



## **Why Do Johns Use Pornography?: Predicting Consumption of Pornography by Clients of Street Level Prostitutes**

**Richard Tewksbury**  
*University of Louisville*

**Seana Golder**  
*University of Louisville*

### **ABSTRACT**

*This research attempts to quantify the use of pornography among men known to solicit prostitutes and to identify the characteristics which might predict greater use of pornographic materials among this population. Data for this research were obtained from a study of clients of street prostitutes in Portland, Oregon, San Francisco and Santa Clara, California, and Las Vegas, Nevada (Monto, 1999a). Age, marital status, education level, employment status, race/ethnicity, whether an individual had been sexually touched as a child, number of sex partners, frequency of sex, age of first sex with a prostitute, and number of times having sex with a prostitute were significantly related to frequency of pornography use ( $p \leq .05$ ). Implications for future research are addressed.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Current estimates indicate that over 80,000 persons are arrested annually on charges of prostitution or commercialized vice (Snyder, Puzzanchera, & Kang, 2003). The vast majority of the arrested are female prostitutes (Investigation, 2002). In contrast, only one in ten arrests for prostitution are of the clients, virtually all of whom are men (Monto, 1999b). However, research also suggests that approximately 16% of American men visit a prostitute at least once in their lifetime, with nearly 1% of all men doing so in a given year (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1994). Given the disparity in statistics, it is not surprising that clients are one of the least understood aspects of the prostitution industry.

Who the men are that patronize prostitutes is largely unknown, as are the common characteristics and other activities of these men. While statistics suggest that “many” men do purchase the services of prostitutes, we know fairly little about the social, sexual, and criminal involvement of these men. While there are theorized implications for the consumption of pornography and a likelihood of engaging in violence against prostitutes, there is little research in this area. Thus, the major focus of this work is the exploration of the potential link between

patronizing prostitutes, consuming pornography, and sexually violent activities. Secondly, this research also seeks to provide greater understanding of the demographic and personal background characteristics, as well as the non-violent sexual activities of men known to solicit prostitutes. As such, this research offers the potential to inform public policy by providing a profile of presumably highly sexual, and as previous research suggests, potentially violent men.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The research literature on clients of prostitutes is limited. The sparse ethnographic research that is available has suggested that men who patronize prostitutes are not significantly different from men in general (Armstrong, 1978; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Tewksbury & Gagne, 2002). One distinguishing trait of prostitutes' customers, however, is that they have been shown to hold more traditional (i.e., patriarchal) views of women, and perceive an entitlement for power and control (Busch, Bell, Hotaling, & Monto, 2002).

Customers of prostitutes are often regulars, are usually employed, hold at least a high school education, and more often than not are involved in a long term relationship (Atchison, Fraser, & Lowman, 1998; Diana, 1985; McKegany & Barnard, 1996; Sawyer, Rosser, & Schroeder, 1998; Sullivan & Simon, 1998; Campbell, 1998). And while sexual activity is typical to the encounter between prostitute and customer, it is not necessarily the only or primary goal of the customer (McKegany & Barnard, 1996; Sawyer et al., 1998; Winick, 1962).

It is also important to note that violence against female prostitutes by their customers is well documented (Davis, 1993; Farley & Barkan, 1998; Horgard & Finstad, 1992; Miller, 1993; Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Silbert, 1988). However, it appears that a small minority of customers are responsible for perpetrating this violence. One recent study reported a relationship between greater use of pornographic videos and endorsement of violence among men who solicited sex from prostitutes (Monto, 1999b), although the majority (70%) of men patronizing prostitutes only rarely or never consume pornography. Specifically, two pornography use variables (having looked at pornographic magazines and having looked at pornographic video) were significantly related to both an attraction to violent sex and having previously used violence to obtain sex (Busch et al., 2002; Monto, 2000, 2001; Monto & Hotaling, 2001).

To date, the most ambitious and informative work on customers of prostitutes is that of Monto and colleagues (Busch et al., 2002; Monto, 2000, 2001; Monto & Hotaling, 2001). This research focused on providing a broader, more generalizable understanding of the background characteristics, behaviors, and motivations of men arrested for soliciting prostitution. Data were collected from 1,342 men in First Offender programs in California, Oregon, and Nevada. First Offender programs focus on the "demand side of the equation", holding male customers responsible for their actions. These programs offered men the opportunity to voluntarily participate in a deferred adjudication program following an arrest for attempting to hire a female prostitute. Although the demographic characteristics and motives of prostitutes' customers have been documented, as well as their views and values related to gender relations, there has not been significant research on the social backgrounds and corollary sexual (including sexually violent)

behaviors and activities of these men. The present study is a move in this direction. Beginning to address this gap will both help to facilitate our understanding of men who patronize prostitutes, and to better understand the experiences and characteristics that these men bring to their interactions with prostitutes. Given the dearth of available information on male clients of prostitutes, this study, by necessity, is exploratory in nature and presents initial steps in this direction.

## **METHODS**

### **Data and Respondent Characteristics**

This research is based on secondary data, publicly available from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR - <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/index.html>). These data were originally collected in a study of clients of street prostitutes in Portland, Oregon, San Francisco and Santa Clara, California, and Las Vegas, Nevada. Data were collected from 1997 to 1999 (Monto, 1999a). The original study employed a convenience sample of 1,342 respondents who were recruited from participants in client intervention programs for men arrested trying to hire street prostitutes in these four cities. Participation in the study was voluntary. Questionnaires were self-administered prior to the start of the intervention program and collected anonymously (Morton and Hotaling, 2001). The response rate for the study was over 80 % (Monto, 1999a, 1999b).

### **Measures**

Five types of measures are described in the following section: demographic characteristics, personal background characteristics, general sexual behavior, sexually aggressive behavior, and frequency of pornography use.

The demographic characteristics that were assessed included age, marital status, race/ethnicity, education level, and employment status. Respondents were requested to list their age in years. Marital status was assessed with three categories: currently married, divorced, widowed, or separated, or never married. Respondents were asked to choose the racial/ethnic category that best described them (white, African American, Hispanic, Asian, or other). Education level was also measured by a categorical variable assessing the participant's highest level of educational achievement: high school diploma or less, some college, or received either a bachelor's or master's degree. Work status was a dichotomous variable reflecting whether a respondent was working full or part time (1) or not (0).

Personal background characteristics were measured by four dichotomous variables (no (0) or yes (1)). Respondents were asked if their parents were divorced, if they had ever been touched sexually as a child, if they had ever been physically hurt as a child, and if they had served in the military.

Respondents' general sexual behavior was measured by six variables assessing: sexual orientation, number of sex partners during the last 12 months, frequency of sex during the last 12 months, age when they first had sex with a prostitute, and number of times they reported having sex with a prostitute during the last 12 months. Sexual orientation was measured on a continuum from straight (1) to gay (5), bisexual, (3) was the midpoint. Respondents were asked to report the number of sex partners they had in the past 12 months on a 9-point scale: 0 (0) to 4 (4), 5-10 partners (5), 11-20 partners (6), 21-100 (7), more than 100 partners (8). Response options for the question asking participants about the frequency of sex during the past 12 months were given on a eight point scale: not at all (1), once or twice (2), about once a month (3), 2 or 3 times a month (4), about once a week (5), 2 or 3 times a week (6), greater than 3 times a week (7), don't know (8). Response options for the question assessing the frequency with which participants reported having sex with a prostitute in the past year were never (1), only one time (2), more than 1 time but less than once per month (3), 1 to 3 times per month (4), once or twice per week (5), 3 to 4 times per wk (6), 5 or more times per week (7).

Three questions were used as proxy measures of sexually aggressive behavior (Seto, Maric, & Barbaree, 2001): threaten[ing] to use physical force to get sex, used physical force to get sex, and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. The first two questions asked participants if they had "ever had sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to because you threatened to use physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.) if she didn't cooperate?" or if they had "used some degree of physical force" to make her have sexual intercourse; both questions used a dichotomous response scale (yes [1]; no [0]). The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale is an eight item scale that reflects the participant's level of endorsement or acceptance of myths about rape. In general rape myths are defined as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" (Burt, 1980; Tewksbury & Adkins, 1992) and serve "to justify or support sexual violence against women and diminish support for rape victims"(Monto, 2001)). Representative items include: "what percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?" (almost all (1), about  $\frac{3}{4}$  (2), about half (3), about  $\frac{1}{4}$  (4), almost none (5)), and "a woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex." (agree strongly (1) to disagree strongly (4)). Following coding instructions provided by Monto and Hotaling (2001), responses were converted to z scores and then summed to create a total-scale score. The alpha reliability for this sample was .83.

***Frequency of Pornography Use.*** Frequency of pornography use was computed by taking the mean of two questions assessing the frequency with which respondents reported looking at pornographic magazines and watching pornographic videos. Response options for each of these questions ranged from never (0) to several times a day (5). The computed variable reflecting the frequency of pornography use had a possible range of 0 to 5.

### **Missing Data**

Due to the presence of missing data within the dataset, we took steps to minimize the bias to parameter estimates that can result from the more common methods of handling missing data (e.g., listwise deletion and mean substitution, Graham, Hofer, Donaldson, Mackinnon, &

Schafer, 1997; Graham, Hofer, & Piccinin, 1994). Thus the Mplus statistical analysis program was used for all analyses (Muthen & Muthen, 2000). The Mplus program provides for the handling of missing data through the use of a raw maximum-likelihood procedure to impute values for missing data. Unbiased parameter estimates and reasonable standard errors are obtained using the missing data feature in Mplus (Choi, Golder, Gillmore, & Morrison, 2005; Muthen & Muthen, 2000).<sup>1</sup>

## RESULTS

Analysis begins with presentation of the variables included in the analysis. Table 1 presents the descriptions of the variables, including their means, standard deviation of the mean, and range (where appropriate). Specifics are reported below, according to groupings of variables, including demographics, personal background, general sexual behavior, sexually aggressive behavior and frequency of pornography use.

<b>Table 1.</b> <b><u>Means, standard deviation of the mean, and range of Demographic Characteristics, Personal Background Characteristics, General Sexual Behavior, Sexually Aggressive Behavior, and Frequency of Pornography Use</u></b>				
	<b>Mean (% for categorical variables)</b>	<b>S.D. of the Mean</b>	<b>Observed Range</b>	<b>Observed N</b>
<b>Demographic Characteristic</b>				
Age	37.853	.311	18-84	1248
<b>Marital status</b>				
Married	42.2%			
Divorced	22.9%			
Never Married	34.9%			
<b>Race/ethnicity</b>				
White	57.8%			1313
African American	5.2%			
Hispanic	20.0%			
Asian	12.7%			
Other	4.3%			

<sup>1</sup> According to Choi et al. (2005; p. 31-32), “[Mplus is a statistical analysis package] that use[s] raw maximum-likelihood estimation (RML), allowing for the handling of missing data during the actual statistical analysis (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999; Muthén&Muthén, 1998).... Maximum-likelihood estimates provide the correct likelihood for the unknown parameters (i.e., missing values) from the marginal distribution of the observed data (Schafer&Graham, 2002). ML estimation requires data to be multivariate normal. Model fit, parameter estimates, and standard errors are conveniently obtained by simply specifying within the programs that there are missing values in the data. Although analyses with RML provide equally unbiased estimates as analyses with EM algorithm, the RML approach is slightly more efficient because it provides reliable estimates of standard errors (Graham et al., 1997).” Readers interested in a full discussion of the benefits of RML and other newer techniques for handling missing data are directed to Choi et al. (2005).

**Table 1.**  
**Means, standard deviation of the mean, and range of Demographic Characteristics, Personal Background Characteristics, General Sexual Behavior, Sexually Aggressive Behavior, and Frequency of Pornography Use**

	Mean (% for categorical variables)	S.D. of the Mean	Observed Range	Observed N
<b>Demographic Characteristic</b>				
Education level	2.77	.033		1329
H.S. Diploma or Less	28.9%			
Some College	36.3%			
Bachelor's or Master's	34.8%			
Employment status	86.9%	.009		1302
<b>Personal Background</b>				
Parents Divorced	34.5%	.013		1275
Touched Sexually as a Child	12.6%	.009		1283
Physically Hurt as a Child	13.2%	.009		1277
Military Service	24.9%	.012		1279
<b>General Sexual Behavior</b>				
Sexual orientation	1.080	.011		1283
Number of sex partners	2.338	.051		1321
Frequency of sex	4.120	.048		1268
Age first sex with prostitute	1.817	.036		1272
# of times sex with prostitute	2.090	.031		1308
<b>Sexually Aggressive Behavior</b>				
Threatened physical force for sex	1.10%	.003		1279
Used physical force for sex	0.80%	.003		1276
Rape Myth Acceptance Scale	-0.18	.110	-15.03-9.47	1139
<b>Frequency of pornography use</b>	1.052	.025	0-5	1316

### Demographic Characteristics

As shown in Table 1, respondents report a wide range of ages, with a mean of 38. The majority of respondents were white (57.8%). In regards to marital status, respondents most frequently reported being married (42.2%), and educationally reported either some college (36.3%) or at least a bachelor's degree (34.8%).

### Personal History

Just over one-third (34.5%) of the respondents reported that their parents were divorced. One in eight (12.6%) reported being touched sexually as a child and 13% reported being

physically hurt as children. Additionally, one-quarter (24.9%) of the respondents reported either currently or in the past having served in the military.

### **General Sexual Behavior**

The vast majority of respondents (90%) identified as exclusively heterosexual. Given the lack of variability in sexual orientation, this variable was excluded from further analysis. Most frequently, respondents reported having one (36.8%) or two (16.4%) sexual partners in the last 12 months. Slightly more than 20% of respondents reported having sex two or three times a month during the past 12 months, although approximately 18% and 17%, respectively, reported having sex either once a week or two or three times a week. Approximately 40% of the respondents indicated that they had not had sex with a prostitute in the past twelve months. Most commonly (48%), men reported that they had either had sex with a prostitute only one time, or more than one time, but less than once per month in the past year.

### **Sexually Aggressive Behavior**

An extremely low frequency of reported use of threats or actual violence for purposes of obtaining sex was reported. Only 14 and 11 respondents, respectively, indicated that they had used either threats of or actual violence to get sex (eight respondents replied they had used both). Consequently, as with sexual orientation, questions assessing whether a respondent had used threats of or actual violence to get sex were excluded from further analysis due to lack of variability. Additionally, there was very little endorsement of rape myths within the sample (see Monto & Hotaling, 2001).

### **Frequency of Pornography Use**

Twenty five percent of the sample reported never using pornography, and approximately 90% of the respondents who did report using pornography claimed to do so less than once a month.

### **Exploratory Analysis**

The analysis was conducted in two steps. In the first step, regression analysis was used to examine the relationship among all the hypothesized predictors (e.g., demographic characteristics, personal background characteristics, general sexual behavior, and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale), and the dependent variable, frequency of pornography use. Categorical variables were dummy coded. For marital status, individuals who reported being married were treated as the comparison group (group assigned zero's throughout). White was the comparison group for race/ethnicity. The comparison group for education level was having a high school diploma or less. Not working full or part-time was the comparison group for employment status. All the predictors were entered into the equation simultaneously.

Table 2 displays the regression coefficients for the model. Overall, the variables in the model explained 14% of the variance in pornography use. Age, whether an individual had been sexually touched as a child, number of sex partners during the last 12 months, frequency of sex during the last 12 months, age of first sex with a prostitute, and number of times reported having sex with a prostitute during the last 12 months, were significantly related to frequency of pornography use ( $p \leq .05$ ). The variables that failed to make a significant contribution included whether an individual's parents were divorced, whether they had been physically hurt as a child, had served in the military, and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale.

**Table 2.**  
**Regression Model**

	<b>b</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>Z Statistic<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Beta</b>
<b>Variable</b>				
Age	-.011*	.003	-4.247	-.142
<b>Marital status</b>				
Divorced	.055	.062	0.884	.026
Never Married	.144*	.061	2.360	.076
<b>Race/ethnicity</b>				
African American	-.033	.108	-0.303	-.008
Hispanic	.114	.067	-1.692	-.051
Asian	.213*	.076	2.793	.079
Other	-.139	.118	-1.174	-.031
<b>Education level</b>				
Some College	.198*	.060	3.325	.106
Bachelor's or Master's	.249*	.062	3.988	.132
<b>Employment Status</b>				
Parents Divorced	.037	.052	0.708	.019
Touched Sexually as a Child	.180*	.074	2.442	.066
Physically Hurt as a Child	.044	.073	0.599	.017
Military Service	.091	.058	1.567	.044
Number of sex partners	.035*	.017	2.107	.073
Frequency of sex	.042*	.015	2.741	.081
Age first sex with prostitute	.058*	.020	2.846	.082
# of times sex with prostitute	.113*	.027	4.244	.141
Rape Myth Acceptance Scale	.010	.007	1.374	.040

<sup>a</sup> Significant at  $p \leq .05$  with value equal to or greater than 1.96;  $R^2 = .140$ .

Significant test statistics for the regression coefficients for the dummy coded variables are equivalent to a test of difference between the mean of the group identified by the vector and the comparison group (e.g. white, the comparison group, and African American, the group identified by the vector). Examination of the regression coefficients for the dummy coded variables in the model suggest that frequency of pornography use also varied as a function of group membership (i.e., results presented in Table 2 indicate that there were significant findings

for participants that reported never being married, Asian, having some college, and a Bachelor’s or Master’s degree, respectively).

Given that significant results were found for group membership, as defined by marital status, race/ethnicity, educational level, and employment status, respectively, the second step of the analysis involved further examination of the relationship between group membership and frequency of pornography use. As in the first step of the analysis, a series of regressions were conducted to examine the relationship among the hypothesized predictors and frequency of pornography use - defined by group membership. To have the most parsimonious models possible, variables that failed to yield a significant relationship with frequency of pornography use in the first step of the analysis were excluded from subsequent models. The removal of these variables did not change the pattern of estimated coefficients. Results of these regressions as well as the average frequency of pornography use (as described above, frequency of pornography use was measured on a 0 [never] to 5 [several times a day scale]) for each subgroup are presented in Table 3.

<b>Table 3.</b>									
<b>Relationship among the hypothesized predictors and frequency of pornography use - defined by group membership.</b>									
Variable	Marital status								
	Married (n=560)			Divorced (n=304)			Never Married (n=464)		
Mean Freq. of Porn. Use	.945			1.029			1.195		
	b	SE	Beta	b	SE	Beta	b	SE	Beta
Age	-.004	.003	-.049	<b>-.014*</b>	<b>.005</b>	<b>-.161</b>	-.007	.006	-.061
Touched Sexually	.036	.106	.014	<b>.300*</b>	<b>.146</b>	<b>.114</b>	<b>.334*</b>	<b>.137</b>	<b>.113</b>
# of Sex Partners	.015	.028	.031	.016	.036	.035	<b>.094*</b>	<b>.028</b>	<b>.186</b>
Freq. of Sex	<b>.068*</b>	<b>.023</b>	<b>.132</b>	.023	.034	.045	.021	.027	.040
Age Sex w/Prost.	<b>.065*</b>	<b>.028</b>	<b>.105</b>	.070	.039	.105	.071	.045	.082
# of Times w/Prost.	<b>.115*</b>	<b>.043</b>	<b>.155</b>	<b>.176*</b>	<b>.054</b>	<b>.230</b>	.068	.048	.078

**Table 3.**  
**Relationship among the hypothesized predictors and frequency of pornography use -**  
**defined by group membership.**

Variable	Education Level								
	HS Diploma or Less (n=384)			Some College (n=482)			Bachelor's or Master's (n=463)		
Mean Freq. of Porn. Use	.833			1.109			1.173		
	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Age	-.005	.004	-.073	<b>-.015*</b>	<b>.004</b>	<b>-.190</b>	<b>-.012*</b>	<b>.004</b>	<b>-.138</b>
Touched Sexually	.133	.137	.049	.179	.115	.069	<b>.291*</b>	<b>.125</b>	<b>.108</b>
# of Sex Partners	.055	.028	.116	<b>.058*</b>	<b>.028</b>	<b>.118</b>	.017	.029	.037
Freq. of Sex	<b>.053*</b>	<b>.024</b>	<b>.120</b>	.041	.026	.076	-.014	.028	-.025
Age Sex w/Prost.	<b>.098*</b>	<b>.036</b>	<b>.143</b>	<b>.080*</b>	<b>.037</b>	<b>.109</b>	.007	.033	.010
# of Times w/Prost.	.093	.048	.113	.080	.046	.100	<b>.171*</b>	<b>.046</b>	<b>.225</b>
Variable	Employment Status								
	Not Employed (n=170)			Employed (n=1132)					
Mean Freq. of Porn. Use	1.130			1.039					
	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Beta</u>			
Age	<b>-.010*</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>-.113</b>	<b>-.015*</b>	<b>.004</b>	<b>-.245</b>			
Touched Sexually	.136	.079	.051	<b>.647*</b>	<b>.209</b>	<b>.224</b>			
# of Sex Partners	<b>.046*</b>	<b>.018</b>	<b>.095</b>	<b>.117*</b>	<b>.045</b>	<b>.236</b>			
Freq. of Sex	<b>.050*</b>	<b>.017</b>	<b>.096</b>	-.046	.043	-.088			
Age Sex w/Prost.	<b>.079*</b>	<b>.023</b>	<b>.111</b>	.017	.053	.024			
# of Times w/Prost.	<b>.091*</b>	<b>.030</b>	<b>.113</b>	<b>.152*</b>	<b>.068</b>	<b>.188</b>			
* Significant at $p \leq .05$ with value equal to or greater than 1.96.									

<b>Table 3.</b>									
<b>Relationship among the hypothesized predictors and frequency of pornography use - defined by group membership.</b>									
Variable	Race/Ethnicity								
	White (n=757)			African American (n=68)			Hispanic (n=264)		
Mean Freq. of Pornography Use	1.082			1.086			.871		
	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Age	<b>-.012*</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>-.147</b>	.000	.010	.003	-.001	.007	-.013
Touched Sexually	.147	.095	.055	.179	.282	.078	<b>.380*</b>	<b>.181</b>	<b>.131</b>
# of Sex Partners	<b>.051*</b>	<b>.022</b>	<b>.110</b>	-.116	.068	-.252	.071	.037	.135
Freq. of Sex	.029	.021	.054	.077	.063	.157	.062	.032	.129
Age Sex w/Prost.	<b>.054*</b>	<b>.025</b>	<b>.082</b>	.003	.086	.004	.037	.060	.040
# of Times w/Prost.	<b>.086*</b>	<b>.035</b>	<b>.113</b>	<b>.256*</b>	<b>.100</b>	<b>.348</b>	.099	.068	.102
Variable	Race/Ethnicity								
	Asian (n=167)			Other (n=57)					
Mean Freq. of Pornography Use	1.264			.858					
	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>SE</u>			
Age	<b>-.024*</b>	<b>.006</b>	<b>-.024*</b>	<b>.006</b>	<b>-.024*</b>	<b>.006</b>			
Touched Sexually	.274	.194	.274	.194	.274	.194			
# of Sex Partners	<b>.106*</b>	<b>.050</b>	<b>.106*</b>	<b>.050</b>	<b>.106*</b>	<b>.050</b>			
Freq. of Sex	-.042	.049	-.042	.049	-.042	.049			
Age Sex w/Prost.	.091	.059	.091	.059	.091	.059			
# of Times w/Prost.	.090	.082	.090	.082	.090	.082			

The first step in the analysis indicated that respondents who reported never being married were more frequent users of pornography than those who reported being married. Examination of the regression coefficients for never married respondents in step 2 indicates that being touched sexually as a child and the number of sex partners in the past 12 months are significantly related to frequency of pornography use among this subgroup of men. Significant differences (in step 1) were also found between respondents who had some college or a bachelor's or master's degree and those with a high school diploma or less. Analysis revealed that age is inversely related to frequency of pornography use for both men with some college and those with a bachelor's or master's degree. In addition to age, number of sex partners and reported age when they first had sex with a prostitute are significantly related to frequency of pornography use among men with

some college. Among men with bachelor's or master's degrees, being touched sexually as a child and the number of times they have been with a prostitute are significant predictors of pornography use.

There were also significant differences in pornography use between respondents based on employment status. With the exception of being touched sexually, all the predictors were significantly related to pornography use for men who reported not being employed full or part-time. For men who were employed, frequency of sex and age they first reported having sex with a prostitute failed to yield a significant relationship with frequency of pornography use.

Finally, in regards to race/ethnicity, the initial regression model indicated that there was a significant difference in frequency of pornography use between white and Asian men, with Asian men having a higher frequency of pornography use than men in any other racial/ethnic group. Examination of the regression coefficients in Table 3 indicates that only age and number of sex partners were significantly related to pornography use among Asian respondents; age was inversely related to pornography use.

## DISCUSSION

Given the dearth of information regarding the male clients of female prostitutes, this study was exploratory. In particular, we sought to explore the potential link between patronizing prostitutes, consuming pornography, and sexually violent activities. Results indicated that sexually aggressive behaviors among this sample were infrequent. Thus, within this sample, no relationship was found between patronizing prostitutes, consuming pornography, and sexual violence.

Somewhat surprisingly, in contrast to prior work and our own predictions, the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale failed to reach significance (i.e., there was no relationship between participants' belief in rape myths and pornography use). A number of methodological issues may have affected this particular finding. As stated above, this sample was generally well educated, with over 70% reporting they had *at least* some college. The respondents, who already fall into a stigmatized category (e.g. arrested johns), may have "seen through" the questions comprising the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, and responded in what they thought was a more socially acceptable, less stigmatized way. Thus, biased responses may have attenuated any relationship between the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale and frequency of pornography use.

Furthermore, although the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale was comprised of multiple items and measured at the interval level, both the other measures of sexual aggression were single items with dichotomous response options. Examination of the results indicated that there was a relatively low frequency of affirmative responses to these questions and they were subsequently dropped from further analyses. It may be that measures that are comprised of multiple items, that survey a range of sexually threatening and violent behaviors, *and* record responses on a more sensitive scale (i.e. interval level) may be more appropriate tools for assessing engagement in sexually aggressive behavior. Notwithstanding, it is quite possible that among this particular

population that there is relatively little relationship between pornography use and sexual aggression. Further research employing more sensitive measures of sexual aggression is needed to better understand the relationship between sexual aggression and pornography use among male customers of female prostitutes.

Relatedly, there are many different types of pornography. The variables assessing frequency of pornography use in the study from which these data were taken did not specify the content of the pornographic material (e.g., depictions of forced sexual acts or more consensual interactions). It is likely that there is significant variability among the sample in terms of their preference in regards to the content, as well as delivery method (e.g., video, magazine, internet, peep show, etc.) of pornographic material. Future studies incorporating more sensitive measures of pornography use and variety may allow us to identify subgroups of pornography users and differential predictors associated with these subgroups. For example, it may be that more sexually aggressive men prefer pornography that depicts violence (Seto et al., 2001).

In addition to the focus on pornography and violence, we sought to develop a greater understanding of the demographic and personal background characteristics, as well as the non-violent sexual activities among the male clients of street level prostitutes. To this effect, our analysis identified 10 variables that collectively account for 14% of the variance associated with frequency of pornography use among this sample of street prostitutes' clients. The variables that were significant predictors of frequency of pornography use include all five of the tested demographics, one of four personal background traits (whether an individual had been sexually touched as a child), and four of the five assessed general sexual behavior variables (number of sex partners during the last 12 months, frequency of sex during the last 12 months, age of first sex with a prostitute, and number of times reported having sex with a prostitute during the last 12 months). The results indicated that age, the number of times respondents reported having sex with a prostitute during the last 12 months, and educational level were associated with the largest increases in frequency of pornography use. Thus, men who had sex more frequently with prostitutes, who were more educated, and who were younger, were more frequent users of pornography than other men in the sample.

Significant subgroup differences defined by demographic categories were also found to be important correlates of frequency of pornography use. Never married men were more frequent users of pornography than their married counterparts, as were men with higher levels of education. Respondents who reported being unemployed were more frequent consumers of pornography, as were Asian men. It is also important to point out that whether a respondent was touched sexually as a child consistently appears to play a significant role in frequency of pornography use for some groups of men (divorced and never married men, men with college degrees and employed men). Clearly, having been sexually abused as a child plays a role in frequency of pornography consumption; however, further research is needed to fully understand this relationship.

Several limitations of the present work should be acknowledged. Although participation was voluntary and the participation rate was 80%, participants were men arrested for soliciting

female prostitutes and participating in deferred adjudication programs (Monto, 1999a, 1999b). As noted in Busch et al. (2002), “their attitudes may not be representative of male customers as a whole. [Moreover,] the connection between attitudes and behaviors is not direct” (pg. 1109). Although not a universally accepted position, a large body of research supports the reliability and validity of self-report data (e.g. Darke, 1998; Hindeland, Hirschi, & Weis, 1981; Hser, 1993; Lauritsen, 1998; Rouse, Kozel, & Richards, 1985). It is important to note that the study from which these data were drawn relies heavily on respondents’ self-reports of socially undesirable behaviors. Care should be taken in interpreting and generalizing these results as the sample may not be fully representative of the population of clients of street prostitutes. Finally, it should be acknowledged that this study examines correlates of behaviors. The time ordering of activities can not be deduced from the data. Many of the predictors of pornography use could have occurred contemporaneously to or after the use of pornography. Care must therefore be exercised in interpreting findings.

It should be noted that a particular strength of the current study is our handling of missing data. Prior published research utilizing these data has either failed to address this issue or used mean substitution. This suggests that conclusions based on prior analyses may be significantly biased (Choi et al., 2005; Graham et al., 1997; Graham et al., 1994). The current study imputed missing data via a raw maximum-likelihood procedure allowing us to obtain unbiased parameter estimates and reasonable standard errors (Choi et al., 2005; Muthen & Muthen, 2000). Thus, conclusions based on the analyses reported here are done without the threats present in prior studies with this data.

In conclusion, this was an exploratory study that sought to increase our understanding of behavior among an understudied population: male customers of female, street level prostitutes. Results of this research suggest that although pornography use may not be rampant among this population, there are demographic, personal background, and general sexual behavior variables that are predictive of pornography consumption. These results also call into question the veracity of feminist claims regarding connections between pornography consumption, objectification of women, and violence against women. Men who patronize street-level prostitutes are not especially likely to be frequent consumers of pornography.

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### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

**Richard Tewksbury** is a Professor in the Department of Justice Administration at the University of Louisville. He holds degrees in sociology from The Ohio State University. He is primarily interested in issues of deviant behavior (crime, drug use/abuse, sexuality), men's studies and qualitative methods. He is actively involved in a variety of research and service projects working with correctional departments and institutions, police departments, and social service agencies.

**Seana Golder** is an Assistant Professor in the Kent School of Social Work at the University of Louisville. She received her M.S.W from Louisiana State University and her Ph.D. in Social Welfare from the University of Washington. Her primary research interests are around the issues of women's risk behavior (e.g., substance use, sexual risk, and lawbreaking) and involvement in the criminal justice system.