

Masculinities and Sexual Violence among a Sample of Clients of Street Prostitutes

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the predictors of violent sexual ideology among a sample of clients of street prostitutes. Despite the abundance of feminist theory and research on prostitution and sexual violence, very little research examines clients of prostitutes, who have many opportunities to perpetrate sexual violence against women who engage in prostitution (Davis 1993). Because street prostitutes are structurally vulnerable to male violence due to the low respectability of their occupation, clients are especially important to study. Because violence against women and sex work has both been studied in relationship to masculinities, this study examined the relationship between marginalized masculinities and violent sexual ideology among 423 clients of street prostitutes. The sample studied was derived from the National Institute of Justice Clients of Street Prostitutes 1996-1999. Using OLS regressions, I determined the significant predictors of violent sexual ideology among these clients. I found that rape myth acceptance, frequency of pornography use, frequency of sex, age, frequency of thinking about sex, lower levels of sexual conservatism and lower levels of perceived attractiveness were significantly related to violent sexual ideology.

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Chapter 1: Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to examine the predictors of violent sexual ideology among a sample of male clients of female street prostitutes. It is important to study male clients of prostitutes to further understanding of the relationship between masculinity, prostitution and violence against women. I used a secondary data set derived from the National Institute of Justice on Clients of Street Prostitutes in Portland, Oregon, San Francisco and Santa Clara, California and Las Vegas, Nevada, 1996-1999. I analyzed these data from a positivist paradigm using bivariate correlations and ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions.

Reliable national samples of men have shown that only a minority of men visit prostitutes and an even smaller minority participate in sexual violence in those interactions (Monto and McRee 2005). Among clients in the data set I studied, only 11 of 1276 clients, less than one percent, reported having used violent physical force for sex. Understanding the characteristics of men who visit prostitutes and exhibit violent sexual ideology, then, is important, as street prostitutes face a high level of danger in their occupational lives (Sanchez 1997), and clients of prostitutes are not dramatically different from other men in terms of their general beliefs and ideologies (Monto and McRee 2005). This study, therefore, has implications for the study of violence against women in general.

In addition, this study adds to feminist theories that address prostitution, sex work and rape. Feminists have theorized the relationship between visiting prostitutes and masculinity (Schotten 2005) and between masculinity and sexual violence (Scully 1990). Overall, I argue that among men who visit prostitutes, a combination of factors associated with failure to live up to dominant standards of masculinity predict violent sexual ideology. I also examine the strength of the relationship between “rape myth acceptance,” beliefs in cultural myths that rationalize acts

of sexual violence to the perpetrator, and violent sexual ideology. To frame my theoretical argument, I begin by discussing violence against street prostitutes, pointing to the importance of studying the attitudes and behaviors of prostitutes' male clients. Then I discuss theoretical understandings of masculinities and feminist understandings of the relationships between masculinities, sexual violence, and prostitution. Examining the predictors of violent sexual ideology based on a model of masculinities among a sample of clients of street prostitutes elucidates the connection between masculinities, prostitution and sexual violence.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Street prostitutes in the United States are frequent victims of rape and physical assaults (Barnard 1993; Farley & Barkan 1998; Silbert & Pines 1983) and are overrepresented among female murder victims (Miller & Jayasundara 2001). Fifty-eight percent of street prostitutes in one study reported having experienced some form of violence in the past six months, ranging from being slapped, punched, or kicked, to anal rape (Church et al. 2001). Most street prostitutes in an ethnographic study reported having experienced customer violence ranging from unwanted slapping to rape and kidnapping (Hoigard and Finstad 1992). Male customers are the main perpetrators of violence against female prostitutes (Davis 1993), although most customers are not violent.

Street prostitutes are frequently targets of male violence in part because of the low likelihood that they will contact or be taken seriously by the police, due to the low respectability of their social position. That is, law varies with respectability (Black 1976), and street prostitutes have a difficult time invoking law in their favor, although they are frequently arrested. This relationship between prostitutes and the police not only allows perpetrators of violence to get away with it, but may also be a reason that men choose to engage in violence against street prostitutes in particular. Consider this quote from a male customer of streetwalking prostitutes:

One of the girls I know got raped and then thrown out into the road without her clothes, and the only reason [these guys] can get away with it is because no workin' girl is gonna call the cops (in Sanchez 1997: 555).

Furthermore, within the context of prostitution, men may not recognize abusive behavior perpetrated by themselves or others as violence (Miller & Schwartz 1995; Scully 1990). For example, Scully's (1990) analysis of interviews with convicted rapists revealed a particularly brutal form of gang rape where a woman is kidnapped off the street, because, as rationalized

from the rapists' perspective, women on the street at night are probably prostitutes, and prostitutes have no rights.

Although feminists have theorized the relationship between men who visit prostitutes and masculinity (Schotten 2005) and between masculinity and sexual violence (Scully 1990; Sanday 1990), no study that I know of has attempted to determine the relationship between masculinities and sexual violence among clients of street prostitutes. I first discuss the culture of masculinity in the context of the United States to better understand the interplay between masculinities, sexual violence and prostitution.

2.1 The Culture of Masculinity in the U.S.

There is no universal masculinity; and, the characteristics and behaviors associated with masculine identification vary cross culturally and historically. Chafetz (1974) identified areas of "traditional" masculinity, associated with the male gender role in Western culture, that included physical (strength, virility, attractiveness), functional (breadwinner), sexual (aggressive toward women) and emotional (stoic). David and Brannon (1976) posited four normative rules among men in the United States for establishing masculinity: "no sissy stuff," (no behavior associated with femininity), "be a big wheel," (success, wealth, power, status, fame), "be a sturdy oak," (self-reliant, tough, strong, calm), and "give 'em hell" (exhibit risk-taking and aggressive behavior). Doyle (1983) also identified elements of the male gender role in the United States including being anti-feminine, successful, aggressive, sexual (constant, insatiable desire for sex), and self-reliant. Studies of men on masculinity and the male gender role have repeatedly reinforced the importance of the aforementioned characteristics for men in the West, even claiming that failure to live up to these standards results in psychological distress among men

who place a high importance on stereotypical “manliness,” i.e. striving for success and power and being unemotional, (Blazina & Watkins, 2000; Fischer & Good, 1997; Good et al., 1995; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991).

Of course not all men are concerned with their identification with all or even any of the characteristics associated with masculinity and male gender role expectations. As Butler (1990) pointed out, gender is a performative display, and very few men display the hyperbolic masculinity that would indicate high association with all of the masculine traits. It is important to understand masculinities beyond gender role expectations, and to acknowledge that gender is a fluid, situational construct that is performed by social agents.

Connell’s (1995) depiction of hegemonic masculinity was not intended as a universalizing concept that applies to all men, but provides a useful framework for understanding the relationship between the dominant culture and micro-social practices. Originally intended as a critique of “male sex role” research and theory on men and gender, Connell (1987) introduced the concept of hegemonic masculinity within the context of a model of multiple masculinities and power relations. Derived from the Gramscian notion of hegemony as an active struggle for dominance, Connell used the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a framework to understand the complexity of gender construction for men. He also pointed to men’s agency in establishing a pattern of practices that facilitate male dominance over women and can include the use of violence (Connell 2005). Viewing the social construction of masculinity in this way can add to feminist theories of rape as well as feminist theories of prostitution and sex work by conceptualizing men’s violent sexual behavior and interactions with prostitutes as an active attempt to display their masculinity.

2.2 Masculinities and Sexual Violence

Brownmiller (1975) asserted that rape is an act of power that provides a rationale for male bonding and masculine validation by degrading and dehumanizing the female victims. Violence against women, enacted by men in the name of masculinity and male bonding, is perpetuated in part by the belief in rape myths. Rape myths are defined as prejudicial, false beliefs about rape that serve to justify violence against women by assuming that women are themselves responsible for becoming victims of rape (Burt 1980). Research supports this assertion. For example, Scully and Marolla (1985) found in in-depth interviews with 114 convicted rapists that most of them used rape stereotypes to make their victims appear deserving of blame for their own rape, deny a rape occurred due to the victim's bad reputation, or that the rapist had made her fantasies come true. In this way, the rapists defined sexual violence against women in a way as the act is rewarding to the perpetrator because their feelings of guilt are neutralized prior to engaging in sexually violent behavior. Furthermore, rape myths and stereotypes work to validate men's dominant, masculine position by dehumanizing the female victims.

Monto and Hotaling (2001) found that the most significant predictors of rape myth acceptance among clients of street prostitutes were thinking about sex less frequently, sexual conservatism and attraction to violent sexuality. Participation in sexual violence (having used force or threatened to use force to get sex), sexual conservatism and attraction to violent sexuality were positively correlated with rape myth acceptance, and frequency of thinking about sex, number of sex partners in the last year and frequency of sex in the past year were negatively correlated with rape myth acceptance. This study showed that rape myth acceptance and violent sexuality are significantly related, and the sexual dimension of masculinity (including frequency of sex and number of sex partners in the past year) is negatively associated with rape myth

acceptance among this sample of clients. This negative relationship implies that men who are unable to live up to the expectation of sexual virility (a sign of masculine status) are more likely to espouse beliefs that women deserve to be raped.

Vogelman and Lewis (1993) examined the incidence of rape in South Africa and found that gang rape, or “jackrolling,” was a common act perpetrated by marginalized, unemployed youth. Scully (1990) similarly found that young, high school age boys were the main perpetrators of gang rapes in her United States sample. The importance of masculinity, and especially the performative display of masculinity, is illustrated in the following quote from a young, convicted gang rapist:

We felt powerful, we were in control. I wanted sex and there was peer pressure. She wasn't like a person, no personality, just domination on my part. Just to show I could do it – you know, macho (Scully 1990: 156).

Sanday (1990) similarly found that being “macho,” able to “perform” and engaging in male bonding were rationalizations provided by fraternity members who engaged in gang rape and sexual violence.

Rape myth acceptance indicates a belief in male sexual dominance; and sexual violence against women can be conceptualized as the active display of masculinity-using females' bodies. It is now necessary to understand how masculinity is related to sex work and prostitution in particular to further understand the relationship between masculinities, rape myth acceptance and violent sexual ideology and behavior among clients of street prostitutes.

2.3 Masculinities and Sex Work

Just as rape can be conceptualized as men's enactment of masculinity vis-à-vis females' bodies, male clients of sex workers can also be viewed as seeking validation of their masculine

position. In studies of interactions between clients and sex workers in strip clubs, it has been theorized that the male clients are seeking reinforcement of their masculinity vis-à-vis the stripper's objectified displays of femininity during the commodified exchange (Egan 2005; Hanna 1998). Schotten (2005) noted that most feminist research on sex work ignores male clients altogether or provides a deterministic view of gender relations and inequality. She suggests re-framing feminist analyses of sex work as a symptom or function of masculinities. I agree that this re-framing is necessary given the dearth of discussions of masculinity in feminist theorizing on sex work and prostitution.

Most feminist theorizing about prostitution and sex work centers on the “sex wars” debate, which can be viewed as a continuum where, on one end, the feminists against systems of prostitution and pornography see women who work in the sex industry as coerced by the larger patriarchal structure of society to engage in such work. On the other end, feminists who espouse a Prostitute's Rights, “pro-sex,” or “sex-radical” viewpoint assert that sex workers have agency as individuals to choose their occupation (Simmons 1999). On the anti-prostitution side, feminists such as MacKinnon (1987) have asserted that sexual relations between male clients and prostitutes are always unequal and always result in women's subordination. Dworkin (1979) similarly argued that the sex industry, including the pornography industry, promotes violence against women. On the other side of the debate, prostitution is portrayed as sex therapy or as fulfilling a social function of addressing societal “needs” (Bell 1987; Delacoste & Alexander 1987; Pheterson 1989). These arguments are incomplete without any discussion on the social construction of men's needs and how masculine identification shapes prostitution in various contexts. Research on the lives of prostitutes and various venues for prostitution has revealed the

inadequacy of universalizing arguments on either side of the feminist debate; however, as I stated earlier, street prostitutes are women who are highly vulnerable to male violence.

Several studies have used the same data set that I used in the present study (Monto and McRee 2005; Tewksbury and Golder 2005; Monto and Julka 2003; Busch et al. 2002; Monto and Hotaling 2001; Monto 2000; Monto 1999) to examine various constellations of attitudes, characteristics and behaviors associated with rape myth acceptance, use of force for sex, pornography use, attraction to violent sexuality, degree of perceiving sex as a commodity and sense of masculine entitlement to sexual access to women. Several key insights emerged that are related to the clients' enactment of masculinities and participation in sexual violence. Monto (1999) found that the primary reason for visiting a prostitute among these clients were their desire to be with a woman who "likes to get nasty" and who is "illicit" or "risky." These reasons were ranked higher among repeat customers, and regulars were more than twice as likely to feel shy and awkward around women and have difficulty approaching non-prostitute women. Schotten (2005) argued that this implies that prostitution conforms to and reproduces dominant notions of masculine desire among male clients. That is, male clients seek validation of their masculine position in interactions with prostitutes, and become alienated from more normative interactions with women because, unlike their experiences with prostitutes, these interactions do not reinforce their sense of their own masculinity. That is why, Schotten argues, regular clients feel more shy and awkward, and have difficulty approaching non-prostitute women. Busch et al. (2002) identified markers of masculine "entitlement to power and control" among these customers, and Monto and Julka (2003) identified the degrees to which these customers conceived of sex as a commodity, which was strongly correlated with frequency of visiting prostitutes.

Clients of prostitutes are not discernibly different from national samples of men in terms of their levels of rape myth acceptance, attitudes toward prostitution and criminalization, levels of sexual conservatism, self-perceptions of attractiveness and other attitudinal variables. The small differences that do appear are a matter of degree that vary from one-time to frequent users, as in the example of clients who feel shy and awkward around women mentioned earlier (Monto and McRee 2005). The main differences are that the clients are more likely to be unmarried, less likely to be happily married if married, and more likely to participate in other aspects of the sex industry (such as pornography) and have more liberal attitudes toward sexuality. Clients furthermore were no more likely to accept rape myths as true than national samples of men (Monto and Hotaling 2001). The present study, therefore, has important implications for understanding male violence against women in general.

Chapter 3: Predicted Model and Theory

As pointed out in the literature review, masculinity is multidimensional. However, theorizing on masculinity often ignores this multidimensionality, and often concludes that masculinity leads to violence. This is problematic, as each dimension of masculinity may be related to sexual violence in a different way. Building on the findings of previous research using this data set, I conducted an exploratory study of violent sexual ideology. Violent sexual ideology is nominally defined as holding attitudes favorable to violent sex with women.

Integrating cultural understandings of masculinities in the context of the United States, I test the effects of indicators of masculinity along three main dimensions: economic (defined as socioeconomic status), sexual (defined as “sexual virility”), and perceived physical desirability (attractiveness) to women. I examined these three dimensions because they can be measured in the data set used. In general, I hypothesized that the two non-sexual dimensions of masculinity, economic and attractiveness will be inversely related to violent sexual ideology, while higher scores on the sexual dimension of masculinity will predict higher levels of violent sexual ideology among the clients of street prostitutes sampled. The sexual dimension of masculinity may be positively related to violent sexual ideology, in line with feminist research and theory that asserts that sexual violence is a component of masculinity, and vice versa. I predicted that the non-sexual dimensions of masculinity I examined would be inversely related to violent sexual ideology because men who are successful economically, or perceive themselves to be attractive to women, do not need to prove their masculinity vis-à-vis sexual violence, since they are already “manly” along those dimensions.

Failure in all three of these dimensions of masculinity, in combination, may increase the likelihood of clients’ violent sexual ideology, because success in any one of these dimensions of

masculinity may buffer men from the need to express their masculinity violently. I predicted that the main effects of these variables would be inversely related to violent sexual ideology. Moreover, the interactions (failing on any 2 dimensions simultaneously) will increase the likelihood of a higher score on the dependent variable. I further hypothesize that “failure” in all three dimensions would significantly and substantially increase the probability of higher levels of violent sexual ideology.

Because this is an exploratory study, I also included a number of other independent variables based on previous findings of studies using this data set. Monto and Hotaling (2001) found that sexual conservatism (holding attitudes that premarital, extramarital and homosexual sex, as well as sex among teenagers is wrong) and frequency of thinking about sex were significantly correlated with rape myth acceptance in that study, so I include these two variables. Tewksbury and Golder (2005) predicted pornography use among this sample of clients. They included sexual and physical abuse as a child and age of first time having sex with a prostitute in their model. They found that sexual abuse and age of first time having sex with a prostitute were significant predictors of pornography use. I included all three of these variables in my analysis, in addition to frequency of pornography use (of both videos and magazines), for exploratory purposes, to shed light on the relationship between pornography use and violent sexual ideology among clients of street prostitutes. Finally, the sexual dimension of masculinity may be a function of frequency of sex with prostitutes, so I include that as an exploratory independent variable, particularly because Schotten (2005) theorized that men who have more frequent sex with prostitutes are alienated from their sense of their own masculinity.

Chapter 4: Methods

I analyzed a secondary data set derived from the National Institute of Justice Clients of Street Prostitutes in Portland, Oregon, San Francisco and Santa Clara, California and Las Vegas, Nevada, 1996-1999. I used a positivist paradigm to test my model and to perform exploratory analyses of variables that I predicted may be related to violent sexual ideology.

4.1 Participants

The data set that I used was derived from a survey administered to 1,342 men who were arrested for attempting to pay for sex from an undercover policewoman. After being arrested, the clients were offered reduced sentences and fines to participate in client intervention programs. The sample was derived from a self-administered questionnaire that was given to these clients before the beginning of every intervention workshop. Monto (1999) pointed out that due to this method of sampling, these data may over-represent first time prostitute users since more experienced clients may be less likely to proposition an undercover officer. A slight majority of the clients were white, most had received at least some college education, and their average age was 38. Key demographic information is listed in Appendix A.

4.2 Dependent Variable

I studied violent sexual ideology (a six-item index) as the dependent variable. With a Cronbach's alpha reliability score of .63, these items are coded so that higher scores indicate higher levels of violent sexual ideology. While this alpha score is low, I still used this scale because this is exploratory research. The scale ranges from 6 to 24, with a mean of 10.17 and standard deviation of 2.97, so most clients scored on the low end of this scale. The six items that

make up the dependent variable “Sexual Violent Ideology” are listed in Table 1 along with the means, standard deviations and sample sizes of each item. Table 2 shows the frequencies for each item in the “Sexual Violent Ideology” scale by response category, which ranges from 1-4, 4 indicating a response of “agree strongly.”

Table 1: Violent Sexual Ideology Survey Items and Descriptive Statistics

Survey Item	Observed Range	Mean	S.D.	N
“Some women like to be smacked around a little during sex.”	1-4 (4=agree strongly)	1.70	.88	1189
“I like to be in control when I’m having sex”	1-4 (4=agree strongly)	2.26	.98	1232
“Being angry makes me more likely to want sex.”	1-4 (4=agree strongly)	1.24	.62	1201
“Sex is more fun if the woman fights a little.”	1-4 (4=agree strongly)	1.30	.67	1200
“I like rough hard sex.”	1-4 (4=agree strongly)	1.65	.88	1233
“I need sex immediately when I am aroused”	1-4 (4=agree strongly)	2.03	.93	1235

Table 2: Violent Sexual Ideology Frequencies (%) by Response Category

	Smacked	Sex Control	Angry Sex	Sex Fun	Like it Rough	Sex Immediately
1	55.4%	26.9%	84.3%	79.9%	57.8%	34.9%
2	22.8%	31.3%	9.7%	12.6%	23.0%	33.8%
3	18.6%	30.4%	4.0%	5.2%	15.0%	24.4%
4	3.2%	11.4%	2.0%	2.3%	4.1%	7.0%
N=	1189	1232	1201	1200	1233	1235

*Percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding

4.3 Independent Variables

The independent variables I used to test my predicted model are related to masculinity. I tested the effects of indicators of masculinity along three main dimensions: economic (measured by Hollingshead SES as an ordinal scale variable), sexual (measured by frequency of sex in the past year), and perceived attractiveness to women (measured by three items that measure clients' agreement that they find it difficult to meet non-prostitute women, feel shy and awkward around women, and feel unattractive to women combined into a scale). These variables were coded so that a higher score indicates masculine "success" and a lower score indicates higher levels of "masculinity strain" in these dimensions. I predict that the relationships between these "masculinity" variables and the dependent variables would be negative, and that the interaction effects between these independent variables would significantly predict higher levels of violent sexual ideology. I include all two-way interactions and the one three-way interaction of the masculinity variables. I theorize that clients who are marginalized in terms of these dimensions of masculinity would have higher levels of violent sexual ideology because these men may overcompensate for their perceived lack of masculinity by denigrating women sexually.

I also study the effects of rape myth acceptance on clients' violent sexual ideology. To measure rape myth acceptance, I include the same 8-item scale derived from Burt (1980) that Monto and Hotaling (2001) used. I standardized the rape myth acceptance scale per coding instructions from Monto and Hotaling (2001). Six of the scale items are measured on a 4-point Likert scale, asking clients to agree or disagree with the following statements: "If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her," "A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex," "When women go around braless or wearing short skirts and

tight tops, they are just asking for trouble,” “In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation,” “Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve,” and, “A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson.” Two of the items in the scale asked clients to estimate, “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?” and, “What percentage of reported rapes would you guess are merely invented by women who discovered they were pregnant and wanted to protect their own reputation?” The response categories for these two items were “almost all,” “about ¾,” “about half,” “about ¼,” and “almost none.” All the items were coded so that higher scores indicate higher levels of rape myth acceptance. The standardized “Rape Myth Acceptance” scale has a Cronbach’s alpha reliability score of .83, indicating it is highly reliable. The observed sample size, ranges, means, standard deviations and Cronbach’s alpha for the independent variables related to my model are listed in Table 3.

I include additional independent variables for exploratory purposes. These are: frequency of pornography use, frequency of thinking about sex, having been sexually or physically abused as a child, age of first time having sex with a prostitute, sexual conservatism and frequency of sex with prostitutes.

Frequency of pornography use is measured using a two-item scale derived from survey items that asked clients to report how often they look at pornographic magazines and movies or videos. The response categories for these two items range from 1 “never” to 6 “several times a day.” The combined scale has a Cronbach’s alpha reliability score of .680.

Frequency of thinking about sex is measured using the survey item, “On average, how often do you think about sex?” Response categories range from 1-6, corresponding with the pornography use response categories.

Experience of sexual abuse as a child is measured by a dummy variable based on the survey item, “When you were a child, were you ever touched or grabbed by an adult in a sexual way?” Physical abuse is measured by a dummy variable derived from the survey item, “When you were a child, were you ever physically hurt by an adult for no reason?” Age of first time having sex with a prostitute is a continuous variable ranging from 10-62; the mean response in the sample was age 23.

Sexual conservatism is measured by a 4-item scale based on questions comparable to questions asked in the General Social Survey (GSS). Each item asked clients to rank on a 4-point Likert scale whether they feel that extramarital sex, premarital sex, sex between teenagers and homosexual sex are “never wrong,” “only sometimes wrong,” “almost always wrong,” or “always wrong.” The response categories are coded so that a higher score on the scale corresponds with more conservative attitudes. The Cronbach’s alpha reliability score for this scale is .66.

Frequency of sex with prostitutes is measured using a range from 0 (indicating “never”) to 6 (“5 or more times per week”). The descriptive statistics and Cronbach’s alphas for scales for the independent variables related to my model, and those included for exploratory purposes are listed in Table 3.

Table 3: Independent Variables: Descriptive Statistics and Cronbach's Alpha for Scales

	N	Range	Mean	S.D.	Cronbach's Alpha
<i>Masculinity:</i>					
SES	1010	1-7 (7=exec)	3.74	1.84	
Sex Frequency	1268	0-6 (6= had sex > 3 times a week)	3.12	1.72	
Attractiveness Scale	1222	3-12	9.24	2.33	.69 (3 items, listed below)
Difficult to Meet Women	1244	1-4 (4=disagree strongly)	3.27	1.00	
Ugly to Women	1248	1-4 (4=disagree strongly)	3.15	.92	
Shy/Awkward	1246	1-4 (4=disagree strongly)	2.80	1.06	
<i>Rape Myth Acceptance:</i>					
Rape Myth Acceptance Scale	1139	-15.03-9.47	-0.18	.110	.83 (8 items)
<i>Exploratory Independent Variables:</i>					
Freq. Porn Use	1306	2-12	4.11	1.80	.68 (2 items)
Think About Sex	1277	1-6 (6=several times a day)	4.38	1.22	
Sexual Abuse	1283	0-1 (1=yes)	.13	.33	
Physical Abuse	1277	0-1 (1=yes)	.13	.34	
Sexual Conservatism	863	4-16	10.65	3.13	.66 (4 items)
Age with 1st Prost.	1018	10-62	23.50	7.45	
Frequency of Sex with Prost.	1054	0-6 (6= 5 or more times/week)	1.36	1.09	

4.4 Control Variables

Age, race and marital status are included as controls. Age and race are included since marginalized racial groups and younger respondents may have lower success in the economic dimension of masculinity. Marital status is included as a control as married clients may have more normative success in the economic and sexual dimensions of masculinity. The clients' ages ranged from 18-84, with a mean of 38. Age was included as a continuous variable in the analyses. Race was recoded into three dummy variables (Asian, Black and Hispanic), and white was the reference group in the regression analyses. The descriptive statistics for the control variables are listed in Appendix A, under demographic information.

Chapter 5: Analysis

To test the relationships between the above variables, I performed a bivariate correlation analysis and used ordinary least squares regressions. The masculinity independent variables, exploratory independent variables, Violent Sexual Ideology scale and Rape Myth Acceptance scale were included in the correlation analysis. The correlation matrix can be found in Appendix B.

To test my model and the effects of the exploratory independent variables on violent sexual ideology and behavior among clients in the sample, I tested three regression models. The first model included only the masculinity variables (SES, the Attractiveness Scale, and Frequency of Sex in the Past Year). The second model included the masculinity variables and interaction effects. The third model included all the exploratory and control variables and rape myth acceptance, in addition to the masculinity variables.

5.1 Results

The results of the OLS regression analyses are listed in Table 4. There was no significant multicollinearity found among the independent variables, as VIF scores were low, between 1 and 2.

Table 4: OLS Regression Models

Independent Variables:	Model 1: R² = .08		Model 2: R² = .08		Model 3: R² = .29	
	<i>Beta</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>S.E.</i>
SES	-.10**	.05	-.56	.51	-.08	.07
Attractiveness Scale	-.24**	.04	-.53**	.21	-.10*	.05
Sex Frequency	.13**	.06	-.16	.53	.11	.08
SES*Attractiveness			.59	.06		
Attractiveness*Sex Frequency			.37	.06		
Sex Frequency*SES			.14	.14		
SES*Attractiveness *Sex Frequency			-.36	.02		
Asian					-.04	.40
Hispanic					-.03	.38
Black					-.07	.53
Married					-.04	.25
Age					-.13**	.01
Rape Myth Acceptance					.46**	.03
Frequency of Sex with Prostitute					.01	.12
Frequency of Pornography Use					.14**	.08
Age when 1st Prostitute					.02	.02
Sexually Abused					.02	.34
Physically Abused					-.02	.35
Sexual Conservatism					-.09*	.04
Frequency of Thinking about Sex					.13**	.12

Sig. 2 tailed: * p <.05 ** p<.01

Model 1 N=850

Model 2 N=850

Model 3 N=423

In the first regression model, SES, the Attractiveness Scale and Frequency of Sex in the Past Year were all significant at the $p < .01$ level. The relationships between SES and the Attractiveness Scale with Violent Sexual Ideology were negative, which fits my general prediction about the relationship between these dimensions of masculinity and violent sexual ideology. Frequency of Sex in the Past Year was positively related to violent sexual ideology, which also fits my general prediction; clients who are successful in the sexual dimension of masculinity are more likely to have higher levels of violent sexual ideology. The R-squared for this model was low, at .08.

Only one variable was significant in the second regression model, which included the masculinity variables' interaction effects. The Attractiveness Scale was negatively related to violent sexual ideology, and the strength of the relationship did not change from model 1. The R-squared for this model was still low, at .08. Since none of the interaction effects achieved statistical significance, these items were deleted from the final model.

In the third regression model, all of the control and exploratory variables, age, perceived unattractiveness, sex frequency, Rape Myth Acceptance, frequency of pornography use, sexual conservatism and frequency of thinking about sex emerged as significant predictors of violent sexual ideology. Younger clients, those with higher levels of rape myth acceptance, more frequent pornography users, those that scored low on the "sexual conservatism" and attractiveness scales, and those that reported thinking about sex more frequently were more likely to score higher on the dependent variable. Rape myth acceptance had the strongest relationship, $B = .46$, followed by frequency of pornography use, $B = .14$, and age, $B = -.13$. The R-squared for this model was higher than the first two, at .29. The results of Model 3, indicating

the significant predictors of Violent Sexual Ideology among the variables studied, are depicted in Figure 1 below. The standardized Beta coefficients are listed.

Figure 1: Significant Predictors of Violent Sexual Ideology

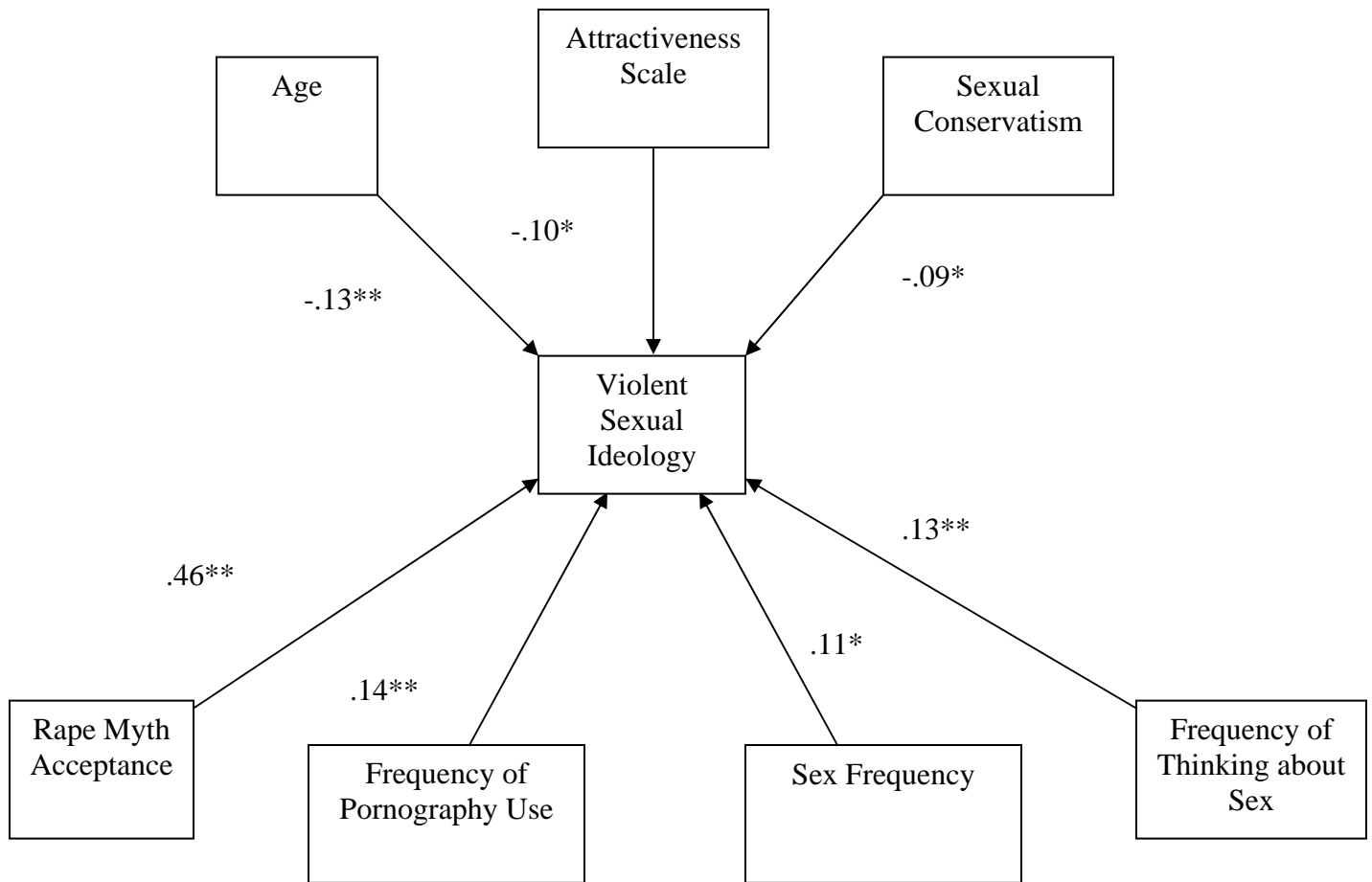


Fig. 2 tailed: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Chapter 6: Discussion

I had predicted that the non-sexual dimensions of masculinity would be inversely related to violent sexual ideology, and that the sexual dimension would be directly related. This prediction held true in the first regression model. The inclusion of interaction effects in the second model revealed that interactions were not significantly related to violent sexual ideology, but that attractiveness was still inversely related to violent sexual ideology in that model. The significant predictors that emerged in the final regression model reveal a constellation of characteristics that relate to the sexual dimension of masculinity and violent sexual ideology among clients of street prostitutes.

Age emerged as a significant predictor of violent sexual ideology, which makes theoretical sense, as younger men have less access to “success” on the economic dimension of masculinity. Perceived unattractiveness also significantly predicted violent sexual ideology, while frequency of sex in the past year was positively related to the dependent variable. Clients’ perceived unattractiveness to women may be a large component of why they engage in forms of sex work as clients. As Egan (2005) suggested, these men may be seeking confirmation of their masculinity vis-à-vis sex workers’ objectified displays of femininity. Rape Myth Acceptance also predicted violent sexual ideology. Both rape myth acceptance and violent sexual ideology may be part of a larger pattern of patriarchal beliefs about heterosexual sex. Lower levels of sexual conservatism (that is, men with more liberal attitudes) as a significant predictor of violent sexual ideology makes sense, particularly because clients have been found to be more sexually liberal than national samples of men (Monto and McRee 2005). These men may hold more liberal attitudes toward sexual activities to avoid conflict between their sexual values and desires. In addition, clients who think about sex more frequently are more likely to have higher levels of

violent sexual ideology. Use of pornography is also positively related to violent sexual ideology among the clients studied, which is in line with anti-pornography feminist assertions that pornography use leads to violence against women.

A major finding of this research is that traditional gender role understandings of masculinity are not sufficient to explain violent sexual ideology. Furthermore, masculinity cannot be studied as a one-dimensional concept. The relationship between non-sexual dimensions of masculinity (particularly attractiveness, which was significant in all three models) and violent sexual ideology is inverse, indicating that non-sexual assertions of masculinity negate the need to “prove” masculinity through sexual violence and the sexual domination of women. Among clients who are more concerned with the sexual dimension of masculinity (i.e. having sex, using pornography and thinking about sex more frequently), there is a greater likelihood that they espouse a violent sexual ideology. Again, this is due at least in part to patriarchal cultural understandings of heterosexual sex. That is, through the “sexual virility” dimension of masculinity, young clients of street prostitutes, those who participate in pornography (another form of sex work) think about sex frequently, and have sex frequently may define themselves according to normative hetero-masculine sexuality.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The study of masculinities as a multidimensional concept provides an important and useful framework for understanding sexual violence against women. An important finding of this study is that conventional gender-role based understandings of masculinity are not enough to explain violent sexual ideology among clients of street prostitutes. Instead, a constellation of factors that are related to normative, patriarchal cultural conceptions of heterosexual sex predict violent sexual ideology. In particular, rape myth acceptance, pornography use, age, low sexual conservatism, low perceived attractiveness, and higher frequencies of sex and thinking about sex emerged as the predictors of violent sexual ideology. I cannot say with certainty that the time-order relationship between pornography use, frequency of sex, thinking about sex and violent sexual ideology is one-way. It may be that clients with more violent sexual ideology seek out and use more pornography, and as a result of their ideological beliefs about heterosexual relations, think about and have sex more frequently.

The results of this study furthermore show that misogynist attitudes, indicated by higher levels of violent sexual ideology, are held by clients who are more concerned with the sexual dimension of masculinity. It may be that as men who visit prostitutes age, and have greater access to normative routes of masculine “success” (i.e. ability to fulfill the breadwinner role in a normative heterosexual marriage), their level of violent sexual ideology, as well as their concern with the sexual dimension of masculinity, decreases. Age was negatively correlated with pornography use, frequency of sex in the past year, and frequency of thinking about sex, which supports this conclusion.

In addition to problems establishing time-order, the data used for this study likely over-sampled first-time and irregular clients, since clients more familiar with street prostitution may

avoid potential undercover cops more readily than inexperienced clients. Schotten (2005) pointed out that among clients in this data set, those who visited prostitutes more frequently were more likely to view themselves as unattractive to women, and theorized that this is because interactions within the context of prostitution conform to and reproduce dominant notions of masculine desire among male clients. Studies using this data set are hard-pressed to adequately conclude anything about clients in general due to the under-sampling of regular clients. Furthermore, if wealthy clients were arrested for soliciting street prostitutes, they may have been more likely to pay the fine rather than attend the workshop where clients were surveyed for this data set.

Finally, the items I used to tap into normative dimensions of “masculinity” were only proxy measures. That is, clients’ scores on the measures of masculinity did not indicate whether the client considered himself to be successful along that dimension, or whether that dimension of masculinity was important to his self-concept or not. While this weakens the empirical support for this study of masculinities and sexual violence, the implications are encouraging for future research. Developing more accurate measures of how much men value money, sex, being attractive, being physically tough, stoic, etc. should only produce stronger results in future studies on the relationship between masculinity as a multi-dimensional concept and sexual violence against women. Certainly, more studies will need to be conducted on clients of street prostitutes, violent sexual ideology and the relationship between sexual violence against women and masculinities to more fully understand the complex constellation of factors that compose a masculine self-concept among clients of sex workers and men in general.

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Appendix A

Demographic Information about the National Institute of Justice Sample of Male Clients of Female Street Prostitutes, 1996-1999

	Observed N	Frequency	Observed Range	% for Categorical Variables / Means	S.D.
Demographics					
<i>Race/ethnicity:</i>	1313				
White		757		57.8%	
Hispanic		264		20.0%	
Asian		167		12.7%	
Black		68		5.2%	
Native American		21		1.6%	
Other		36		2.7%	
<i>Hollingshead SES:</i>	1010		1-7 (7=executive)	3.74	1.84
Executives		92		9.1%	
Managers		80		7.9%	
Admin. Personnel		237		23.5%	
Clerical/sales/tech		124		12.3%	
Skilled Manual		153		15.1%	
Semi-Skilled		193		19.1%	
Unskilled		131		12.8%	
<i>Age:</i>	1248		18-84	37.853	.311
<i>Education Level:</i>	1329				
No High School		140		10.5%	
Graduated H.S.		244		18.4%	
Some College		482		36.3%	
Bachelor's		321		24.2%	
Master's		142		10.7%	
<i>Marital Status:</i>	1328		0-1 (1=married)	.42	.49
Married		560		42.2%	
Unmarried		768		57.8%	

Appendix B

Bivariate Correlation Matrix

	SES Scale	Attract. Scale	Sex Freq.	Married	Age	Sex. Viol. Ideol.	Rape Myth Accept.	Freq. Sex with Prost.	Freq. Porn. Use	Age 1 st prost.	Sexually Abused	Physically Abused	Sexual Conservatism	Freq. Think Sex
SES Scale	1	.16**	.11**	.09**	.18**	-.09**	-.26**	.08*	.14**	.13**	-.01	-.02	-.26**	.25**
Attractiveness Scale		1	.21**	.11**	.07**	-.27**	-.29**	-.10**	-.08**	.03	-.05	-.08**	-.10**	.08**
Sex Freq.			1	.11**	-.07*	.04	-.16**	.16**	.13**	-.07*	-.01	.03	-.15**	.33**
Married				1	.25**	-.10**	-.02	-.07*	-.11**	.02	-.02	-.06*	.12**	.02
Age					1	-.14**	-.02	.01	-.11**	.24**	.02	-.01	-.04	-.06*
Sexual Violence Ideology						1	.48**	.11**	.20**	-.10**	.06	.08**	-.05	.04
Rape Myth Acceptance							1	-.01	-.06*	-.10**	.01	.03	.26**	-.33**
Freq. Sex with Prost.								1	.18**	-.04	.06	.07*	-.10*	.20**
Freq. Porn. Use									1	-.06*	.10**	.07*	-.27**	.33**
Age 1st Prost.										1	-.05	-.01	-.03	-.05
Sexually Abused											1	.24**	.01	.06*
Physically Abused												1	-.03	.09**
Sexual Conservatism													1	-.31**
Freq. Think Sex														1

Sig. 2-tailed: *p<.05 **p<.01