

THE INFLUENCE OF MISOGYNOUS RAP MUSIC ON SEXUAL AGGRESSION AGAINST WOMEN

Christy Barongan and Gordon C. Nagayama Hall
Kent State University

The purpose of this study was to determine the effects of cognitive distortions concerning women on sexually aggressive behavior in the laboratory. Twenty-seven men listened to misogynous rap music and 27 men listened to neutral rap music. Participants then viewed neutral, sexual-violent, and assaultive film vignettes and chose one of the vignettes to show to a female confederate. Among the participants in the misogynous music condition, 30% showed the assaultive vignette and 70% showed the neutral vignette. In the neutral condition, 7% showed the sexual-violent or assaultive vignette and 93% showed the neutral vignette. Participants who showed the sexual-violent or assaultive stimuli reported that the confederate was more upset and uncomfortable in viewing these stimuli than did participants who showed the neutral vignette. These findings suggest that misogynous music facilitates sexually aggressive behavior and support the relationship between cognitive distortions and sexual aggression.

Misogynous messages are common in the media. Such messages are particularly common in pornography, which may contribute to negative attitudes and behaviors toward women (Brownmiller, 1975). Pornography has been defined in numerous ways, ranging from sexually explicit materials to any materials that encourage sexually abusive and degrading treatment of women (Mayerson & Taylor, 1987). The subject of such pornographic materials often involves the domination and objectification of women. Often women are depicted as being useful solely for the purpose

This work is based on a master's thesis conducted by Christy Barongan under the direction of Gordon C. Nagayama Hall. We thank Mike Foster for helping conduct the experiment.

Address correspondence and reprint requests to: Gordon C. Nagayama Hall, Department of Psychology, Kent State University, Kent, OH 44242-0001.

of men's sexual gratification, which can involve both rape and violence. Pornography often portrays violence against women as being justified, positive, and sexually liberating (Linz, 1989).

Pornographic and other misogynous media depictions may lead some men to believe that their own sexual aggression against women is justified (Hall & Hirschman, 1991). Because the media often portray rape as being enjoyable to the victim, some men may not view their sexually aggressive behavior as offensive or harmful to the victim. Moreover, because misogynous media depictions are relatively common, some men may infer that sexually aggressive behavior is sanctioned by society and is not deviant (Hall & Hirschman, 1991). Such cognitive distortions concerning sexually aggressive behavior are particularly relevant in situations of acquaintance rape, which often occurs in college populations and may be the most common form of sexual aggression (Koss, 1985; Yegidis, 1986; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987).

Russell (1993) offers a causal model that describes the way in which pornography can induce men to rape women. According to this theory, pornography can (a) make some men who may not have initially wished to do so want to rape women, as well as intensify a predisposition to rape women; (b) undermine some men's internal inhibitions against actually raping a woman, and (c) undermine some men's external or social inhibitions against actually raping a woman (p. 126).

Empirical research suggests that pornography can have a negative impact on men's attitudes and behavior toward women. Sommers and Check (1987) found that partners of battered women read or viewed more pornographic materials than did partners of nonabused women. Also, a significantly greater percentage of battered women than nonabused women reported that their partner had upset them in the past by trying to get them to do what their partners had seen in pornographic pictures, movies, or books. Marshall (1988) found that rapists and nonincestual child molesters used sexually explicit materials (magazines, films, videotapes) more often than did incest offenders or nonoffender controls. Rapists and child molesters also reported using these materials frequently while preparing to commit an offense. However, both of these studies were correlational and do not demonstrate that pornography causes aggression.

Pornography has been found to lead to negative attitudes toward women in studies in which exposure to pornographic materials was manipulated. Men who are exposed to films portraying positive effects of sexual aggression show an increased acceptance of interpersonal violence against women, such as sexual aggression and wife battering (Malamuth & Briere, 1986). Even when participants are exposed to nonviolent pornography, they report less support for the women's movement and more sexual callousness toward women than those who are not exposed to nonviolent pornography (Zillmann & Bryant, 1982).

Exposure to pornography has also been related to beliefs in rape myths.

Malamuth and Check (1985) found that men who read sexually explicit magazines were also more likely to believe that women enjoy forced sex than men who did not read such magazines. Depictions that suggest that rape results in the victim's arousal made this rape myth more believable, especially to men with higher inclinations to aggress against women. Thus, some men may be more affected by pornography than others, particularly those who are predisposed to aggression.

Although extensive research has been conducted on pornographic materials, such as movies and magazines, limited research has been conducted on music that may qualify as pornographic. Some musical lyrics express negative and sexist attitudes about women that are very similar to the messages found in pornographic movies and magazines, including the idea that coercive sexual activity is enjoyable for women. Although albums that contain such lyrics may display a warning that some of the lyrics may be offensive, these albums are commercially available to anyone. Pornographic movies and magazines, on the other hand, can only be purchased or viewed by those who are at least 18 years of age. The difference in the availability of these types of materials suggests that pornographic music is not considered detrimental in fostering negative attitudes and behavior toward women.

There is some evidence to suggest that viewing rock videos has the same effect as viewing pornography in that men who were shown violent rock videos expressed more calloused and antagonistic attitudes toward women than did men who were shown nonviolent rock videos (Peterson & Pfof, 1989). Lawrence and Joyner (1991) found that exposure to heavy-metal rock music, irrespective of lyrical content, increased men's sex-role stereotyping and negative attitudes toward women. However, one limitation of this study is that the lyrics in the heavy-metal rock music were difficult to discern.

To our knowledge, there have been no previous studies of the lyrical content of rap music, although this type of music is gaining considerable popularity. Unlike heavy-metal or rock music in which the lyrics may not be emphasized, rap music is unique in that the lyrics are the focus of attention. Thus, it is possible that the content of rap music may play a more important role in influencing its listeners than other forms of contemporary music. Men and women alike may begin to accept the negative messages these songs present concerning women's lack of worth.

The previously reviewed studies on pornography have relied on self-report measures. However, self-report of past or potential sexually aggressive behavior is not necessarily predictive of an individual's behavior in any particular context, and self-report does not allow the direct observation of aggressive behavior (Hall & Hirschman, 1993). Laboratory paradigms are an alternative method of assessment that allow direct observation of aggressive behavior.

Laboratory paradigms of physical aggression have been adapted for the

study of sexual aggression by examining men's willingness to aggress against women. Aggression in the form of laboratory shock against a woman modeled by a male confederate has been shown to increase men's administration of shock against a female confederate (Donnerstein & Hallam, 1978). Attitudinal acceptance of violence toward women has been consistently associated with men's laboratory punishment of women (Malamuth, 1983, 1988; Malamuth & Geniti, 1986). Sexist attitudes in general (e.g., women should be subservient to men) were associated with laboratory aggression against women in one study (Malamuth, 1988), but not in another (Donnerstein & Hallam, 1978). Exposure to sexually explicit films also has not generally affected laboratory aggression against women (Donnerstein & Hallam, 1978; Malamuth & Geniti, 1986). Sexually explicit films, however, do appear to facilitate more laboratory aggression against women when angered participants are provided with repeated opportunities to be aggressive (Donnerstein & Hallam, 1978) or when women are depicted as enjoying pornography (Leonard & Taylor, 1983). Violent pornography, however, appears to facilitate laboratory aggression against women even when men are not angered (Donnerstein, 1990; Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981). Although the delivery of shock or another aversive stimulus to a subject may constitute an analogue of physical aggression, it may not be analogous to sexual aggression (Hall & Hirschman, 1993; Hall & Hirschman, 1994; Hall, Hirschman, & Oliver, 1994).

This study attempts to determine whether or not listening to misogynous rap music has negative consequences for women by using the laboratory analogue of sexual aggression developed by Hall and Hirschman (1993). Because most forms of sexual aggression involve acts in which the men are the perpetrators and the women are the victims, this study focuses solely on the effects of misogynous rap music on men. The definition of sexual aggression used in this study is similar to the definition used by Hall and Hirschman (1993). In their definition, sexual aggression is defined broadly, ranging from sexually impositional acts such as telling a sexually oriented joke to someone who finds such jokes offensive, to extreme forms of sexual aggression like rape. Although the sexual aggression that one would expect in the current study would fall at the mild range of the continuum, it is nevertheless an important aspect of sexual aggression because of its negative impact on women. In this study, it is predicted that men who are exposed to misogynous rap music will be more likely to show a woman a misogynous vignette that involves either physical aggression or rape than men who are exposed to neutral rap music. The act of showing such a misogynous vignette is considered to be an act of sexual imposition, both because of the content of the stimulus and because participants who show such misogynous vignettes perceive the women as being upset and uncomfortable with the vignettes (Hall & Hirschman, 1994).

METHOD

Participants

Fifty-four college men volunteered to participate in this experiment as part of a course requirement for general psychology. Recruitment of participants was based on a voluntary sign-up sheet that contained a brief description of the study. Participants who chose to participate were randomly assigned to control or misogynous music conditions. Twenty-seven participants in the control condition were exposed to neutral rap music and 27 participants were exposed to misogynous rap music. Of the 54 participants, 6 were African American, and 2 were Asian American.

Procedure

A female graduate student was the experimenter for 34 participants. Eighteen participants were in the misogynous music condition, and 16 participants were in the neutral music condition. A male graduate student was the experimenter for 20 participants. Nine participants were in the misogynous music condition and 11 participants were in the control condition. The use of the male and female experimenters was not counterbalanced with the experimental conditions. Participants were told that the purpose of the experiment was to determine their attitudes toward themes in the media and that the experiment involved listening to music and watching video clips. They were informed that they would be viewing materials that contained sexually explicit and violent subject matter that might be arousing or upsetting. Participants were assured of anonymity and given an opportunity to withdraw from the experiment at any time without penalty. All participants agreed to participate.

Participants first listened to four rap songs that they rated on a 5-point Likert Scale (1 = *strongly dislike*, 2 = *dislike*, 3 = *neutral*, 4 = *like*, 5 = *strongly like*). The ratings served to ensure that participants listened to each song. In the control condition the four songs were: (a) "Brothers Gonna Work It Out"—Public Enemy; (b) "The Nation's Anthem"—Poor Righteous Teachers; (c) "Pure Poverty"—Poor Righteous Teachers; and (d) "Nightrain"—Public Enemy. The rap songs in this group contained no references to sex or violence and were primarily concerned with the problems of social injustice facing African Americans in America. Examples of lyrics from these songs are: "Each and every day . . . I'm gonna show and prove and teach the righteous way. The knowledge is the foundation, the wisdom is the way." The total time for the neutral rap songs was 17:02 min.

In the misogynous condition, participants listened to four rap songs that

contained frequent references to both sex and violence. These songs often referred to women as "bitches" and "hoes" and suggested that women enjoy coercive sex. The songs in this group were: (a) "Mo' Pussy"—DJ Quik; (b) "Just Ain't Me"—2nd II None; (c) "One Less Bitch"—NWA; and (d) "She Swallowed It"—NWA. Examples of lyrics from these songs are: "I can't take no for an answer baby, it just ain't me", ". . . ho's like you, you only come a dime a dozen," and "the bitch tried to gank me so I had to kill her . . . loaded up the .44 . . . and smoked the ho." The total time for the misogynous rap songs was 16:30 min.

After listening to the rap music, participants were shown three 2 min vignettes from the film *I Split On Your Grave*. The neutral vignette involved a neutral conversation between a man and a woman (neutral stimulus). The sexual-violent vignette consisted of a man who rips off a woman's clothes and rapes the woman with the help of several other men (sexual-violent stimulus). The assaultive vignette consists of a man physically aggressing against a seminude woman (e.g., hitting, shoving, throwing furniture at her) and calling her names (e.g., bitch) while other men watch (assaultive stimulus).

After they viewed all three vignettes, participants chose one of the vignettes that they would like to show to one of two undergraduate women who volunteered to serve as confederates. Participants were told that the confederate was another female student participating in the experiment. The confederate then entered the room, and the participants showed her their chosen film vignette. Participants were required to show the vignette to the confederate in order to examine their actual film-showing behavior rather than their self-report of what they would do in this situation.

The confederates had been instructed not to react to the film vignettes shown to them. Before participating in the study, confederates were given the opportunity to view the vignettes before deciding whether or not they wanted to participate in the experiment. Repeated efforts were also made by the authors to ensure that the confederates felt comfortable viewing the vignettes by asking them if they were comfortable playing the role of the confederate and by giving them the opportunity to discontinue the study if they were not comfortable. No confederate chose to withdraw from the experiment.

This measure of sexual aggression has been demonstrated to have internal validity in that men who showed the sexual-violent or assaultive vignette believed that the woman who viewed the vignette was more upset and uncomfortable with their selection (Hall & Hirschman, 1994). This finding supports the idea that showing a woman one of the sexually aggressive vignettes is a sexually impositional or sexually aggressive act. Also, men who admitted to "real life" sexually aggressive acts were more likely to show either the sexual-violent or the assaultive vignette than men who denied being sexually coercive, which is evidence of external validity for this film-showing procedure (Hall & Hirschman, 1994).

After participants had shown the film vignette, the experimenter reentered the room and had participants complete questionnaires on the music and video clips that they had watched. The music questionnaire consisted of a 5-point Likert scale that assessed how discomforting the music was (1 = *very uncomfortable* to 5 = *very comfortable*), open-ended questions regarding how often participants had listened to similar music in the past, and the theme of the music to determine the subjects' comprehension of the lyrics. The video questionnaire consisted of a 5-point Likert scale that assessed how participants perceived the other student's (confederate's) reaction to the clip they chose (1 = *extremely upset* to 5 = *extremely happy*) and how comfortable they thought the other student was (1 = *extremely uncomfortable* to 5 = *extremely comfortable*) in viewing the clip they selected. Participants also described in writing why they chose a particular film clip.

At the end of the study, the experimenter gave participants a copy of the Check and Malamuth (1984) debriefing statement, which has had an educational impact upon participants' attitudes toward rape in studies employing pornographic rape depictions (Check & Malamuth, 1984). Participants were also asked to attend a delayed debriefing at the end of the semester, at which time they would be told that the other student was a confederate working for the experimenter. Participants were not told, however, that showing the sexual-violent and assaultive vignettes were considered a sexually impositional act because such an explanation would have implied that those who chose one of those vignettes were in engaging in a socially undesirable behavior.

RESULTS

A chi-square analysis revealed no significant differences in film showing between the participants who had the female experimenter versus the male experimenter, $\chi(1) = .26$, ($p = .61$). This finding indicates that the gender of the experimenter did not contribute significantly to which vignette participants' chose to show to the confederate.

There was no significant difference in liking of the music between participants who chose to show the misogynous ($M = 2.7$, $SD = 1.34$) versus the neutral vignette ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.11$), $t(51) = .17$, $p = .87$. This finding indicates that how much participants' liked the music did not significantly contribute to which vignette they showed to the confederate.

Of the participants in the misogynous music condition, 23 indicated that the music contained references to sex, and 4 indicated the music contained references to both sex and violence. Of the participants in the neutral music condition, 23 of the 27 correctly identified the theme of the music. The remaining 4 participants identified the neutral music as having references to sex and/or violence.

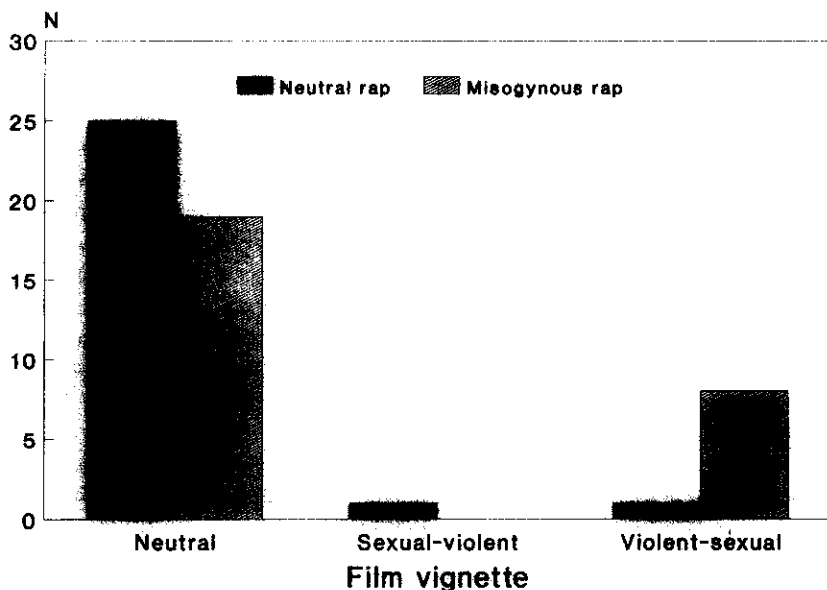


FIGURE 1. Film vignette showing as a function of music condition.

Overall, 19% of all men showed a sexual-violent or assaultive film vignette to a woman. The frequency of film vignette showing as a function of music condition is presented in Figure 1. The percentage of participants in the misogynous music condition who showed the assaultive vignette (30%) was significantly greater than the percentage of participants in the neutral music condition who showed either the sexual-violent or assaultive vignettes (7%), $\chi(1) = 4.42$, ($p < .05$). Of the four participants who thought the misogynous music contained both sex and violence, two showed the neutral vignette and two showed the assaultive vignette. The four participants who misidentified the neutral music as having references to sex and/or violence all showed the neutral vignette.

The participants who showed the sexual-violent or assaultive vignettes reported that the confederate was significantly more upset by the vignette ($M = 2.10$, $SD = 0.74$) than did those participants who showed the neutral vignette ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 0.45$), $t(52) = 6.54$, $p < .0005$. Participants who showed the sexual-violent or assaultive vignettes also reported that the confederate was significantly less comfortable in viewing the vignette ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 0.92$) than did participants who showed the neutral vignette ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 1.04$), $t(52) = 4.53$, $p < .0005$.

Among the participants who showed the sexual-violent or assaultive vignettes, four chose the vignette because it contained sex and/or violence, three stated that the first vignette was too boring and the second vignette was too upsetting to show, and one chose the vignette because they wanted

to see the other subject's reaction. One subject in the neutral music condition and one subject in the misogynous music condition stated that they chose the violent-sexual vignette because it was the only one in which the woman had a chance to fight back.

DISCUSSION

As hypothesized, a significantly greater proportion of men showed a sexually aggressive film vignette to a woman after hearing misogynous rap music than did men who heard neutral rap music. This finding suggests that misogynous music facilitates sexually aggressive behavior in the laboratory and lends support to the relationship between cognitive distortions and sexually aggressive behavior (Hall & Hirschman, 1991).

Despite the confederates' not reacting to either of the film vignettes, participants perceived the confederates who viewed either the assaultive or sexual-violent vignettes as more upset and uncomfortable than the confederates who viewed the neutral vignette. This finding is consistent with that of Hall and Hirschman (1994) and suggests that the assaultive and sexual-violent vignettes are considered by participants as harmful to the confederate. Thus, to the extent that the presentation of sexual-violent or assaultive material is perceived as harmful to the confederate, presentation of such material constitutes a sexually aggressive act. Participants offered various reasons for showing the sexual-violent or assaultive vignettes to the confederate that were not necessarily aggressive (e.g., personal preference, to see the confederate's reaction, the woman in the vignette had a chance to fight back), but by showing the vignettes, these participants disregarded their own perceptions that the sexual-violent and assaultive vignettes were harmful to the confederate.

One interpretation rivaling the previous one is that the confederates did actually appear more upset and uncomfortable viewing the sexual-violent and assaultive vignettes, and consequently, the participants were rating the response of the confederate correctly. Although this possibility cannot be ruled out completely because the responses of the confederates were not taped and rated independently, confederates were given explicit instructions not to respond to any of the videos, and experimenters observed the confederate and participant through a one-way mirror.

Another rival interpretation is that participants who showed a sexual-violent or assaultive vignette may not have intended to upset the confederate, even though they believed afterwards that their choice was upsetting to the confederate. Hall and Hirschman (1993) argued, however, that the negative consequences of the behavior to the recipient is what makes showing such a vignette a sexually imposing act rather than the intention of the participant per se. They also pointed out that perpetrators of sexual aggression often claim an innocent intent (e.g., raping a woman will be

good for her) or believe that their behavior is a function of extrinsic factors (e.g., most people are not offended by a sexually oriented joke; Hall & Hirschman, 1994).

This study is an improvement over previous research because the content of the lyrics was discernible. Only a minority of the participants misidentified the theme of the music in the neutral music condition, and all participants correctly identified the theme of the music in the misogynous music condition. The fact that all the participants did not correctly identify the theme of the music still remains a problem, however. Those participants who misidentified the neutral rap music as involving either sex or violence may have not been listening to the lyrics, may not have understood the lyrics, and/or may have assumed that all rap music involves references to either sex or violence. Nevertheless, most of the participants could understand the lyrics; thus, it appears that the difference in sexually aggressive behavior between music conditions was a function of the content of the lyrics.

The current results suggest that misogynous rap music had a priming effect on the participants' film-showing behavior, perhaps because the assaultive film was an audiovisual representation of the misogynous rap lyrics. It appears that the presentation of misogynous rap music conveyed the cognitive distortion that violence toward women is acceptable in that it is being portrayed as acceptable in the media. Moreover, because misogynous rap music is not restricted as other pornographic materials are, it is more readily available to a wider audience, and the availability of rap music may make the cognitive distortions conveyed in the lyrics more acceptable to its listeners. It does not appear that general arousal created by rap music was a major instigator of sexually aggressive behavior, in that only 2 of the 27 participants who listened to neutral rap music presented a sexual-violent or assaultive vignette to the confederate. Although it is possible that the misogynous music evoked anger toward women, it is unlikely that participants highly susceptible to anger provocation would be represented in a college population in which self-control and conformity are highly valued (Hall & Hirschman, 1991; Sears, 1986). Another possible motivational mechanism could be sexual arousal elicited by the misogynous rap music. However, high levels of sexual arousal in response to violence toward women is uncommon among college students (Malamuth, 1986) and even among many convicted rapists (Hall, 1989). Nevertheless, the motivational mechanisms in the influence of misogynous rap music on laboratory sexual aggression toward women warrant additional investigation.

An unexpected finding in this study was that all the participants in the misogynous music condition who showed a sexually aggressive vignette chose the assaultive vignette. One possible explanation is that the participants believed that choosing the assaultive vignette was more socially de-

sirable than choosing the sexual-violent vignette because media portrayals of violence are more common than portrayals of rape. Hall and Hirschman (1994) found that 50% of the participants who showed the assaultive vignette did so because they believed that this vignette was less upsetting or offensive than the sexual-violent vignette. However, only one third of the current participants who chose to show the assaultive vignette considered the sexual-violent vignette too upsetting to show. Another possible explanation is that participants who listened to the misogynous music may have perceived it to be more degrading toward women than sexually violent. Therefore, the misogynous music may have aroused more aggressive motives in these men than sexually aggressive motives *per se*, and the assaultive vignette was chosen because it corresponded more closely to the misogynous music than did the sexual-violent vignette.

A potential criticism of this study is its use of a college sample. However, a college sample is appropriate because the most common forms of sexual aggression occur in college populations (Koss et al., 1987), and college students may be particularly susceptible to cognitive distortions concerning sexually aggressive behavior (Hall & Hirschman, 1991). Nevertheless, a larger sample of younger, less educated participants may be of interest because the content of the lyrics may be even more influential for these persons. Adolescent participants may be of particular interest because they are more likely to perceive rap artists as role models, and consequently, they may be more likely to believe the artists' messages concerning women. Russell (1993) argued that children may be more susceptible to imitating the acts suggested in pornography than are adults, which lends further support to the importance of examining the effects of misogynous rap music on a younger population.

Another limitation of this study is that it only examined the negative consequences of misogynous rap music on men. It is also likely that there are negative consequences for women. Perhaps women who are exposed to misogynous rap music are more likely to have a lower self-image or lower self-esteem than women who are not exposed to such music. Russell (1993) argued that one of the negative consequences of pornography is that it makes women more vulnerable to sexual assault because women exposed to such materials are more likely to believe that such acts are normative and are more likely to feel obligated to perform such acts.

Another potential criticism is that sexually aggressive vignette showing could be explained by an overrepresentation in the misogynous music condition of men who were predisposed to aggressive behavior. However, participants in this study were randomly assigned to music conditions. In a study in which men were preselected for sexually aggressive behavior, Hall and Hirschman (1994) found that 52% of highly sexually coercive men showed a sexually aggressive vignette, whereas only 7.7% of men who were not sexually coercive showed a sexually aggressive vignette. In

the current study, the percentage of men who showed a sexually aggressive vignette lies between these two figures (19%), which suggests that the current results were not a function of sampling error.

It is unknown if the sexually aggressive behavior investigated in the current experiment is predictive of sexually aggressive behavior outside the laboratory context. In a sample of men selected for extreme levels of sexually coercive and noncoercive behavior in "real-life" settings, 90% of the men who showed the sexual-violent or assaultive vignettes had been sexually aggressive in real-life settings (Hall & Hirschman, 1994). The predictive validity of this laboratory paradigm remains to be investigated. However, the purpose of the current study was to investigate basic motivational processes in sexually aggressive behavior, and the current results suggest that cognitive distortions concerning women facilitate men's sexual aggression toward women. These results also suggest that the potential detrimental effect that musical lyrics can have on men's behavior toward women needs to be taken more seriously than in the past.

Although this study contributes significantly to our understanding of the way in which misogynous rap music can affect men's behavior, many questions remain unanswered. Other variables such as the frequency of exposure to misogynous rap music, predisposition to be aggressive, and attitudes concerning violence against women may play an important role in contributing to the negative effects of misogynous rap music. Furthermore, more research on the validity of the laboratory analogue to sexual aggression used in this study is needed. For example, would men be equally likely to show an assaultive or sexual-violent vignette to another man? If so, would they believe that showing such a vignette would be equally upsetting to a male confederate? Also, would participants rate other offensive scenes that are not necessarily sexual or aggressive as being upsetting to the confederate? Studies that examine these questions could potentially lend greater support to the idea that this laboratory analogue is, indeed, analogous to sexual aggression.

First draft received: April 25, 1994

Final draft received: November 4, 1994

REFERENCES

- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, and rape*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Check, J. V. P., & Malamuth, N. M. (1984). Can there be positive effects of participation in pornography experiments? *Journal of Sex Research, 20*, 14-31.
- Donnerstein, E. (1980). Aggressive erotica and violence against women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 39*, 269-277.
- Donnerstein, E., & Berkowitz, L. (1981). Victim reactions in aggressive erotic films as a factor in violence against women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 41*, 710-724.
- Donnerstein, E., & Hallam, J. (1978). Facilitating effects of erotica on aggression against women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36*, 1270-1277.
- Hall, G. C. N. (1989). Sexual arousal and arousability in a sexual offender population. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 98*, 145-149.

- Hall, G. C. N., & Hirschman, R. (1991). Toward a theory of sexual aggression: A quadripartite model. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 59*, 662-669.
- Hall, G. C. N., & Hirschman, R. (1993). Use of a new laboratory methodology to conceptualize sexual aggression. In G. C. N. Hall, R. Hirschman, J. R. Graham, & M. S. Zaragoza (Eds.), *Sexual aggression: Issues in etiology, assessment, and treatment* (pp. 115-132). Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis.
- Hall, G. C. N., & Hirschman, R. (1994). The relationship between men's sexual aggression inside and outside the laboratory. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 62*, 375-380.
- Hall, G. C. N., Hirschman, R., & Oliver, L. L. (1994). Ignoring a woman's dislike of sexual material: Sexually impositional behavior in the laboratory. *Journal of Sex Research, 3*, 3-10.
- Koss, M. P. (1985). The hidden rape victim: Personality attitudes and situational characteristics. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9*, 193-212.
- Koss, M. P., Gidycz, C. A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55*, 162-170.
- Lawrence, J. S. S., & Joyner, D. J. (1991). The effects of sexually violent rock music on males' acceptance of violence against women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15*, 49-63.
- Leonard, K. E., & Taylor, S. P. (1983). Exposure to pornography, permissive and nonpermissive cues, and male aggression toward females. *Motivation and Emotion, 7*, 291-299.
- Linz, D. C. (1989). Exposure to sexually explicit materials and attitudes toward rape: A comparison of study results. *The Journal of Sex Research, 26*, 50-84.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1983). Factors associated with rape as predictors of laboratory aggression against women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45*, 432-442.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1986). Predictors of naturalistic sexual aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50*, 953-962.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1988). Predicting laboratory aggression against female and male targets: Implications for sexual aggression. *Journal of Research in Personality, 22*, 474-495.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Briere, J. (1986). Sexual violence in the media: Indirect effects on aggression against women. *Journal of Social Issues, 42*, 75-92.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Ceniti, J. (1986). Repeated exposure to violent and nonviolent pornography: Likelihood of raping ratings and laboratory aggression against women. *Aggressive Behavior, 12*, 129-137.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1985). The effects of aggressive pornography on beliefs in rape myths: Individual differences. *Journal of Research in Personality, 19*, 299-320.
- Marshall, W. L. (1988). The use of sexually explicit stimuli by rapists, child molesters, and nonoffenders. *Journal of Sex Research, 25*, 267-288.
- Mayerson, S. E., & Taylor, D. A. (1987). The effects of rape myth pornography on women's attitudes and the mediating role of sex role stereotyping. *Sex Roles, 17*, 321-338.
- Peterson, D. L., & Pfost, K. S. (1989). Influence of rock videos on attitudes of violence against women. *Psychological Reports, 64*, 319-322.
- Russell, D. E. H. (1993). Pornography and rape: A causal model. In D. E. H. Russell (Ed.), *Making violence sexy: Feminist views on pornography* (pp. 120-150). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Sears, D. O. (1986). College sophomores in the laboratory: Influences of a narrow data base on social psychology's view of human nature. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*, 515-530.
- Sommers, E. K., & Check, J. V. (1987). An empirical investigation of the role of pornography in the verbal and physical abuse of women. *Violence and Victims, 2*, 189-209.
- Yegidis, B. L. (1986). Date rape and other forced sexual encounters among college students. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 12*, 51-54.
- Zillmann, D., & Bryant, J. (1982). Pornography, sexual callousness, and the trivialization of rape. *Journal of Communication, 32*, 10-21.

