and supports the idea that high RMA scores do seem to influence the amount of these types of rape. This is why I make note of the idea that the motivation to rape is incredibly important when identifying how rape myths influence this behavior. Rape myth acceptance specifically affects those who rape for sexual gratification because these myths relate to males ideas along the lines that women are for a

male's pleasure, that women like to be dominated, and that if the male rapes it is because of a sex drive that they can not control so it normalizes this act and teaches them it is beyond their control. If we can see a direct line of causation from rape myths to rape and sexual assault for those who rape because of sexual motivation, then we as a society need to isolate the issue and determine paths to eradicate rape myths to the best of our abilities. This may not change the percentage of those who rape for other reasons such as pedophiles or sadistic or violence motivated rapists, but the literature suggests that this may lower the amount of rapes out of sexual motivation.

Additionally, this highlights the fact that although those who rape for sexual gratification do show high RMA scores, nonoffenders living a regular life in society are still accepting the same rape myths. This is not to say that an individual with a high rape myth acceptance score is a rapist or is going to become one, but that those who do go so far to rape someone have many values rooted in these rape myths which then support their actions. Furthermore, this highlights the fact that many of these rape myths are built into our society and show up even in non-offenders. After all, these are the people who turn blame towards victims and have only recently let out a public uproar over the amount of time convicted rapists and sexual assaulters have been receiving. However, this public awareness and protest is new for the most part which, in my opinion, came to fruition by the aforementioned highly publicized Brock Turner (Kebodeaux, 2017, p. 46). Fighting for better sentencing is one form of progress, but merely stressing the importance of longer sentences does not solve this problem at its core. The way to create change is to find the root that has been buried deeply in society, expose it, and challenge it. Change then begins with revealing the innate misconceptions and fallacies in rape myths, recognizing their consequences and rejecting them as a society.

In regards to this study, I have chosen to study three different intensity levels of pornography - regular, rough, and demeaning - to assess its effect on rape myth acceptance. This is because pornography depicts countless examples of rape myths in its content. As has been aforementioned, rape myths “are strongly connected to other deeply held and pervasive attitudes such as sex role stereotyping, distrust of the opposite sex (adversarial sexual beliefs), and acceptance of interpersonal violence” (Burt, 1980, p. 229). Pornography contains content that circulates these sex roles, at some levels displays violence as a pleasurable sexual act and depicts these “adversarial sexual beliefs” such as with content that involves cheating or the dominance of one over the other. These beliefs and attitudes are at the core of rape myths and if they are also viewed in pornography than it might be found to be a source from which rape myths are circulated through our society.

## METHODOLOGY

For my study, I utilized Amazon Turk to survey a broad array of individuals. In order to do this, I created a survey on Google Forms which I linked to Amazon Turk for the participants to use. I wrote many of the questions myself, but I also borrowed some questions from the updated Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale which is a compilation of questions to assess an individual's inclination to accept rape myths (McMahon, 2011).

### *Participants*

Amazon Turk is a site that connects a researcher to a broad group of survey takers who are 18 years or older. Restrictions can be placed in order for the researcher to narrow down the types of people who can take the survey. For my survey, the only restriction I put on my

participants was that they live in the United States. After collecting my data through Amazon Turk, I had collected a total of 400 responses.

Anonymity was offered to every participant, although a total of five demographic questions were asked in the survey. These demographics included the surveyor's age, sex, race, relationship status, and political party. The average age of the participants was 35.85, with the youngest being 19 and the oldest being 77. Altogether, there were 230 males and 172 females in the sample. The predominant race of the sample was white at 75.3% and far behind them were African Americans at 9.6% of the sample. 40.5% of the participants were married while the amount who were in a relationship or single was equal at 26% each. Finally, the majority of surveyors were Democrats at 40.3% followed by Independents at 27.9% and Republicans at 18.7%.

### *Instruments*

I created my Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (RMA Scale) with the help of the updated version of the Illinois RMA scale by taking from it around four questions to add to the ones I had written on my own (McMahon, 2011). This scale was first created in 1999 and has been used in a wide array of studies on related topics. The initial 45-item scale was first created through a series of 6 studies by Diana L. Payne, a Doctor of Psychology and Clinical Psychology who studied at the University of Illinois, Dr. Kimberly A. Lonsway, Director of Research at End Violence Against Women International, who earned her Ph.D. in psychology at the University of Illinois, and Louise Fitzgerald, an Emeritus Professor of Gender and Women's Studies and Psychology at the University of Illinois. In 2011, the scale was updated by Dr. Sarah McMahon, an associate professor at the Rutgers University School of Social Work and the Associate Director for the School's Center on Violence Against Women and Children as well as Dr. G. Lawrence Farmer,

an associate professor for the Graduate School of Social Service at Fordham University. They trimmed the initial 45 question scale down to 22 and categorized the questions into four subscales that represented the most common rape myths (McMahon, 2011).

It is from this updated version that I got a good amount of questions to add to my scale by carefully choosing an equal amount of questions from each subscale and adding them to mine. My Rape Myth Scale, a total of eight questions, contained linear scale questions with a range from 1-10; 1 being completely disagree and 10 being completely agree. In SPSS, I took the Rape Myth Acceptance variable and had the system add each individual's answers from eight questions containing the scale of 1-10. This afforded each surveyor with a Rape Myth Acceptance Score which ranged from 1-72.

Table 1: Rape Myth Acceptance Scale

	Assessment Question	Completely Disagree (1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Completely Agree (10)
1.	If a woman does not want to have sex, then she should not go back to the guy's place for a drink.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
2.	When women are sexually assaulted it is often because the way they said “no” was unclear.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
3.	Many women actually enjoy sex after the guy uses a little force.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
4.	When men sexually assault women, it is usually because of their strong desire for sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
5.	Many times, women who report being sexually assaulted actually just had sex and “changed” their minds afterward.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
6.	Some women prefer to have sex forced on them so they do not have to feel guilty about it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

7.	If a girl initiates kissing or hooking up, she should not be surprised if a guy assumes she wants to have sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
8.	If a guy is drunk, he might sexually assault someone unintentionally.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Total RMA Score	(8 to 80 minus 7) = 1-72									

*Procedures*

First, I made a survey with a compilation of 17 questions to assess an individual's acceptance of rape myths and pornography use and to gain information about their demographics. I offered complete anonymity to the participants, while still gaining insight into their characteristics through demographic questions. Upon researching the topic, I found the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, used in a study from 1999, and using an updated version of the scale, chose a small number of questions from the scale to use in my survey (Payne 1999). Then I attached the questionnaire, which I created on the site Google Forms, to my Amazon Turk account. The process of using Amazon Turk begins with the creation of the survey, sending out the batch to the surveyors on the site, they take the survey on a first come first serve basis and are paid a fixed amount of money, 25 cents in this case. For my data, I first sent out a test batch, requesting five people to take the survey in order to discover any errors in the formatting, wording, etc. As a result, I reworded some questions and added a few more demographic questions. When this was done, I released two separate batches each requesting 200 participants each to bring me to a total of 400 responses. Each batch I released filled the full amount of responses in under 15 minutes.

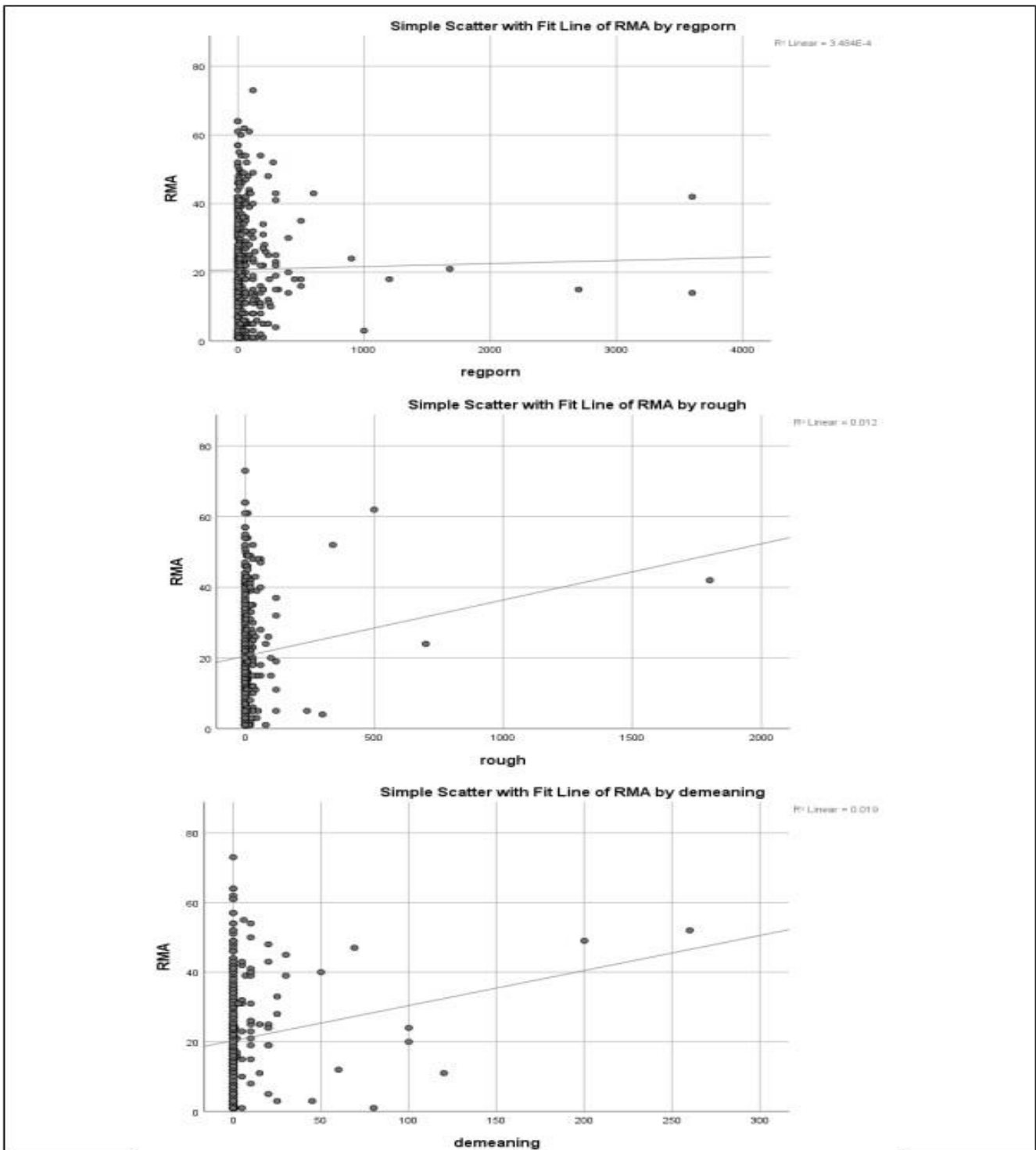
I was able to view the resulting data in both Amazon Turk and Google Forms, but Google Forms contained each individual survey as well as overall summaries of the data which could be

viewed in graphs when applicable. I downloaded the data from Google Forms as an excel sheet which I then uploaded it into SPSS. I ran three Pearson's r tests to assess how the amount of regular pornography, rough pornography, and demeaning pornography could affect an individual's likelihood to accept rape myths. In order to do so, I ran a Pearson's R test with all three pornography variables against the Rape Myth Acceptance Scores. I then performed a t-test with the RMA Score variable and age.

## RESULTS

### *Effects of Regular, Rough, Demeaning Pornography on RMA Score*

Table 2: Effects of Regular, Rough, Demeaning Pornography on RMA Score



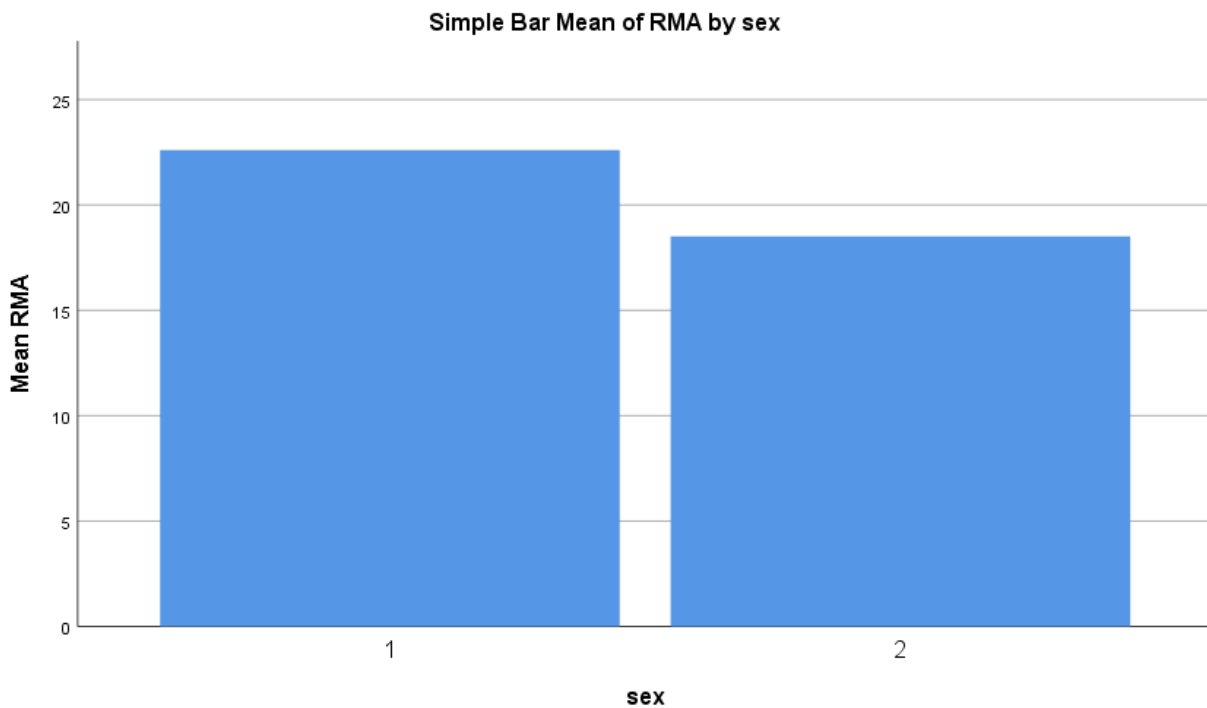
A Pearson R test was performed to assess the correlation between the different levels of pornography (i.e. regular, rough, and demeaning) and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Table 1 is a crosstabs chart crossing independent variables of regular, rough, and demeaning



pornography with the dependant RMA. It shows that the test conducted was a 2-tailed test and configures the level of significance. The results of crossing RMA with regular porn revealed no significance at  $r(401) = .019, p = .709$ . The relation between the variables of rough pornography and RMA was, in fact, significant at  $r(399) = .111, p = .027$ . The relationship between demeaning pornography and RMA was also found significant at  $r(400) = .137, p = .006$ .

*Effects of Sex on Rape Acceptance*

Table 3: Effects of Sex on Rape Myth Acceptance



A t-test was performed to understand the relationship between rape myth acceptance and sex. Under table two is a bar graph showing the relationship with group one being made up of males and group two made up of the females. The mean RMA score for men was 22.60 with a standard deviation of 15.623. For women, the mean RMA score was 18.51 with a standard

deviation of 13.910. The test found the relation between sex and RMA score to be significant at  $t(399) = 2.719, p = .007$ .

*Effects of age on rape myth acceptance score*

Table 4: Effects of age on rape myth acceptance score



Another Pearson R test was performed to understand the relationship between rape myth acceptance and age. Table 4 is a crosstabs chart crossing the independent variable of age with the dependant RMA. The average age of participants in the study was 35.85 and ranged from 19 to 77 years of age. This test showed no significance between the variables at  $r(400) = -.012, p = .816$ .

DISCUSSION

The three Pearson r tests which correlated the relationship between RMA score and regular, rough, and demeaning pornography are important to analyze as a unit. For example, the

initial Pearson  $r$  was found to be insignificant in and of itself, however, when assessing this with the other two tests, it provides a deeper understanding of how the amount and type of pornography can affect an individual's RMA score. The tests show that as the level of sexual aggression and intensity rises in the pornography an individual views, the higher they are to accept rape myths. From regular to rough, to demeaning pornography, the significance level rose increasingly higher from .709, to .027, to .006 respectively.

This means that the type of pornography being viewed affects the views and beliefs of the individual watching. The data shows that when violent pornography is viewed, one is more likely to believe in rape myths such that blame female victims for being raped, excuse the men who commit the crime and often reject the idea that a crime was even committed at all. This does not come as a surprise, as viewing sexually graphic material that glorifies objectifying and abusing women, the pleasures of the man over the woman, and the dominant position of the man over the woman might be expected to effect an avid viewers values and beliefs when it comes to the topic of women and sexual assault. Even if a viewer's core values and beliefs on sex and sex stereotypes are not changed, watching violent sexual acts being done to women, especially with an underlying tone that women like this kind of abuse, might be expected to numb a person to this kind of sexually aggressive and violent behavior at the very least.

An interesting aspect of these test results is that regular pornography does not seem to have an effect on one's RMA score. Although regular pornography does, in fact, contain depictions of male domination over women, women are still portrayed as being an equal part of the act and perform to show how much they like the act. The more aggressive the pornography gets, the less the female is a voluntary participant in the act and more like an object for the mere purpose of male pleasure regardless of what she wants. Individuals who choose non-violent or

aggressive pornography, in many cases, seek the depiction of the female finding the sexual act pleasurable or fun. This correlates strongly with a low RMA score as it promotes the ideals that would go against rape myths including sex stereotypes.

The question that followed after receiving these results was what were the demographics of those who averaged higher RMA scores? I could have used a number of demographics from the survey to analyze, but instead, I chose sex and age. The t-test conducted with the variables of sex and RMA was found to be significant and showed that males scored higher on average than females. This does not come at a shock when the majority of rape myths put women down while heightening the power and dominance of the male. It is also common knowledge that men tend to watch porn more than women which was shown to affect the RMA score. Still, this does not mean that the issues that come from the circulation of rape myths and rape culture fall solely on men. Although there was a significant difference, women still scored an 18.51 RMA score on average.

The age variable was not found to be significant in correlation to the RMA score which came as a bit of a surprise to me. I could have definitely seen an argument for either side whether it be that the older the participant the higher the RMA score or the younger the participant the higher the score. This points towards the idea that rape myths ideals have circulated through numerous generations. I might have thought that with modern movements such as the feminist movement and the "Me too" movement, that younger generations would have been more aware of issues surrounding sexual assault or recognize the falsehoods presented in rape myths. As a result, I thought the test would have shown that the younger participants scored lower on their RMA. For future studies, more demographics should be studied in correlation to the RMA score. Finding that the more violent the pornography the higher the RMA score is substantial, but

diving deeper into what kind of people are more likely to watch this kind of pornography would bring even more clarity and understanding to the topic.

#### Works Cited

Allen, M., Emmers, T., Gebhardt, L. and Giery, A. (1995). Exposure to pornography and acceptance of rape myths. *Journal of Communication*, 45, 5–26.

Bergen, Kennedy, R., and Bogle, K. (2000). Exploring the connection between pornography and sexual violence. *Violence and Victims*, 15(3), 227–234.

Bieneck, S., & Krahe, B. (2010). Blaming the victim and exonerating the perpetrator in cases of rape and robbery: is there a double standard? *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 26(9), 1785-1797.

Black, M., Basile, K., Breiding, M., Smith, S., Walters, M., Merrick, M., and Stevens, M. (2011). The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS): 2010 summary report. *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control*.

Boeringer, S. (1994). Pornography and sexual aggression: associations of violent and nonviolent depictions with rape and rape proclivity. *Deviant Behavior*, 15(3), 289–304.

Bohner, G. (2006). Social norms and the likelihood of raping: Perceived rape myth acceptance of others affects men's rape proclivity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(3), 286–297.

Bowen, N.H. (1987). Pornography: research review and implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 65(7), 345–350.

Brosius, H., Weaver, J., & Staab, J. (1993). Exploring the social and sexual “reality” of contemporary pornography. *Journal of Sex Research*, 30(2), 161-170.

Burt, M. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38(2), 217-230.

Dworkin, A. (1985). Against the male flood: censorship, pornography, and equality. *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, 8, 1-19.

Garcia, L. T. (1984). Exposure to pornography and attitudes about women and rape: A correlational study. *Journal of Sex Research*, 22(3), 378-385.

Iconis, R. (2011). Rape myth acceptance in college students: A literature review. *Contemporary Issues in Education Research*, 1(2), 47–52.

Kebodeaux, C. (2017). Rape sentencing: we're all mad about brock turner, but now what? *The Kansas Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 27(1), 30-47.

MacKinnon, C. (1984). Not a moral issue. *Yale Law & Policy Review*, 2(2), 321-345.

- MacKinnon, C. (1985). Pornography, civil rights, and speech. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 20, 1-70.
- McMahon S., Farmer L. (2011). An updated measure for assessing subtle rape myths. *Social Work Research*, 35(2), 71–81.
- Michele, S., & Brown, J. (2011). Rape and Victim-Blaming: A Critical Examination of the Tendency to Blame Victims and Exonerate Perpetrators in Cases of Rape Brown. 75-87.
- National Sexual Violence Resource Center. (2015). Sexual assault in the United States. 1-3.
- Padgett, V. (1989). Pornography, erotica, and attitudes toward women: The effects of repeated exposure. *Journal of Sex Research*, 26(4), 479–491.
- Pager, D. (2009). *Marked: race, crime, and finding work in an era of mass incarceration*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.
- Payne, L., Lonsway, K., and Fitzgerald, L. (1999). Rape myth acceptance: Exploration of its structure and its measurement using the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 33(1), 27-68.
- Rennison, C. (2002). Rape and sexual assault: Reporting to police and medical attention. *U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics*.
- Sabina, C., Wolak J., & Finkelhor D. (2008). The nature and dynamics of internet pornography exposure for youth. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 11(6) 691- 693.