

FEMINIST ATTITUDES TOWARD PORNOGRAPHY CONTROL

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Feminist attitudes toward legislative control of pornography were investigated. A sample of 119 recipients of the National Organization of Women Newsletter in a Southern California community responded to a questionnaire assessing variables expected to be related to pornography control: demographic variables, and attitudes toward pornography, censorship, free speech, and the harm of pornography. Values were related to attitude toward pornography control, especially the prioritizing of responsibility versus freedom. Attitudes toward pornography were also significant predictors; however, beliefs about importance of protecting free speech and the harm of pornography were the strongest predictors, with the protection of free speech making the largest contribution. In understanding "mainstream" feminists' attitudes toward pornography control, the most important variables appear to be those that assess the consequences of pornography.

The issue of pornography has generated considerable controversy among feminists. Despite the common concern expressed by many feminists regarding violent and degrading pornography, the problem of pornography control has resulted in a deep and often emotionally charged difference of opinion. This study investigated the bases for differences among feminists in attitudes toward legislative control of pornography.

Feminists have been confronted with two opposing positions. The first position is that taken by the Feminist Anticensorship Taskforce (FACT), holding that censorship of pornography will endanger women's rights and freedom (Tong, 1987). The second is the pro-ordinance civil rights violation position led by Dworkin and MacKinnon (1988), who propose that

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pornography silences women, renders them powerless, and promotes inequality and violence against women.

From a free speech perspective, the consequences of censorship are more serious than the effects of pornography, inviting troubling alliances with reactionary and repressive movements. From a harm perspective, attitudes toward pornography control are based on the belief that pornography is harmful to viewers and targets of viewers, particularly women. Harm may be broadly defined as contributing to inequality and subordination of women or, more narrowly, in terms of pornography's effect on violence against women. Liberal feminists are most closely aligned with the free speech perspective. As civil libertarians, liberal feminists want women to have equal rights, and these rights and privileges are seen most centrally located in the public arena (Sapiro, 1990). Additionally, liberal feminists do not believe that banning pornography would eradicate violence against women. To radical feminists, sexuality and sexual violence are at the core of feminism, with rape and other violence against women the mechanisms used to oppress women (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; MacKinnon, 1982; Morgan, 1978). The issue for radical feminists is not gender differences in opportunity but the use of women to serve men's interests. Radical feminists view pornography as an extremely important means of enforcing men's control of women and their bodies and sustaining domination of women (Diamond, 1980).

During the 1980s, an "anti-antiporn" group emerged (Russo, 1987), including such writers as Willis (1983) and Vance (1984). They argued that patriarchal culture represses women's sexual expression, and pornography liberates women. From this position, traditional ideology of female sexuality as monogamous, romantic, and tied to procreation is challenged by pornography, and antipornography feminists are viewed as reinforcing "good girl" female sexuality. The movement against pornography is seen as restrictive to women and as distorting sexual pleasure into fear of sexual danger (Vance, 1984). Ellis (1984) labeled the antipornography movement as "essentialist," attributing to the antipornography feminists the belief that female sexuality is purer, naturally superior, and essentially different from male sexuality.

Antiporn feminists have responded to the civil libertarians and the "prosex" group, linking them (especially the American Civil Liberties Union) with pornographers (Leidholdt, 1990). Thus, the traditional alliance between liberalism and feminism is strained when liberalism is equated with freedom to construct a sexuality that oppresses women.

We are interested in understanding the sources of attitudes toward pornography control. At least for feminists, for whom the issue of conservative morality is not primary, the pornography control issue pits important values against each other—free speech vs. harm. Gilligan's (1982) model of moral reasoning is helpful in understanding the split among feminists. Gilligan suggested that moral decisions emerge from two perspectives, one

based on rights to noninterference and freedom (justice) and the other based on responsibility and caring (care). The ethic of care "rests on the premise of non-violence—that no one should be hurt" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 174), and the ethic of rights is based on an abstract system of general principles. Hence, the liberal feminist should be most concerned about the importance of protecting everyone's right to free speech, one aspect of the abstract and superordinate value of the pursuit of freedom and personal liberty. In contrast, the antipornography movement among feminists is built on a morality of caring and responsibility (Katzenstein & Laitkin, 1987). The appeal of the antipornography movement is based on the moral assumption that care and responsibility are violated when sexual relationships are violent and when women are hurt.

Using an intensive interview format, Cowan, Chase, and Stahly (1989) investigated attitudes toward pornography control among feminist and fundamentalist women. Fifteen fundamentalists, 9 anticontrol feminists, and 20 procontrol feminists were interviewed. All respondents felt extremely negative toward pornography, and most believed that pornography causes violence against women; however, anticontrol feminists feared that censorship of pornography would lead to restriction of other basic rights. Though the procontrol feminists were concerned about censorship, they expressed greater concern about the harm done by pornography. When the sample was asked to prioritize individual rights and freedom versus responsibility to the welfare of others, procontrol feminists chose responsibility over freedom, and anticontrol feminists chose freedom over responsibility. Procontrol feminists appeared to use a responsibility and care model in deciding whether they believe in legal control of pornography, whereas anticontrol feminists used the rights and freedom from interference orientation. Ranking of other values was also consistent with Gilligan's model.

A subsequent study (Cowan & Stahly, in press) using an extensive questionnaire examined predictors of attitudes toward pornography control in a sample of 339 college students in Southern California. Although demographic indicators and broad sets of values were related to attitudes toward pornography control, attitudes toward pornography itself predicted control attitudes to a greater extent. Further, attitudes related to the issues of harm and free speech predicted control attitudes more strongly than did feelings and attitudes toward pornography itself. The perceived consequences of pornography control appeared to be key issues in understanding attitudes toward control. Those who favored legislative control regarded pornography as harmful to women and were not as concerned about the implications of censorship. Similar to the interview study (Cowan et al., 1989), those who prioritized responsibility over freedom and individual rights were more likely to favor control of pornography. Some of the values related to pornography control reflected conventional religious morality. Respondents who valued family security and salvation

highly, as well as those who labeled themselves fundamentalist and religious, were in favor of control.

The present study used the same questionnaire developed for the student sample to examine attitudes toward pornography control among a larger sample of feminists and used the same predictors: (a) demographic or status variables, (b) general and abstract values, including the prioritizing of rights versus responsibility, (c) definitions of, attitudes toward, and exposure to pornography, and (d) the perceived consequences of pornography control. Each set of variables may be considered levels of analyses, ranging from the more sociological status variables to basic and abstract values and attitudes, specific attitudes and experience with pornography itself, and perceived consequences of controlling or not controlling pornography.

Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) developed a model of behavioral prediction that may be useful in predicting feminist attitudes toward pornography control. Their theory of reasoned action suggests that people's behavioral intentions and behaviors are based on their attitudes towards the behavior, especially the perceived consequences of the behavior, and not on attitudes towards the attitude object. Thus, because the harm of pornography and the costs of censorship are the consequences of controlling or not controlling pornography (a behavior), attitudes toward harm and censorship should be more related to attitudes toward control than to attitudes toward pornography itself. Liberal feminists may be negative toward pornography, but if the behavior of controlling it is seen as more costly to women than not controlling it, their attitude toward pornography may be irrelevant.

Another point Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) made regarding the prediction of behavior is that the predictor should be at the same level of generality as the behavior. Because the attitude predicted in the present study is quite specific—attitude toward legislative control of pornography—more distal, inference-based, or general factors should not be as predictive as predictors centered on pornography and on pornography control. On this basis, we expected demographic factors to be least related to pornography control, followed by general and abstract attitudes and values, attitudes and exposure to pornography, and attitudes towards the consequences of controlling pornography. Because most National Organization of Women (NOW) respondents are probably liberal feminists, we expected attitude toward legislative control to be more related to free speech and censorship attitudes than harm attitudes. We did not expect the "prosex" feminist position to get much support, especially with respect to violent and/or degrading pornography.

Using Gilligan's model of moral reasoning, we predicted that procontrol feminists would choose responsibility before rights or freedom, whereas anticontrol feminists would choose freedom over responsibility. We also

explored whether liberal feminists would view pornography as a moral issue, as do conservatives, and the relations between attitude toward pornography control and pornography, pornography control, and free speech as moral issues.

METHOD

Respondents

We sampled the readership of the NOW Newsletter in a small community in Southern California. Feminists were solicited by enclosing the questionnaire and a stamped envelope in the monthly Southern California local chapter NOW Newsletter with a paragraph requesting volunteers. The questionnaire was mailed to 330 people and 119 returned usable forms. The mean score on the Attitude Toward Women Scale (AWS) (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) was highly profeminist, 41.75 ($SD = 3.06$) on a scale of 45 possible points, and the mode was 45. The sample consisted of 110 women and 9 men, with an average age of 47 ($SD = 15.28$). Their family income averaged between categories of \$20,000–\$30,000 and \$30,000–\$45,000. This sample was highly educated; only 6% had a high school diploma or less, and 47% had advanced degrees. Only 8 of the 119 respondents were nonwhite. This sample was not politically radical; 10% labeled themselves as far left, 64% as liberal, and 22% as moderate, with no conservatives. Concerning religious affiliation, 46% were Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish and 41% were "other." Twenty-eight percent were single and the remainder married, divorced, separated, or widowed.

Measures

The research instrument was a nine-page questionnaire that began with a paragraph that indicated the researchers' interest in understanding attitudes toward pornography and pornography control as a social issue generating substantial conflict.

Demographic variables. The first section included demographic questions regarding age, religiosity, personal and family income, gender, and marital status.

General attitudes and values. General attitudes and values were also included in the first section of the questionnaire. Political orientation was assessed with a 5-point single item, with responses ranging from "far left" to "far right." The 15-item AWS (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), a measure of profeminist attitudes, and the Rokeach Value Survey (Rokeach, 1973) were also included.¹ Finally a question pitting rights and responsibility

asked, "In general, which is more important to you: Individual rights and freedom (or) responsibility for the welfare of others?"

Attitudes toward pornography. The second section was labeled "Attitudes toward Pornography" and included six scales developed from a factor analysis of responses from a larger student sample (Cowan & Stahly, in press). Cronbach alphas for the pornography scales in the present sample ranged from .72 to .92. Six classes of possible pornography were defined for the respondents: (1) partial female nudity, (2) full female nudity, (3) male nudity, (4) nonviolent, noncoercive, nondegrading explicit sexual activity, (5) highly degrading or dehumanizing explicit sexual activity (e.g., sexual activity in which one partner is depicted as unequal and/or exploited; presented as an object to be used), and (6) violent sexually explicit activity such as rape, use of force, or threat of force. Respondents first indicated whether they consider each of the six categories to be pornography ("yes" or "no"), then their feelings about each ("extremely negative" to "extremely positive" on single-item 7-point scales), and last their extent of exposure to each ("never" to "a great deal—more than 20 times" on single-item 5-point scales). These three sets of ratings (definitions, feelings, and exposure) of six categories of pornography formed three scales: Definitions of Pornography, Feelings Toward Pornography, and Exposure to Pornography.

A fourth scale combined five items (on 5-point scales ranging from "not at all" to "a great deal") assessing the extent to which respondents thought the average man reads or views pornography, the extent to which the attitudes and behaviors of the average male are affected by pornography, and the extent to which the attitudes and behavior of men they know are affected by pornography (Effect on Men scale). The fifth scale, Portrayal of Women scale, combined two 5-point items measuring how often ("never" to "most of the time") pornography portrays women as sexual objects who enjoy pain, humiliation, and/or rape and how often pornography portrays women as degraded or depersonalized. The sixth scale contained two items summated to measure exposure to antipornography media material. Participants indicating any exposure to an antipornography presentation, such as *Killing Her Softly*, reading of antipornography material, or hearing a speaker present an antipornography position were scored as having been exposed to antipornography material, whereas participants who indicated no exposure to any of these media were scored as not exposed (0 vs. 1). A separate item measuring the extent ("not at all" to "a great deal" on a 5-point scale) to which respondents consider pornography a moral issue was examined.

For all the items subsequent to the definition, feelings, and exposure to different forms of pornography, we asked the respondent to use only degrading or sexually violent material as the definition of pornography. A definition was provided to prevent idiosyncratic definitions of pornog-

raphy and to limit their responses to degrading and violent sexually explicit material.

Attitudes toward pornography control. Before responding to the items on attitudes toward pornography control, respondents were introduced to the issue. The conflict between freedom and harm was explicitly drawn so as to provide a common context for the questions on control. The written introduction to these items was as follows:

People are divided on the issue of pornography. Some consider it a central issue connected with violence against women. They want to ban pornography on the grounds that it violates the civil rights of women by promoting violence against women, keeping them subordinate, and encourages discrimination against women. They feel pornography supports the myth that women enjoy and incite sexual violence. Others believe that the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech, press, and expression is most important to protect. They believe that as a free people it is impossible to censor speech we hate without imperiling the system of free expression in our society.

Three scales were derived from factor analysis of the student sample's attitudes toward pornography control. The Free Speech Scale consisted of four items concerned with pornography and the issue of free speech (e.g., "Prohibiting pornography is [not] a violation of the First Amendment guarantee to free speech") ($\alpha = .86$). The four-item Harm of Censorship Scale measured the harm to women of censorship, limiting progress toward equality, sexual freedom, and freedom to engage in alternative lifestyles ($\alpha = .76$). The Harm of Pornography Scale consisted of six items measuring pornography's harm to women, such as women's civil rights and encouragement of discrimination ($\alpha = .86$). Additional items that were not combined directly assessed agreement with the following statements: "The control of pornography is a moral issue" and "The protection of free speech is a moral issue." These items were retained separately, as was the one item measuring pornography as a moral issue, because they did not form a sufficiently reliable scale.

The primary dependent variable was one item with a 7-point response format ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree": "Laws should be passed to prohibit pornography."

RESULTS

Attitude toward legislative control of pornography was correlated with each predictor. Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations of the predictors and criterion.

Because the total number of predictors relative to number of respon-

Table 1
Scores for scales assessing attitudes toward
legislative control of pornography

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>No. Items</i>	<i>Scale Range</i>
Predictors				
Political Orientation	2.12	0.57	1	1-7
Feelings toward Porn	20.62	6.42	6	6-42
Definition of Porn	2.57	1.06	6	0-6
Exposure to Porn	19.13	5.56	6	6-42
Portrayal of Women	8.54	1.52	2	2-10
Effects on Men	14.78	4.05	5	5-25
Porn Moral Issue	3.49	1.36	1	1-5
Control Moral Issue	4.57	2.20	1	1-7
Free Speech Moral Issue	3.83	2.32	1	1-7
Freedom of Speech	15.10	7.61	4	4-28
Costs of Censorship	12.87	6.05	4	4-28
Harm of Pornography	26.76	6.47	6	6-42
Criterion				
Legal Control	4.17	2.21	1	1-7

dents was prohibitively large, regression equations in which variables were simultaneously added were run for each set of predictors and are presented separately. The significant predictors within each set of regression equations were put together in a final regression.

Demographic Predictors

Although only nine men were part of the feminist group, gender was related to attitude toward control with men less in favor of pornography control than women, $r = .17$, $p < .05$. Those with lower family incomes, $r = -.21$, $p < .05$, and single respondents, $r = -.16$, $p < .05$, were more in favor of legislative control of pornography. The regression equation using the demographic predictors was not significant.

Attitudes and Values

As might be expected given the restricted range of AWS scores, the AWS did not predict attitude toward control in this sample. On the forced-choice prioritization of freedom versus responsibility, 47% put freedom first, 44% put responsibility to others first, and 9% did not answer the question. A strong relation was found between prioritizing freedom and responsibility, and attitude toward legislative control, $r = .51$, $t(df = 103) = 5.99$, $p < .001$. Those who placed more importance on responsi-

bility to others scored higher ($M = 5.37$) on the control item than those who chose freedom first ($M = 3.37$). Those feminists who indicated they were more politically moderate (relatively less radical) wanted more legislative control of pornography, $r = .27, p < .01$.

A regression equation using the choice between freedom and responsibility (F vs. R), political orientation, and attitudes towards women as predictors of attitude toward legislative control was obtained, $r^2 = .30$, $F(2, 97) = 20.58, p < .000$, with F vs. R and political orientation both making significant independent contributions.

Attitudes Toward Pornography

Considerable unanimity was found regarding what the respondents considered to be pornographic. The following percentages of the sample defined each of the six types of material as pornographic: partial female nudity 8%, full female nudity and male nudity 13%, sexually explicit material 33%, degrading material 96%, and violent sexually explicit material 95%. This sample was extremely negative toward degrading and violent pornography; the average of the means of the two items was 1.36 on a 7-point scale (average $SD = 1.14$).

Attitude toward pornography control was related to the definitions of pornography, $r = .34, p < .001$; those that labeled more of these materials as pornographic more strongly agreed that pornography should be legislatively controlled. A procontrol attitude was positively related to negative feelings toward pornography, $r = .29, p < .001$; less exposure to a broad range of pornography, $r = -.20, p < .05$; pornography viewed as a moral issue, $r = .43, p < .001$; the belief that men use and are affected by pornography, $r = .22, p < .05$; the belief that pornography portrays women negatively, $r = .27, p < .01$; and exposure to anti-pornography material, $r = .21, p < .01$. Twenty-three percent had seen anti-pornography media presentations, and 55% had read anti-pornography material or had heard an anti-pornography speaker.

The regression equation using these seven variables measuring attitudes toward pornography was significant, $r^2 = .34$, $F(7, 89) = 6.66, p < .000$; the belief that pornography is a moral issue, the Definition of Pornography scale, and the Effects on Men scale were individually significant.

Attitudes Toward Freedom of Speech, Harm, and Censorship

Strong relations were found between attitude toward legislative control and Freedom of Speech, Costs of Censorship, and Harm of Pornography scales. Those more in favor of pornography control were less concerned about free speech, $r = -.75, p < .001$, and the costs of censorship to

women, $r = -.60$, $p < .001$, and more concerned about pornography's harm to women, $r = .52$, $p < .001$. An item measuring the morality of free speech was unrelated to the control attitude, $r = .13$; however, the belief that pornography control is a moral issue was related to the control attitude, $r = .37$, $p < .001$.

Regression analysis of the legislative control item using the Freedom of Speech, Costs of Censorship, and Harm of Pornography scales and the item regarding pornography control as a moral issue showed strong effects, $r^2 = .62$, $F(4, 102) = 41.46$, $p < .000$. The three scales—Freedom of Speech (part $r = .37$), Costs of Censorship (part $r = -.14$), and Harm of Pornography (part $r = .13$)—contributed unique variance. Stepwise regression showed significant r^2 increases with entry of both Costs of Censorship and of Harm of Pornography after Freedom of Speech.

Combined Predictors

The final variables emerging as significant from the separate regressions within sets were put into a hierarchical regression, entering general attitudes and values first (the choice between freedom and responsibility, political orientation, and the terminal values of salvation and happiness from the Rokeach Values Survey [1973]²); attitudes toward pornography second (Effect on Men, pornography as a moral issue, and Definition of Pornography); and attitudes toward pornography control scales last (Freedom of Speech, Costs of Censorship, and Harm of Pornography). Table 2 presents the results of this regression. R was significantly different from zero at the end of each step and after step 3, with all predictors in the equation, $r^2 = .67$, $F(10, 72) = 14.73$, $p < .001$. A stepwise regression using the same 10 variables resulted in Freedom of Speech, Harm of Pornography, and Definition of Pornography entering in that order.

DISCUSSION

Support was evident for the applicability of Gilligan's (1982) model to decisions regarding pornography control. Those feminists who prioritized responsibility for the welfare of others over freedom and individual rights were more likely to favor pornography control. Gilligan suggested that responsibility and freedom bases of moral reasoning are gender differentiated. In this sample of mostly women, both priorities existed, and the choice was related to attitude toward control. Participants themselves were not strongly inclined to label pornography, pornography control, and free speech as moral issues. This may be because feminists view pornography and free speech more as political than moral issues. Morality has been associated with the conservative position regarding pornography, and many feminists consequently may avoid conceptualizing pornography

Table 2

Hierarchical regression of sets of attitude predictors
on attitudes toward legal control of pornography

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²
General attitudes and values				.608	.369
Freedom vs. responsibility	.43	4.56	.001		
Political orientation	.17	1.74	.086		
Salvation value	-.23	-2.37	.020		
Happiness value	-.21	-2.27	.026		
$F_{inc} = 11.43, p < .001$					
Attitudes toward pornography				.694	.481
Effect on Men scale	.18	2.03	.046		
Pornography as a moral issue	.25	2.73	.008		
Definition of Pornography scale	.16	1.73	.088		
$F_{inc} = 5.40, p < .002$					
Attitudes toward porn control				.820	.672
Freedom of Speech scale	.51	4.21	.000		
Costs of Censorship scale	-.09	-.91	.361		
Harm of Pornography scale	.15	1.49	.142		
$F_{inc} = 13.59, p < .001$					

as a moral issue. Ratings of pornography and pornography control as moral issues (but not free speech as a moral issue) were related to attitude toward pornography control; those who viewed pornography and pornography control more as moral issues favored legal control. Apparently, it is not the perceived morality of rights and freedom of expression (i.e., free speech) that underlies its importance to feminists.

A number of specific pornography-related attitudes and experiences were significant in understanding this sample's attitude toward pornography control. Individuals who had viewed less pornography, felt negatively toward it, believed it portrayed women negatively, saw it as a moral issue, believed it affects men, and had been more exposed to antipornography media were more in favor of legislative control. These data did not provide much support for a "prosex" or "anti-antiporn" position among liberal feminists. Respondents almost unanimously rated degrading and violent pornography negatively. Attitudes toward pornography were not the strongest predictors of attitude toward legal control, however. The strongest predictors were attitudes toward pornography control.

In general, these findings support the reasoned action model of attitudes proposed by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980). To predict behavior from attitudes, knowledge about the individual's beliefs about the consequences of that behavior rather than about the attitude object ("pornography" in this case) and her or his evaluation of those possible outcomes is critical. The belief that a given behavior leads to mostly positive outcomes will be

related to a favorable attitude toward that behavior, and a person who believes that the behavior will lead to mostly negative outcomes will hold a negative attitude. Hence, the importance of protecting free speech, the costs of censorship, and the harm of pornography were key issues in understanding attitudes toward pornography control. Liberal feminists, in contrast to students, weighed the general consequence of legislative control of pornography on free speech more heavily than either the specific costs of censorship to women or the harm of pornography. The value of free speech was the most strongly related variable individually and when entered into a regression equation.

The harm of pornography may be less an issue with liberal feminists than is free speech because they view threats to freedom of expression as a more fundamental harm to women and fear right-wing control of societal expression. These feminists were a mostly liberal group, with a small percent labeling themselves as radical. NOW as a national organization focused initially on equal opportunities in employment and education, is currently most active in the pro-choice movement, and has been seen as the more conservative element of the feminist movement (Sapiro, 1990).

This research suggests one explanation for the decreased importance of pornography and its effects among feminists in the last few years. Censorship and the growth of conservative forces within society have become increasingly salient. Liberal feminists, along with liberals in general, are concerned about the proliferation of censorship as the solution to media. Along with censorship of media that oppress women, conservative forces are attempting to censor material that is only distasteful to some and material that presents nontraditional orientations. Anticontrol liberal feminists' legitimate fears of the oppression inherent in the right-wing antiwoman, antisexuality agenda in pornography control must be addressed.

Although the harm issue was less central in understanding liberal feminist attitudes toward pornography control than was freedom of speech, this does not imply that pornography is harmless. Themes of domination and exploitation of women are pervasive in pornography (Cowan, Lee, Levy, & Snyder, 1988), and degrading pornography has desensitizing and other attitudinal effects harmful to women (Zillmann, 1989). The dilemma between protection of free speech and harm to women is not easily resolved, especially when the devaluation of women, sexually and otherwise, is found in all media. As MacKinnon (1991) said: "pornography's actions are protected as speech, but our speech against it is silenced as action" (p. 11). Ignoring the issue of pornography and the extent of misogyny in expressions of culture will not make pornography go away or make it harmless.

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NOTES

1. The Rokeach Value Survey was used (18 terminal values and 18 instrumental values) but is not reported on here because few significant results were found.
2. Only 2 of the rankings of 18 terminal values and none of the 18 rankings of instrumental values were significant predictors of pornography control in separate regressions. These 2 terminal values, "salvation" and "happiness," were included in the first step of the hierarchical regression. In both cases, the importance of these values was positively related to approval of legislative control. Among the value rankings, a low score indicates a higher or more important value.

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