

Strange Bedfellows?  
An Analysis of Attitudes Towards Feminism  
and Pornography

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In the mid-1970s the women's rights movement in the United States became increasingly concerned about the impact of pornography on the status and well-being of women (McCormack, 1978; Freedman and Throne, 1984; Kirkpatrick and Zurcher, 1988). Bringing together two earlier concerns -- about sexism in the mass media and about violence towards women, especially from rape and wife beating, a growing and highly visible number of feminists came to the conclusion that pornography was both an important symbol of the oppressed status of women and, more importantly, a cause of the subjugation of women in general and of sexual violence towards women in particular. A number of anti-pornography, feminist groups such as Women Against Pornography and Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media were formed. By 1984 the struggle came to center around passage of anti-pornography ordinances developed by Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon. During this period the feminist anti-pornography efforts got wide-spread coverage and were generally accepted by the media as representing the women's rights movement's position on pornography (Vance and Snitow, 1984 and Burstyn, 1985).

Many feminists who did not support the anti-pornography crusade found it difficult to resist its momentum. But eventually an organized feminist opposition to the anti-pornography crusade did develop. Groups such as the Feminist Anti-Censorship Task Force formed and leading feminists such as Betty Friedan have spoken out against the anti-pornography movement (Burstyn, 1985; Hughes, 1985; Blakely, 1985; and Friedan, 1985).

The anti-pornography feminists argue that pornography exploits women for the pleasure of men, teaches men to treat women as inferior creatures existing to serve male sexual needs, and, in particular, condones and encourages violence against women (Dworkin, 1979; "Feminist", 1984; Blakely, 1985; Polman, 1985; and Lederer, 1980). They believe that it is crucial to

the advancement of women in general and to their physical safety in particular that pornography be eliminated. To achieve this goal anti-pornography feminists have backed the Dworkin/MacKinnon ordinance which would allow the legal proscription of pornography as violating the civil rights of women (Grossman, 1985; Bart, Freeman, and Kimball, 1985; Schachter, 1987; Duggan, Hunter, and Vance, 1985; and Elsasser, 1986).

Feminist opposition to the anti-pornography crusade rests on several diverse grounds. A number oppose the crusade as an abridgement of civil liberties (Burstyn, 1985; Grossman 1985; and Tong, 1982). The anti-pornography ordinances are seen as attacks on artistic expression and free speech. Besides a concern with the general principle of free speech, a number of feminists voice the fear that any state regulation of sexual materials would be used by our patriarchal society to suppress feminist art and literature and/or lesbian publications (Burstyn, 1985 and Hughes, 1985). A second group sees the measures as sexually repressive and Puritanical (Diamond and Quinby, 1984; Ferguson, 1984; Phillipson, 1984). They contend that anti-pornography advocates falsely treat the sexuality of men and women as different. They believe that the anti-pornography movement assumes that men are sexually violent by nature while women are reserved and innocent. They contend that such characterizations are wrong and fear that such stereotyping of women will place women back on the pedestal as protected, but second-class citizens. Finally, others points out that the anti-pornography campaign has been enthusiastically joined by members of the New Religious Right and that in a number of localities the campaigns for the Dworkin-MacKinnon ordinance have been spearheaded by conservatives and fundamentalists (Elshtain, 1984; Attorney General's, 1986; Devall, 1986; Lacayo, 1986; Kirkpatrick and Zurcher, 1983; "Feminist", 1984). They worry that success in the anti-pornography area

(which has traditionally been a right-wing issue) will boost the campaigns rights of conservatives and fundamentalists against such central feminist goals as abortion rights and economic equality.

At present the women's rights movement seems to be badly and bitterly split over the pornography issue. Prominent leaders of the movement are allied on either side of the issue and opposing organizations of feminists battled each other (Burstyn, 1985; Mansbridge, 1986; Friedan, 1985; "War", 1985).

While considerable attention has been directed towards the anti-pornography movement and the ideological and legal issues it has stirred up, little study has been given to how attitudes towards feminism and pornography are related among the general public (see Jelen, 1986 and subsequent correction). In this paper we explore the relation between these two attitudes and attempt to determine whether feminists among the mass public are pro- or anti-pornography.

#### Attitudes Towards Feminism and Pornography

As Table 1 indicates, feminism has been consistently associated with tolerance of pornography. A four-item scale measuring approval of women in the work force and in politics is directly related to the beliefs that pornography has positive rather than negative effects and that pornography should not be banned. (The construction of scales used and the item wordings are detailed in the Appendix. All data are from the General Social Surveys (GSS), National Opinion Research Center. For details on the GSS see Davis and Smith, 1986.) This relationship applies to both men and women. In fact, the association between support for feminism and allowing pornography is consistently stronger among women than among men. One drawback of the feminism scale employed in Table 1 is that it is not a fine discriminator of

feminists since by 1986 45% of respondents fell into the most pro-feminist category. To really examine how feminists and non-feminists differ on the pornography issue, we have to employ an indicator that allows more detailed discrimination along the feminism continuum.

Across the period 1975-1986, the best means of further specifying feminist attitudes is with a seven-item abortion scale. Support for abortion is a distinct attitude from support for women's rights in general, but abortion rights have been one of the main goals of feminists and the two attitudes are closely related. In Table 2 we see that feminism and pornography are directly related among those who are ideologically committed to abortion rights (i.e. who favored legal abortions for all seven specified reasons). In general, the relationship between feminism and pornography does not vary by a person's abortion ideology although the relatively small number of people who fall into the extreme anti-abortion group makes the relationship statistically insignificant. This association between feminism and pornography attitudes holds up both across years and genders.

A second way of refining our feminism measure uses a number of indicators of involvement in and commitment to women's rights that were asked on the 1983 GSS. In general, these measures (see Appendix for details) indicate that men and women who support women's rights and who are active on the women's rights issue, committed to their position, and/or more deeply involved with women's rights are less opposed to pornography. Table 3 shows that people who support women's rights and who have been active (having given money, written letters, and/or joined a group) are the least in favor of outlawing pornography and the most likely to believe that pornography can have positive effects.

Thirdly, we can explore the relationship between feminist attitudes and pornography by using an extended feminism scale from the 1986 GSS. This scale adds four items on sex roles within families to the four traditional items on political and economic equality and allows fine discrimination at the feminist end of the scale (See Appendix for details). As Table 4 shows, feminism is significantly associated with liberal attitudes towards pornography for both men and women. The relationship is essentially linear with support for pornography rising the more feminist one's attitudes are (Table 5). An one-way analysis of variance of pornographic attitudes by feminist attitudes indicates a simple linear relationship with no significant deviation from linearity.

This relationship also shows up when we use a measure that combines both exposure to pornography and attitudes to same. Klenow and Crane (1977) created a measure of "recidivism" which characterized a recidivist as one who had viewed an X-rated movie within the last year and who did not believe that pornography should be outlawed. In Table 6 we have used their measure as well as a related measure that combines viewing X-rated movies with attitudes on the effects of pornography. Overall, viewing of X-rated movies is more frequent for people scoring higher on the feminism scale. In addition, among viewers of X-rated movies reactions are more positive for those ranking higher on feminism. The ratio of not outlaw to outlaw responses is 2.7:1 for those with the most traditional attitudes on women's rights and increases to 4.0:1, 7.7:1, 7.0:1, and 11.3:1 as we move up the feminist scale to the most feminist group. A similar pattern emerges for the pornographic effects measure of "recidivism" (ratios increasing from 7.3:1, 10.1:1, 10.1:1, 8.1:1, to 48.0:1). In brief, both viewing X-rated movies and tolerance of pornography by such viewers increases with feminism.

Next, we carried out a multivariate regression analysis of predictors of the pornographic effects scale. The literature on attitudes towards pornography (Glassman, 1978; Wilson and Ableson, 1973; Herrman and Bordner, 1983; Klenow and Crane, 1977; Peek, Witt, and Gay, 1981; Stephan and McMullin, 1982; Wood and Hughes, 1984; Reiss, 1986; and Bibby, 1983) indicated with liberal attitudes towards pornography were held by 1) men 2) younger cohorts, 3) the better-educated, 4) those raised in modern cultures (e.g. non-rural, outside of South, non-Fundamentalist religion or no religion), and 5) political liberals. Table 7 shows that even with these background variables as controls feminist attitudes are directly correlated within the belief that pornography can have positive effects.

So far every test we have applied clearly indicates that feminists are more supportive or tolerant of pornography than non-feminists. This association is essentially linear and does not diminish or reverse among strong feminists. In addition, this association holds for men and women and does not appear to be explainable by other background variables.

So what does explain the link between feminism and pornography? What makes those attitudes what some would see as "strange bedfellows?" The link is liberalism.

Liberalism is a amorphous concept, difficult to define and hard to operationalize (For some discussion of this see Smith, 1982). Two central aspects of contemporary liberalism are its modern, non-traditionalist orientation and its support for individual expression and choice. (Of course other aspects of liberalism such as its commitment to egalitarianism leads to support for governmental regulation of individual choice especially in the economic realm.) These basic leanings lead liberals to support women's rights, sexual permissiveness, and freedom of speech, as well as many other causes.

The link between women's rights and pornography is not direct and immediate. Supporters of women's rights tend to support abortion rights and equal pay because these issues are closely related to and grow out of central feminist beliefs. Support for pornography is not related to feminism in a similarly intimate and derivative fashion. Rather feminism and pornography are related because feminists are liberals and liberals also tend to favor more permissive sexual mores and greater freedom of speech. (Our 1986 feminism scale is related to approval of premarital sex,  $\gamma = .39/.000$ , and the traditional feminist scale is related to the Stouffer free speech scale,  $\gamma = .39/.000$ .) Similarly those favoring the legalization of pornography and believing that pornography can have positive effects also are permissive on sexual matters (outlawing pornography and disapproving of premarital sex are directly associated,  $\gamma = .58/.000$  and believing pornography has negative effects and disapproving of premarital sex are associated,  $\gamma = .40/.000$ ) and pornography attitudes are related to civil liberty scales (outlawing pornography and Stouffer are associated,  $\gamma = .42/.000$  and effects of pornography and Stouffer are associated,  $\gamma = .42/.000$  and effects of pornography and Stouffer are related,  $\gamma = .28/.000$ ).

We cannot show what the impact of civil liberty items are on the association between feminism and pornography because these three scales never appear on the same survey, but we can examine the impact of sexual attitudes on the feminism-pornography association (Table 8). In each case the introduction of the premarital sex variable reduces the association between feminism and pornography. In the extreme reduction case the association between the traditional feminism scale and the pornographic effects scale drops from .100 to .027 and becomes statistically insignificant when attitudes towards premarital sex are introduced into the multivariate regression



analysis. In the other cases the feminism and pornography association although reduced does remain significant. One would suppose however that these relationships would reduce further and perhaps also become insignificant if we a) had a scale measuring sexual attitudes instead of a cruder, single item and b) had a measure of civil liberties that we could use in the equation.

Feminism and pornography are strange bedfellows in that men and women who support women's rights are more tolerant and positive toward pornography than those who oppose women's rights. Thus the image frequently portrayed in the mass media that feminists are opposed to pornography is misleading since it does not hold on the mass level. However, greater support for pornography by feminists does not result from any central axiom of the women's rights movement. Rather the link is formed because feminism is a liberal ideology and linked on other liberal ideals as free speech and non-traditional social relationships and lifestyles. It is mainly these beliefs in turn that make liberals, and therefore feminists, more tolerant of pornography.



Table 3  
 Support for Pornography by Feminist Position  
 and Active Involvement with Women's Rights  
 (1983)

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	% Favoring Outlawing of Pornographic	% Believing Pornography can have positive effects <sup>b</sup>
<b>Men</b>		
<b>Feminists<sup>a</sup></b>		
No active involvement	18.2% (104)	33.1% (104)
One or more involvements	17.7% (20)	38.1% (20)
<b>Non-Feminists</b>		
No active involvement	51.9% (187)	14.7% (190)
One or more involvement	-- (14)	-- (14)
<b>Women</b>		
<b>Feminists</b>		
No active involvement	43.9% (179)	19.2% (181)
One or more involvement	28.6% (51)	29.9% (52)
<b>Non-Feminists</b>		
No active involvement	64.1% (195)	9.6% (197)
One or more involvement	53.6% (28)	17.9% (28)

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<sup>a</sup> Feminists gave the pro-women's rights response to all four items. Non-feminists gave less than four pro-women's rights responses.

<sup>b</sup> % believing that pornography doesn't lead to rape nor cause moral breakdown, but does provide information.

Table 4

The Association between Attitudes on Feminism and  
Pornography, 1986  
(gamma/prob.)

	<u>Pornographic effects Scale</u>	<u>Regulation of Pornography</u>
Men	.278/.000	.272/.000
Women	.322/.000	.229/.000

Table 5

Pornographic Effects Scale by Level of Feminism  
for Men and Women  
(mean)

<u>Level of Feminism</u>	<u>Pornographic Effects</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
1 - Lowest	4.78 (50)	4.53 (95)
2	5.37 (49)	5.16 (88)
3	5.44 (75)	4.98 (79)
4	5.64 (69)	5.22 (74)
5	6.12 (66)	5.17 (76)
6	6.02 (81)	5.79 (67)
7	6.57 (65)	5.78 (80)
8	6.94 (32)	5.86 (57)
9	6.71 (78)	5.70 (122)
10	6.79 (24)	5.93 (40)
11-Highest	6.83 (18)	6.58 (62)

Table 6

Pornographic "Recidivism" by Attitudes towards Feminism

Levels of Feminism	Saw X-Rated Movie last year		Did not see X-Rated Movie Last Year
	Would Outlaw	Would not Outlaw	
1-3 - Lowest	4.1%	11.0	84.8 (435)
4-6	4.6%	18.5	76.9 (433)
7-8	3.8%	29.5	66.7 (234)
9	4.0%	28.1	67.8 (199)
10-11 - Highest	2.8%	31.5	65.7 (143)

  

Levels of Feminism	Pornography Has	Has 1+ Positive	
	No Positive Effects	Effects	
1-3 - Lowest	1.8%	13.3	84.8 (435)
4-6	2.1%	21.0	76.9 (433)
7-8	2.1%	30.3	66.7 (234)
9	3.5%	28.6	67.8 (199)
10-11	0.7%	33.6	65.7 (143)

Table 7

Multiple Regression Analysis of  
Pornographic Effects Scale, 1986

Variables in Equation (beta/prob.)

Church attendance (high=never)	-.187/.0000
Feminism Scale	.147/.0000
Age	.141/.0000
Gender (High=Female)	-.104/.0000
Community Raised in (High = not rural)	.076/.0041
Political Views (high= conservative)	-.070/.0078

Variables not in Equation

Years of Schooling	.032/.2766
Income	-.004/.8790
Race (high=black)	.038/.1386
Fundamentalism	-.004/.8900
Region raised in (high= South and Midwest)	-.034/.2012
Current region (high= South and Midwest)	-.045/.0863
Current Community (high= large metropolitan areas)	.004/.8117

$r^2 = .16$  n=1284

Table 8  
 The Association between Attitudes on Feminism and  
 Pornography With and Without the Inclusion  
 Attitudes on Premarital Sex  
 (beta/.prob.)<sup>a</sup>

	Traditional Feminism Scale (1975-1986 Pooled)		New Feminism Scale (1986 Only)	
	<u>Premarital Sex Omitted</u>	<u>Premarital Sex Included</u>	<u>Premarital Sex Omitted</u>	<u>Premarital Sex Included</u>
Outlawing Porn- ography	.111/.0001	.069/.013	.124/.0000	.071/.015
Effects of Porn- ography	.100/.0004	.027/.073	.147/.0000	.126/.0000

<sup>a</sup>In each of the above standardized coefficients we have controlled for all of the variables employed in Table 7.

Appendix: Question Wordings and Scales

A. Effects of Pornography

The next questions are about pornography--books, movies, magazines, and photographs that show or describe sex activities.

I'm going to read some opinions about the effects of looking at or reading such sexual materials. As I read each one, please tell me if you think sexual materials do or do have that effect.

- A. Sexual materials provide information about sex (PORNINF)
- B. Sexual materials lead to breakdown of morals (PORNMORL)
- C. Sexual materials lead people to commit rape (PORNRAPE)
- D. Sexual materials provide an outlet for bottled-up impulses (PORNOUT)

The pornography effects scale measures whether a person thinks pornography has positive or negative impact. "Don't know" were coded to the middle positive and the item on pornography providing information was reverse coded. The item on pornography providing an outlet for bottled up impulses was excluded from the scale because it was ambiguous whether this referred to a positive or negative effect.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The excluded item, that pornography provided "an outlet for bottled-up impulses", was originally classified by the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography's report as a "social desirable" effect along with the information item (Abelson, et al., 1971; p. 53). We suspect however that many people probably see this is a negative effect. They probably consider it as a inappropriate "outlet" in the same sense that getting drunk might be an outlet for bottled-up stress. As we see from the figures below, the two clearly negative items (rape and moral breakdown) are associated with wanting to ban pornography, not having viewed an x-rated movie, and being male. The one clear positive item (information) has the opposite relationship with each of these variables. Outlet has the same sign as the positive information item, but the relationships are all trivial in magnitude. (These gammas are from the pooled 1973-1986 GSSs.

Pornography Effects	Pornography Regulation (For all/adults only/noone)	Viewed X-Rated Movie (Yes/No)	Sex (Male/Female)
Rape	.572	-.417	-.253
Moral breakdown	.622	-.495	-.222
Outlet	-.027	.075	.011
Information	-.242	.264	.070

They are all significant at the .0000 level.) The ambiguous nature of the outlet item is also shown by the fact that it is directly associated with both the negative items (gamma = .297 with rape and .198 with moral breakdown) and the positive item (.288) while the negative and positive items are inversely associated with each other (rape by information = -.120 and moral breakdown by information = -.225). These associations appear to be stable for the 1973-1986 period.

B. Regulation of Pornography (PORNLOW)

Which of these statements comes closest to your feelings about pornography laws?

- A. There should be laws against the distribution of pornography whatever the age.
- B. There should be laws against the distribution of pornography to persons under 18.
- C. There should be no laws forbidding the distribution of pornography.

C. X-Rated Movies (XMOVIE)

Have you seen an X-rated movie in the last year?

D. Traditional Feminism Items

Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men. (FEHOME)

Do you approve or disapprove of a married women earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her? (FEWORK)

If your party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job? (FEPRES)

Tell me if you agree or disagree with this statement: Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women. (FEPOL)

The feminist scale with the above four traditional items was created by reversing the codes of FEWORK and FEPRES so that the feminist response was the higher response to each. Don't knows were coded into the middle position. The scale thus ran from the low of four for the least feminist response to an high of 12 for the most feminist response. The reliability coefficient was .66 (Cronbach's alpha).

E. Abortion Items

Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant women to obtain a legal abortion if...

- A. If there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby? (ABDEFECT)
- B. If she is married and does not want any more children? (ABNOMORE)



- C. If the women's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy?  
(ABHLTH)
- D. If the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children?  
(ABPOOR)
- E. If she became pregnant as a result of rape? (ABRAPE)
- F. If she is not married and does not want to marry the man? (ABSINGLE)
- G. The woman wants it for any reason? (ABANY)

These items were combined in several ways to make abortion scales. One scale consisted of a count of the number of pro-abortion choices, running from 0 to 7. The second consisted of a count of the number of anti-abortion choices, also running from 0 to 7. Finally, an abortion ideology scale was constructed from these two scales. People with perfect pro-abortion scores on the first variable were placed in a pro-abortion group, those who consistently opposed abortion made up an anti-abortion group, and those who have any mixture of pro and anti opinion or don't know made up a middle, mixed attitudes group. This scale thus isolated those with consistent, ideological leanings from those with mixed patterns.

F. Non-affective Feminist Items

How important is the women's rights issue to you--would you say it is one of the most important, important, not very important, or not important at all? (FEIMP)

How much information do you have about the women's rights issue? Do you have all of the information you need, most of the information, some information, or very little information? (FEINFO)

How firm are you about your opinion on women's rights--would you say you are very likely to change your opinion, somewhat likely to change, somewhat unlikely to change, or very unlikely to change? (FEFIRM)

How concerned are you personally about women's rights? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned, or not concerned at all? (FECARE)

How often would you say that you and your friends think about women's rights? Would you say that you and your friends think about women's rights very often, fairly often, occasionally, or almost never? (FETHINK)

Have you ever...

- A. Written a letter to a public official expressing your views on women's rights? (FEWRITE)
- B. Given money to an organization concerned with this issue? (FEGIVE)
- C. Joined an organization concerned with women's rights? (FEJOIN)

As part of a research project on non-attitudes (Smith, 1982), these items were asked in 1983. FEIMP, FEINFO, FEFIRM appeared on form X and FECARE, FETHINK, FEWRITE, FEGIVE, FEJOIN appeared on form Y. FEWRITE, FEGIVE, and FEJOIN were treated as a behavioral scale with each activity counting as one action for a score of 0 for no feminist activity to a score of 3 for having done each type of feminist activity.

G. New Feminism Items

Now I'm going to read several more statements. As I read each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, or disagree with it. For example, here is the statement:

- A. A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work. (FECHLD)
- B. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself. (FEHELP)
- C. A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works. (FEPRESCH)
- D. It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and the family. (FEFAM)

The above four feminist items (first asked in the 1977 GSS) were combined with the four the traditional feminist scale to form the full eight item scale. FEHELP, FEPRESCH, and FEFAM were reversed. Don't knows were recoded into the middle category. Several procedures were explored for combining the trichotomist standard items with the new five-point items including a) collapsing the five-point scales into the trichotomies, b) recoding the

trichotomies to cover the same numerical range as the five-point scales, and c) converting all items into standardized scores. Trichotomizing had the disadvantage of reducing the measured variance and in particular of failing to discriminate at the upper (feminist) end of the scale since in 1986 21% fell into the extreme feminist category when items were trichotomized. The other two procedures preserved the measured variance and in particular allowed finer discrimination at the feminist end of the scale. These two procedures produced scales that were correlated with one another at .99 (Pearson's r). The additive scale constructed from standardized items runs from a low of -14.4 to a high of 8.04. Its reliability is .803.

G. Sexual Morality

There's been a lot of discussion about the way morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. If a man and woman have sex relations before marriage do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all? (PREMARSX)

H. Stouffer Civil Liberty Items

There are always some people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by other people. For instance, somebody who is against all churches and religion . . .

- A. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your (city/town/community) against churches and religion, should he be allowed to speak, or not? (SPKATH)
- B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? (COLATH)
- C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not? (LIBATH)

Or, consider a person who believes that Blacks are genetically inferior.

- A. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your community claiming that Blacks are inferior, should he be allowed to speak, or not? (SPKRAC)
- B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? (COLRAC)

C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote which said Blacks are inferior should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not? (LIBRAC)

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about a man who admits he is a Communist.

A. Suppose this admitted Communist wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not? (SPKCOM)

B. Suppose he is teaching in a college. Should he be fired, or not? (COLCOM)

C. Suppose he wrote a book which is in your public library. Somebody in your community suggests that the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it, or not? (LIBCOM)

Consider a person who advocated doing away with elections and letting the military run the country.

A. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your community, should he be allowed to speak, or not? (SPKMIL)

B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? (COLMIL)

C. Suppose he wrote a book advocating doing away with elections and letting the military run the country. Somebody in your community suggests that the book be removed from the public library. Would you favor removing it, or not? (LIBMIL)

And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?

A. Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not? (SPKHOMO)

B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? (COLHOMO)

C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not? (LIBHOMO)

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