

Gender & Society

<http://gas.sagepub.com>

"Click Here": A Content Analysis of Internet Rape Sites

JENNIFER LYNN GOSSETT and SARAH BYRNE

Gender Society 2002; 16; 689

DOI: 10.1177/089124302236992

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://gas.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/16/5/689>

Published by:

 SAGE Publications

<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:



[Sociologists for Women in Society](http://www.sociologistsforwomen.org)

Additional services and information for *Gender & Society* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://gas.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://gas.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations (this article cites 22 articles hosted on the
SAGE Journals Online and HighWire Press platforms):
<http://gas.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/16/5/689>

**“CLICK HERE”
A Content Analysis of
Internet Rape Sites**

JENNIFER LYNN GOSSETT
SARAH BYRNE
University of Cincinnati

Research on pornography has distinguished between its violent and nonviolent forms. Analyses of the content of violent pornography have largely focused on readily available soft-core images in adult films and magazines. However, current research has not adequately addressed pornography on the Internet. We show that discussions about violent pornography are incomplete without an understanding of the Internet as a unique and rapidly expanding medium for disseminating images of sexual violence against women. This article attempts to fill that gap by examining violent pornography using a sample of 31 free Internet sites. Each site was analyzed for its portrayal of women victims, male perpetrators, and its story of rape. Please be advised that the analysis contains graphic descriptions of violence toward women found on Internet rape sites.

As cyberspace becomes more accessible to individuals, old social issues such as pornography are resurfacing. Since the mid-1990s, the Internet has posed new questions about the reality, regulation, definition, and availability of pornography. Research on pornography often distinguishes between its violent and nonviolent forms in films, videos, and magazines. This article examines violent depictions of pornography on the Internet, focusing on images of victims, perpetrators, and their interactions. We show how these images or icons create the context of rape on Internet sites. We argue that the distinction between violent and nonviolent pornography in previous research, perhaps inadvertently, led to ignoring who the victims and perpetrators are in violent Internet pornography. This is an important omission

AUTHORS' NOTE: *We would like to express great thanks to Anna Linders for her support and guidance in this research project. We would also like to thank Marcia Bellas, William Feinberg, Catherine Raissiguier, Patricia Hill Collins, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier versions of this article.*

REPRINT REQUESTS: *Sarah Byrne, University of Cincinnati, Department of Sociology, 1018 Crosley Tower, PO Box 210378, Cincinnati, OH 45221-0378.*

GENDER & SOCIETY, Vol. 16 No. 5, October 2002 689-709
DOI: 10.1177/089124302236992

© 2002 Sociologists for Women in Society

because pornography typically portrays a relationship between the icons of female victims and male perpetrators (and viewers) with the privilege to “gaze” (Hill Collins 1991; Mulvey 1975). The representation of this relationship is the focus of our research.

THE DEFINITIONS OF PORNOGRAPHY

Defining pornography is as difficult and controversial as researching this topic. There are no consistent or generally agreed on definitions among scholars who study pornography or among the political camps that advocate policy regarding the regulation of pornography. Supreme Court Justice Potter alluded to the difficulties of defining pornography in his oft-quoted remark that he could not define obscenity but that he knew it when he saw it. Clearly, everyone does not see pornography in the same way, as is evident in the variety of definitions researchers use for pornography. For example, Check (1985) referred to pornography as “sexually explicit material,” without clarifying its meaning. In contrast, many feminists do not define pornography as simply sexually explicit material, instead arguing that the manner in which the sexual images are portrayed is what makes the images pornographic. Therefore, Russell defines pornography as “material that combines sex and/or the exposure of genitals with abuse or degradation in a manner that appears to endorse, condone, or encourage such behavior” (1998, 3). Similarly, Dworkin and MacKinnon defined pornography as “the graphic sexually explicit subordination of women through pictures and/or word” (1988, 36). Although what constitutes pornography is often contested among feminists, the concern with real-life violence has led many feminists to label pornography “hate literature” and “violence against women” (Brownmiller 1975; Dines, Jensen, and Russo 1998; Dworkin 1988). Thus, pornography research is often concerned with categorizing which sexually explicitly images are degrading or empowering, and violent or nonviolent, because of underlying concerns about the negative effects of pornography on the actual lived gender relations rather than on its specific content, which is the focus of this article.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Concerns about the real-life implications of pornography have often guided researchers to seek causal links between pornography and actual instances of violence against women (Russell 1994). Violence in pornography is usually considered to include the acts of sexual assault, physical and emotional abuse, and rape. Many researchers examine violence through a focus on rape. Aggregate-level statistical analyses examine the correlation between the availability of pornography and rape rates, with conflicting results. Kutchinsky’s (1973) analysis of rape rates

in Denmark concludes that the legalization of pornography reduced rape. Baron and Strauss (1989) conducted a similar study in the United States and found a positive correlation between the number of sexual assaults and the circulation rates of adult sex magazines, along with positive correlations between rape rates and gender inequality, unemployment, economic inequality, and urbanization. Kimmel and Linders (1996) also used an aggregate-level analysis to study six cities in the United States and found that rates of rape were unaffected by the circulation rates of adult magazines.

Other researchers have used experimental and attitudinal studies to examine the link between pornography and rape. Similar to aggregate statistical analyses, laboratory experiments have yielded contradictory results. Some researchers believe that exposure to nonviolent pornography does not affect the participants' attitudes toward women or rape (Davies 1997; Donnerstein, Linz, and Penrod 1987; Malamuth and Check 1985). However, the issue becomes more complicated when researchers specifically examine the relationship between pornography that is violent and attitudes toward rape. A review of the literature by Linz (1989) suggests that there are mixed results on whether sexually explicit images lead to less sensitivity toward rape victims. In contrast, research examining the effect of exposure to violent sexual images is more consistent in suggesting a negative relationship between exposure and sensitivity toward rape victims. Malamuth and Check (1985) suggested that violent pornography leads to an increase in acceptance of rape myths (i.e., that the woman enjoyed/deserved it). Boeringer (1994) found that higher exposure to violent pornography is significantly related to engaging in sexual aggression and believing oneself capable of sexual violence. Though studies about the effects of pornography on attitudes toward rape and the actual occurrence of rape have produced inconclusive, and often contradictory, results, there appears to be a greater consensus in the literature that violent pornography has detrimental effects on the attitudes and behavior of men who view it. As Donnerstein and Linz concluded, "aggressive images are the issue, not sexual images" (1986, 618).

Despite the debate regarding pornography and the wide dissemination of erotic images on the Internet, there have been few analyses of Internet pornography. Some research on Internet pornography exists, which, like the literature regarding print and film pornography, focuses on the effects of pornography rather than the content. Barak and Fisher (1997) questioned the effects of Internet pornography on men's attitudes in a manner similar to oft-cited studies such as Check and Guloien (1989), Donnerstein (1984), and Malamuth and Check (1981) on other media. However, Barak and Fisher (1997) located Internet erotica as a new and unique medium of pornography due to its interactive capabilities. They found that showing men sexual images on the Internet increased their levels of interactivity and sexual arousal, but this did not affect the participants' measured attitudes. Barron and Kimmel (2000) compared sexually explicit stories on Internet newsgroups with printed and video pornography. They found that the content of pornography is more violent on the Internet. Although this research is an important step in identifying the

Internet as a unique medium, Barron and Kimmel's research, like many other analyses of pornography, is focused on distinguishing between violent and nonviolent images.

Feminist researchers have applied a feminist analysis to pornography on the Internet (Hughes 1999; Stevens 1998). Some researchers find the Internet reflects a male-dominated culture that continues to suppress women (Herring, Johnson, and DiBenedetto 1995; Kendall 1996, 2000; Kramarae 1995), while other feminist writers focus on the liberating and progressive potential of the Internet as a safe space for women to organize and share information (Cherny and Weise 1996; Pearce 1999; Sinclair 1996; Spender 1995). Despite the efforts of this kind of research, there appears to be little or no research applying a thorough content analysis to violent pornography on the Internet.

In contrast, the content of pornography has been analyzed in a variety of other media including videos (Cowan and Campbell 1994; Dines, Jensen, and Russo 1998; Palys 1986; Yang and Linz 1990), magazines (Malamuth and Spinner 1980; Scott and Cuvelier 1987; Winick 1985), and phone recordings (Glascock and LaRose 1993). With the exception of Dines, Jensen, and Russo (1998) and Cowan and Campbell (1994), these content analyses have focused almost exclusively on distinguishing between violent and nonviolent images.

Content analyses of print and film pornography have been fairly consistent in suggesting that few sexually explicit images are violent. Yang and Linz (1990) compared R-rated and X-rated films, and they found that sexually violent acts account for less than 5 percent of all behaviors in these films and that the most common type of sexual violence portrayed is the individual or group rape of a woman. Palys (1986) found that 6.3 percent of adult and XXX-rated videos contain scenes of sexual aggression. Palys also found that the images of sexual aggression clearly show men as perpetrators of violence and women as victims. Scott and Cuvelier (1987) used men and women coders to conduct a longitudinal analysis of *Playboy* magazine between 1954 and 1983 and found that violence was rare and decreased over time. Malamuth and Spinner (1980) conducted similar studies comparing *Playboy* and *Penthouse* magazines from 1973 to 1977. They found that 10 percent of cartoons and 5 percent of pictures were rated violent by men and women coders. Research on pornographic phone services finds no phone recordings about rape and only a small number of sadomasochistic activities (Glascock and LaRose 1993). Smith's (1976) examination of 428 adult books found a higher percentage (33 percent) of books that described the use of force or coercive measures to achieve sex. Given the difficulty of categorizing what constitutes violence, Smith's higher numbers could be explained by his broader definition of force, which includes blackmail and mental coercion. It is also worth noting that the coders did not rate images consistently. Malamuth and Spinner (1980), for example, reported a difference in what coders determined to be violent. In their study, the woman coder was more likely than the man to label an image violent. This is consistent with the findings of Dalecki and Price (1994), whose study of 201 college students found that ratings of "violent" given to particular images varied widely among participants.

Like in the academic, political, and legal debates about the problematic nature of defining pornography, researchers vary in how to classify certain depicted acts as violent, aggressive, and coercive. Although rape is often included as an act that is violent, aggressive, or coercive, few studies use rape imagery as the main level of analysis. Cheney (1993) provided an overview of public response to the content of rape imagery in art and film, but the sample was restricted to seven depictions ranging from a painting by Degas to the motion picture *The Accused*. Pfau, Myronuk, and Jacobs (1986) also focused on rape imagery, studying how the use of soundtracks affects viewers' responses to rapes in film. Despite the attention paid to the social problem of sexual violence against women, studies by social scientists examining images of rape are still rare.

In sum, research concerning the effects of pornography consistently shows that it is the violence, rather than the sex, in pornography that is harmful. Furthermore, analyses of pornography find relatively few images that contain explicit violence. Often, these studies have been more concerned with making a distinction between violent and nonviolent pornography than with describing the violent pornography itself. Thus, the violent images that researchers are most likely to agree are harmful are the ones that we know little about. Who are the victims and perpetrators in violent pornography? What does rape look like in these images?

Two noteworthy studies address these questions. Cowan and Campbell (1994) analyzed pornographic videos with interracial themes, and their research suggests that more acts of aggression were found in cross-race sexual interactions than in same-race interactions. Dines, Jensen, and Russo (1998) also found violence and racial stereotypes to be an important theme in video pornography. Their approach and focus on race-related themes need to be applied in analyses of Internet pornography, as we do here. Although violent images are only a small part of the overall pornography market, the fact that anyone with a computer and a modem can easily access such images on the Internet, in their own home, at any time of the day or night, may decrease the importance of the proportion of images that are violent. Likewise, the explosion of the Internet as a medium for disseminating violent pornography requires a more careful look at the content of these images.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sample

We focus exclusively on pornography that is marketed as violent, particularly on rape, because rape is defined as a violent act against another person. For this reason, only sites that include the words "rape" or "forced sex" in their title, text, or Internet address are used in our sample. Scenes described as rape were specifically chosen to differentiate between images or text of erotica and sadomasochism that might look like rape or violence against women but are not advertised as such. There is no way to determine if the sites that claim to duplicate rape involve actual rape

incidents or staged depictions. Four sites explicitly stated that the images were real. Others state that the participants are actors but, for the most part, the realness of the rape is not acknowledged in the site itself. Since the authenticity of the rape is unknown, we included sites that claim to be staged and those that leave the reality of the event up to the viewer.

Thirty-one Web sites meet our requirements (see appendix). Of the sites, 14 have the word "rape" in the title, including *The Rapist Archives*, *Torture & Rape Diaries*, *Real Brutal Rape Videos*, *Asian Schoolgirl Raped and Tortured*, and *Raped & Abused Teens*. Other sites, such as *Forced Sex*, *Endless Sex*, *Forced Submission*, *Women in Pain*, and *The Extreme Files*, have the term "rape" or "forced sex" somewhere else on the page of the text or in the address itself. Due to the unpredictable changing of Internet addresses, Web page material, and site owners, the Web pages were printed on 6 April 1999 to preserve the sites we found in case they disappeared in the months to come. On 12 February 2000, we checked these sites to verify their existence and found 27 still present, although the content differed slightly from our original sample. Within most of the 31 sites, both textual material and images are displayed. Nine sites contain text only with no images. The majority of the sites contain between 1 and 20 small image boxes, adding up to a total of 113 images within the 31 sites. In our analysis, we distinguish between sites and individual images on those sites.

Method

We used various search engines (Yahoo!, Altavista, and Excite) to find rape sites on the World Wide Web, as well as various search terms including "rape," "gang rape," "forced sex," "torture," "bondage," "rapist," "forced fuck," "bitch," and so forth. Each search landed numerous sites for us to explore. If a site contained the word "rape" or "forced" and showed or implied a woman victim, it was printed for use in this study. During the search, we found that very few sites contain images or text referring to victims who are men. Although these images are an important area of inquiry, our study focuses on rape scenes with victims who are women and perpetrators who are men.

For those who are unfamiliar with Internet searches, especially in the pornographic area, we will provide a brief description of how we found our sample. Once you enter a word or expression (such as "torture") into the search engine, the engine provides listings of possible sites relevant to this word. For example, a search for the word "rape" may reveal listings that include pornographic sites or a home page for a rape counseling center. The viewer is then allowed to choose a site to view, from typically thousands of possible hits. A click on the title sends you to the Web site. We chose sites that appeared to fit Baron and Strauss's definition of pornography, which includes "written pictorial or audio visual materials that are produced for the purpose of sexual arousal" (1989, 113). A typical pornographic site contains a title, text, small boxes of pictures, and smaller advertisement boxes for other sites. We did not include the advertisement boxes, which usually appear on the top and

bottom of the site and contain images of nude women, in our analysis. In a few sites, we had some difficulty determining if the image was part of the site or an advertisement box for a different site, but most were easily distinguished from the Web site itself.

While conducting this search, we found that entering one Web page address may give you links to other pages with similar themes. This could lead to some bias in the sample as we were led from one site to another, usually similarly themed, site. We cannot assume our sample is representative of all Internet rape sites. Several of the sites in our sample were linked to sites already included in our data collection, suggesting we reached some saturation level. Although it is possible we oversampled some types of sites, this is not a problem, since we only want to identify the range and not the percentage of various types of Internet rape sites. Our focus centers on the image construction of rape on sites that sell themselves as depictions of rape.

The 31 Web sites we located contain textual and some visual information about rape and/or rape images. Fundamentally, these sites are advertisements for other pay-per-view sites, but the advertisement itself contains significant pornographic material that constituted our data sample. Most sites did not display a counter showing how many hits the site had received. Significantly, we were able to access all sites without paying for the images, meaning they are free to any viewer with access to the Internet. We were also able to obtain this data without verifying our ages. All of the sites explain that you must be 18 to view the image, but there is no way to verify this on the site itself. We would just click "yes" to being 18 or older, and the system would take us through the site. The sites provide visitors with pictures or teasers to let viewers see a preview of what is available. To see more images connected to the site, the viewer is required to pay with a credit card number and/or verify his or her age. Although the sites seem to suggest that the images one pays for may be more explicit or more violent, we cannot verify this since we did not pay to see any of the images for this study.

Coding

We were the only coders for the images and text on the sites. We sat side by side at two computers, and when a site was found, we both examined it to determine its suitability for the sample. The most significant criterion for inclusion of a Web site was the display of the word "rape." When repeated hits to the same site kept occurring for both of us on different search engines, we determined that we had exhausted the Internet data we were gathering. We then numbered and categorized the images and text together.

We examined each site separately and then immediately compared the coding to the coding by the other author. The first unit of analysis was the Web site as a whole; then individual images and text on the sites were coded separately. We established categories used for the frequency counts after our initial examination of the sites, images, and texts. For each site, we counted the total number of images, images said

to be real, number of sites with choices for kinds of victims, and presence of violent words or other words describing the victims or perpetrators. For the images themselves, we noted the number of victims, perpetrators, kinds of weapons, scenes of bondage, types of locations, and race of perpetrators and victims.

In the Findings section, we first discuss the content on a typical site. The findings are then organized by discussing each of the coding categories. The analysis centers on the depiction of certain kinds of icons within pornography, as well as in the pornography debates as a whole.

FINDINGS

Description of a Typical Site

Although the content and presentation of the sites vary, many themes and images are reoccurring, and a picture of a typical site can be drawn. The sites are advertisements for pornography that can be ordered for a fee. Eight sites have a jukebox of choices for the viewer to select, consisting of text descriptions or images of what kinds of scenes are available. For example, the largest jukebox lists 100 choices such as "Rape a Woman," "Japanese Rape Gang Bang," and "Tortured and Raped in a Barn." The sites use a combination of words and images. Nine sites have no images, while 10 sites have more than three images on the page. Some sites claim the pictures are staged performances by actors, while most do not address whether the images are of an actual rape. A minority of the sites (4) specifically advertises their rape images as being real, such as a site that states, "Want a video of a real rape? This is no joke, they actually raped a girl and made this video."

Descriptive words (usually pertaining to the victim) and words with violent connotations often appear on the sites. Sometimes these words just appear on the text; other times, they are part of the caption to a picture. For example, one picture of a scantily clad woman who is tied up and has a frightened look on her face is next to the caption "Women in Pain!" Other sites directly invite the viewer to take part in the rape or physical violence, such as a site that invites viewers to download a cyberslave program wherein the viewer can "torture her, and abuse her anyway you wish." In addition to the word "rape," 21 of the sites have additional violent words such as "abuse," "torture," "brutal," and "pain" on the site. Other sites are extremely descriptive, using text to create an image. For example, one site in our sample includes a picture of a young-looking naked girl tied up and wearing an expression of pain and has the following accompanying caption:

These teenagers' hell is your pleasure. They are stretched, whipped, raped, and beaten. Their tits are crushed, twisted, pierced, thrashed, and tortured. Their cunts are opened, whipped, entered with HUGE objects, sewn up, torn, and ripped. Their asses are beaten till bloody, stretched with baseball bats, used as target practice for darts . . . they scream, cry, and plead. (wysiwyg://68/http://www.superxlnet/teens/index.htm)

The physical violence, whether in text or depicted in image, is an essential component of the typical rape sites in our sample.

Title Graphics

Besides photographic images, many sites use graphics to set the theme for the site. For example, five of the sites display the title with blood dripping from its borders. Two of the sites show burning flames and gothic figures bordering the title. Other sites had unique lettering, such as one that has the title spelled out in bones. Another has letters cut from what appears to be newspapers or magazines, and one site displays the title above the image of an eyeball looking through broken glass. These graphic techniques heighten the association of violence with the sexual imagery and text.

Location/Setting of the Rape

The location of the rape is unspecified in the majority of the sites. This gives the illusion (or reality) that rape can occur anywhere. The majority of the sites (21) have an unknown location for the rape. Either no mention is made of the location or one cannot tell by the visual image where the event is taking place. Two sites explain that the woman was being abducted or kidnapped. One text site stated that one rape occurred at the rapist's beach house and another rape occurred on school grounds. Another site showed a woman being raped in a reclining chair, which could signify a residential environment. A bedroom, which is signified by the presence of a bed, appears to be the location of one of the rapes. One text site offers a jukebox choice of rape locations that includes in the woods, a car, a barn, a hotel window, a shoe store, and a bedroom. Another jukebox allows one to choose the region where the rape occurred: Europe, Asia, South America, North America, China, and Japan. For the majority of the sites, however, the location of the rape is undetermined, adding to the impression that rape can occur anywhere.

Force Used in the Rape

Whether implied in the text or shown in images on the sites, a weapon is frequently used by the perpetrator to accomplish the rape. Twenty of the images display the victim being tied with a rope. Some sites show the victim's hands or feet tied. Others show the woman tied to an object, such as a chair. Twelve sites display the perpetrator using his hands to hold the victim down, holding her arms back, pulling her legs apart, and choking the victim. Other weapons used to restrain victims are cloth gags, handcuffs, chains, guns, knives, bats, whips, clothespins, and cages. A few text sites discuss how the victim was drugged before the event occurred. Other text sites convey that electric shock was being used on the woman, as well as hot wax and vaginal mutilation. One site displays a gun pointed at the victim, with moving images so you can view the woman as the bullet hits her. Several

sites show the perpetrator with a knife at the victim's chest or stomach. One site shows two men wearing masks and holding a knife to the victim, who is sandwiched between the men. Only seven of the sites did not display or discuss some type of weapon.

Number of Perpetrators and Victims

It is not an easy task to determine the number of perpetrators because many times their bodies are only partially shown, if at all. Nine of the sites display only one perpetrator. This can be judged by seeing two hands that appear alike, one penis, two legs, a side view of one perpetrator, or the face of the perpetrator. Only four sites contain more than one perpetrator, and two of these show a gang rape with four to five perpetrators. On the sites that display numerous images of rape, the majority of the images show a single perpetrator with one victim. In nine of the sites, the number of perpetrators is unknown or impossible to determine from the image or text.

Most of the sites portray a single victim. While several of the images show more than one victim, those victims are typically shown with no perpetrator. For example, one image shows four women hanging by their feet and bound with ropes, and another image shows three women hog-tied (their hands and feet tied together) with no perpetrator in sight. Nonetheless, almost all of the sites and images show the rape of one victim, typically by one perpetrator.

Race/Ethnicity of the Perpetrators and Victims

The race/ethnicity of the perpetrators and victims is often difficult to distinguish due to the poor quality of the picture and camera angle. Identifying the race of the perpetrator is particularly difficult because it is never directly stated on the sites. Therefore, we determined race/ethnicity by the skin tone of the body parts that are displayed, facial features, or the hair texture of the perpetrators, if shown. Ten of the sites show white perpetrators. Two images show Asian men, and three show African men; one perpetrator appears Hispanic. In many of the sites, the perpetrator is an invisible man—neither shown nor alluded to in the text of the rape.

In contrast to the invisible perpetrator, race/ethnicity is of paramount importance in constructing the image of the victim. In our sample, 34 of the 56 clear images (pictures that are clear and in which the race can be identified) depict Asian women. Eleven of the sites advertise Asian women in their text through use of words such as Asian, Japanese, and Chinese. Nearly half (15) of the sites contain either a text reference to Asian women or an image of an Asian woman. In contrast, no images of Black women being raped were found, although one jukebox has a link to a site that advertises "Black Gang Rape," which is ambiguous as to whether the victims or the perpetrators are Black. Twenty-four images of white women were found among those where race could be identified. This probably understates the number of images of white women in our sample because no sites specifically advertised white women. One possible exception is a site that offered links to

images of blondes, which is likely to be an advertisement for whites. Only one site has a specific reference to Hispanic women in its text, and no sites identify women as Native American or Indian.

These findings should be considered cautiously since the race/ethnicity of the victims is difficult to determine unless the text specifically racializes the images through the use of descriptive words. Also, many of the sites contain images of the woman's body so fragmented and distorted that race/ethnicity is ambiguous, such as a site that features pictures of just a woman's breast filled with needles. However, despite the gray areas of determining race through pictures (which are typically of poor quality), the words in the text and close-up shots of victims' faces suggest that Internet rape is greatly influenced by racial divisions and hierarchies.

Status of the Perpetrators and Victims

Perpetrators appear to be men, but their social status is unknown, again suggesting that any man could accomplish rape. Twenty-three sites do not discuss the status of the rapist, and it was not possible to determine it from the images. Several sites state the social status of the perpetrator to set the scene for the rape. In total, nine sites either show the status of the perpetrator or discuss his status in the text. For example, two sites advertise the fact that the perpetrators are serial rapists, and one image shows several men in the process of raping a student. All of the men wear standard school uniforms consisting of a dark blazer, white shirt, and dark pants. The victim, in this case, wears a schoolgirl uniform of a plaid short skirt and white shirt. Two text sites allow the viewer to choose the status of the perpetrator, such as janitor, bad students, associates, boss, masked abuser, exhibitionist, slave master, or gang member. Although these few sites exhibit characteristics of the perpetrator, the majority of the sites do not discuss or display any particular identity, relation to the victim, or social position of the perpetrator. The ones that imply some status typically make the perpetrator anonymous in other ways, such as hiding behind masks, wearing uniforms, or using a camera angle that reveals only a body part such as a hand.

In contrast to the often-anonymous perpetrators, the victims are frequently constructed, and indeed marketed, as members of some distinct social category. The age of the victim is an especially strong selling point for many of these sites. Slightly more than half of the sites (16) in some way advertise that the victim is young by describing them as "young," "teen," "schoolgirl," or "lolita." Many of the sites advertise the race and age of the victim in an interconnected theme such as "Japanese Schoolgirls" or "Asian Teens." Props that allude to the age of the victim are found in a minority of sites. For example, one image shows a victim in a high school letterman jacket with the letter S on the left side, and several others show the victim wearing socks and loafers or display a book bag in the image.

Although innocence is a dominant theme, several other victims are described with derogatory slurs, including "bitch," "pussy," "cunt," "whore," "slut," and "slave." These terms appear in 14 of the sites. For example, one site displays the

image of a woman who is gagged, with her legs tied together and arms tied behind her, under the title "Raped Fucking Bitches!" Another advertises "horny bitches that are manhandled properly." Frequently, the misogynist slurs will be printed in a row on the bottom of the site, perhaps to increase the likeliness that a search engine will find the site.

Other statuses are indicated through clothing and props. One image displays both the victim and perpetrators in military uniforms; another shows the head and shoulder of a victim with a law enforcement badge on her sleeve. Another site shows a progression of pictures of an Asian woman whose uniform (dress and hat) indicates that she is a nurse; another jukebox offers links to a site about the rape of a nun. However, these types of status indicators are rare and do not appear to be as important selling points as race/ethnicity and age.

What Is Shown of the Perpetrators and Victims

Fourteen of the sites do not indicate anything about the perpetrator, and most of the text-only rape sites that describe the rape scene do not mention the perpetrator. The majority of the sites that show or discuss perpetrators have the men fully clothed: One image shows men in suits and others have men in jeans and shirts, with shoes on as well. Nine of the images display only the hands of perpetrators, and these hands are holding the woman down, choking her, holding something in her vagina, or holding her legs apart. Only two sites actually show exposed penises, but they are intentionally blurred in these images. Several of the sites have only frontal, side, or back views of the body parts of the perpetrator, especially the head. Two sites show only the arms of a perpetrator. One of these sites shows a man's arms holding a vibrator in the vagina of a woman who is tied with ropes. One site shows a man with his pants down to his knees, and others show side views of fully clothed men. Three images expose nude men from the waist down. Five sites show a man totally nude, but his genitals are not exposed for view. There are no sites where a totally exposed or fully dressed perpetrator is shown. Only select parts of the perpetrator are visible, even though the victim's full body, in various forms of undress, is displayed in the majority of the images.

The majority of the sites provide some visual image of the rape victim. The vast majority of images (85) show the face of the victim, while the perpetrator's face is rarely visible. Typically the victim's face has an open mouth, as if screaming or expressing pain. In 9 of the images, the victim's face is shown to exhibit the victim performing oral sex on the perpetrator. Sixty-five of the images show the woman victim totally nude. Only 2 images intentionally blur out the victim's genital area, while the rest do not. Nineteen of the images show the woman fully clothed, often in tight dresses or occupational uniforms. Another 19 show the victim partially clothed, sometimes with her skirt and shirt partially torn off. A small number of women (7) are shown in stereotypical prostitute attire that includes black high-heeled shoes, garter belts and thigh-high hosiery, and long painted fingernails.

The majority of the woman victims are shown tied up with ropes, handcuffs, or black leather straps or gear. Many of the women are gagged with some type of cloth and bound by their arms and legs. One image shows a woman tied with ropes around her exposed breasts, arms behind her back, having melted candle wax dripped on her breasts and stomach. Her face expresses pain. A few of the images show women hanging from ropes. Several other images show Asian "schoolgirls" hanging by their legs and arms with devices placed at their vaginas. In many sites (12), the victim is shown with devices being placed, pushed, or held in her vagina or anus by a perpetrator. The majority of the devices are not clear enough to determine what they are. In sum, the images include much more information about the victims, compared to the perpetrators.

DISCUSSION

In *Black Feminist Thought*, Hill Collins (1991) argued that pornography must be reconceptualized as an example of the interlocking nature of race, gender, and class oppression since white women and women of color have different images applied to them. She argued, "contemporary pornography consists of a series of icons or representations that focus the viewer's attention on the relationship between portrayed individuals and the general qualities ascribed to that class of individuals" (Hill Collins 1991, 168). Hill Collins suggested that the iconography in pornography is determined by the social context in which it emerges.

Specifically, we find that the iconography of Internet pornography strongly emphasizes the depiction of the victims. Victims of rape are either shown in a picture or alluded to in text, while information about the perpetrator is left to one's own imagination. The presence of a perpetrator, either in text or in images, is rare, perpetuating the idea that all men are possible rapists. Furthermore, in the iconography of Internet rape, it is the victims who are identified. They are depicted in a way that emphasizes their social positions, such as race and age, rather than their individual characteristics. In this way, Internet pornography is similar to print and film pornography. The importance of social status indicators is heightened on Internet pornography with the presence of the jukebox, which highlights the status of the victims when offering rape scenarios to the viewers.

The overrepresentation of Asian women on Web sites selling rape pornography may be due to the fact that their faces were typically more easily definable. In addition, many sites were obtained through the keyword "torture" since researchers have suggested that the image of Asian women in other forms of pornography is consistently related to being tortured (Bell 1987). Asian American feminists have critiqued the stereotypes of Asian and Asian American women regarding such sexualized images. Tajima (1989) argued that there are two basic stereotypes of Asian women: the subservient Lotus Blossom (geisha girl) and the devious Dragon Lady. Furthermore, Nowrojee and Silliman (1997) suggested that both of these stereotypes

are combined in the marketing of Asian women as “passive, yet artful and eager to please” in pornography. They connected this image to U.S. involvement in Asian wars, noting that American servicemen wore shirts describing Asian women as “little brown fucking machines” (Nowrojee and Silliman 1997, 78). Lai (1997) argued that American military men stationed overseas brought back expectations of conquest as well as stereotypes about Asian women being cute, doll-like, and unassuming, with extraordinary sexual powers.

Many writers link such stereotypes of Asian women to sexual violence. Nowrojee and Silliman (1997) believe there is a connection between these images and crimes like the rape of a 12-year-old Asian girl by U.S. servicemen stationed at the Okinawa military base in 1995. Zia (1997) also drew connections between racial-sexual stereotypes and actual violence against Asian women. In discussing ethnorapec, which is a racially motivated, gender-biased crime against women of color, she linked pornography to hate crimes. For example, she noted that the rape and lynching of an 8-year-old Chinese girl occurred two months after *Penthouse* featured pictures of Asian women in poses of bondage and torture. Likewise, Cunneen and Stubbs (2000) examined the depictions of Filipino women as sexual commodities on the Internet in connection with the mail order bride industry in Australia. They considered these portrayals one reason why Filipino women experience disproportionate levels of domestic violence compared to non-Filipino women.

Our study provides an empirical base for this discussion. Our research suggests that the sexually experienced Dragon Lady is not an important icon in rape pornography. Likewise, the submissive Lotus Blossom is also not explicitly (although perhaps implicitly) present in these images. These sites did not have pictures or text implying that the women were subservient, passive, or eager to please the perpetrator. In contrast, the images of Asian women often focus on the expression of pain and horror on their faces. We do not dispute the connection made between stereotypes and sexual violence articulated by the above writers, but these images appear to have more to do with torture than perceived exoticness.

Our sample suggests that white women are frequently depicted as the victims in Internet rape. However, in contrast to Asian women, white women are not described by race/ethnicity and are marketed as if whiteness is not a racial category, which is not surprising.

Given the history of actual sexual violence perpetuated against Black women and research that suggests Black women are frequently depicted in pornography as victims of sexual aggression (Cowan and Campbell 1994), we find the lack of Black women’s images in our sample to be noteworthy. Certainly, the use of racialized sexist images of Black women in film and print pornography and popular culture has been well documented (Dines, Jensen, and Russo 1998; Hill Collins 1991). In this sense, the iconography of Internet pornography is different from traditional pornographic media.

It is possible that the reality of the Internet as worldwide affects the way the images are marketed and that the global pornography market shapes race in a

different way than we would see in pornography produced for an exclusively American market. Certainly, the ease of dissemination over the Internet makes it possible for those selling pornography to emphasize the different iconic representations (i.e., race, age) of the victims in their advertising. Given the problems of assessing the country of origin for our sites, it is difficult to fully explain the race/ethnicity patterns in Internet rape. However, it is clear that Internet rape is an extremely racialized discourse.

This strong racial element in Internet rape sites supports Hill Collins's argument that the sexual politics of pornography is much more complicated than theories articulated by some white feminists who suggest that pornography is a way in which "men oppress women" (1991, 180). Although many feminists argue that pornography affects all women, using men and women as generalized categories without race or ethnicity tends to minimize the way that pornography is marked and shaped by race.

The pictures in our sample do not present rape as romantic seduction. In contrast, the pain caused to the victim is a primary selling point for the sites. Many sites describe, in unflinching detail, the actual physical pain that the woman is experiencing, and some appear to focus on the expressions of pain on the victim's face. The repeated use of words such as "pain," "abuse," "brutal," and "torture" on the sites also intensifies the violent connotations. In contrast, no descriptive words are used to portray rape as romantic seduction, such as discussions of passion or overwhelming love for the victim, and there are no sites that have descriptions in the text of women enjoying the rape or wanting it. This is not to dismiss the harmfulness of the cultural notion that rape can be the result of overwhelming love or passion. However, it is brutal torture, rather than romance, that we find on violent Internet rape sites.

Connected to the notion that a woman really wanted the rape are the rape ideas that women are deviant sexual creatures and that all women are whores who deserved the rape. Several of the sites in our sample do tell the story of the rape as something deserved by a bad woman. A much more common story, however, seems to be about the woman's innocence. The innocence of the victims may be suggested by markers of her young age, either in the picture or through the use of words such as "schoolgirl" and "teen." Generally, the sites do not associate the teen images with the images of a whore. The exception was a Lolita site, which suggests a sexually promiscuous young woman. The overrepresentation of Asian women in violent Internet pornography may also be connected to the theme of innocence. Although Asian women often have been stereotyped as sexually experienced whores, there are also contradictions, as seen in the persistence of the stereotype of Asian women as cute, docile, and doll-like. In Internet rape stories, it is not simply the bad and deserving girls who are raped.

The idea that pornography is the sexual representation of unequal power relations is well supported by our findings. The use of the word "rape" on the sites alone is sufficient evidence that power differentials are a major theme. However, developers of these pornographic sites further emphasize the unequal power relations by

focusing on icons that emphasize an omnipresent perpetrator and a victim who is frequently young, physically restrained, and in pain. The use of racial stereotypes in Internet pornography further demonstrates that one of its major themes is inequality.

Feminist writers such as Mulvey (1975) have discussed the ways that the male gaze privileges men's point of view, seeing the women who are being seen. In Internet rape, the gaze of the man is the privileged point of view. This is implied by the relative absence of perpetrator images or descriptions of the perpetrator and is made explicit in the site that advertises "Through the Eyes of the Rapist." The viewer of these sites is given not only the power of the gaze but also the power to choose which representation of inequality he or she prefers to see. This is exemplified by the presence of jukeboxes describing categories of women who can be selected for victimization. Thus, we have the extreme powerlessness of the victims contrasted with both the power of the omnipresent perpetrator and the actual power of the viewer. The major theme in our data is dominance.

This dominance is further exhibited by the use of force against the victims that is shown. With little known about the perpetrator, the viewer can place himself or herself in the perpetrator's role or can imagine the extent of the perpetrator's actions in the rape. Could the cumulative effects increase sexual violence by men toward women? The invisible perpetrator suggests a very hegemonic, misogynist notion of masculinity in a global setting. A hegemonic man is a sexual predator who is aggressive and powerful (Connell 1987). Misogynist behavior is exhibited by the fact that the women were no threat to the perpetrators' masculinity. The perpetrators are given great power over the women by tying them up, strangling them, or not being shown at all. The accessibility of these images foregrounds the need to examine the effects of viewing Internet rape, particularly when it concerns power differentials among women and men and depictions of man-on-woman violence.

CONCLUSION

Wilson (1973) observed that public concern about pornography increased as a new technology changed the way that pornographic images were disseminated. The new technology of the Internet dramatically increases the accessibility of pornography—particularly violent images—and thus the debates about the regulation and social consequences of pornography must increase as well. In particular, the implications of the global nature of the Internet and its effect on the content of pornography must be further explored. Previous debates about pornography in the United States have revolved around the issues of censorship and the First Amendment. Previous attempts to regulate pornography, based on the grounds that it violates community standards, are now tangled with questions about the feasibility and legality of regulating personal computer access to a worldwide market of pornography on the Internet. Since there is no legal global community standard by which to regulate pornography, it is necessary to continue a discussion of pornography

beyond a community standards solution. Thus, Internet pornography challenges us to expand our focus from censorship in the United States to worldwide pornography dissemination and global concerns.

In particular, discussions about pornography should involve a closer look at the content of pornography. Prior research (Barron and Kimmel 2000) finds Internet pornography to be more violent than print pornography. It is important to understand the type of violence in pornography but also to understand the content of violent images. It is important to consider the ways that social inequalities and power differentials—particularly with regard to race and age—play into the construction of violent pornographic images. The Internet offers people a mind-boggling variety of choices that appeal to very specific tastes. Pornography seekers are provided menus that list specific kinds of victims, usually by race and age markers, in a variety of scenarios. The availability of these choices may itself encourage associations of sexualized violence and torture with particular categories of women.

In addition, given that Internet pornography is more interactive than traditional pornography, it is important to consider the ways this medium affects people's interactions. Our research suggests that the Internet provides an interactive experience where viewers are encouraged to see through the eyes of the rapist and are able to manipulate the images with the click of a button. Viewers have the power to pick the type of woman they would like to see victimized from a jukebox or to click an arrow into a picture of a woman's genital area to continue receiving pornographic images. The interactive nature of Internet pornography is also heightened when the viewer is urged to click on the sites. "Clicking here" often allows the viewer to continue the story, manipulate the size of the images, or easily move to other, possibly more violent, images. This allows viewers to control, to some extent, the flow and type of images they are viewing. In this sense, Internet pornography can enhance the sense of power the viewer is given over the images, compared to conventional forms of pornography. This is important when considering how the content of the images suggests the extreme power and dominance inherent in the role of the perpetrator.

Violent pornography, the pornography most linked in research to actual violence against women, is just as accessible as nonviolent or soft pornography on the Internet. Before the proliferation of pornography on the Internet, someone seeking violent pornographic images would have had a much harder time finding it in adult bookstores than someone typing "rape" on a search engine. The unique way Internet sites link to one another is an additional significant change. Someone searching for or viewing pornography is often urged to link to a site that may promise more violent images. These advertisements assist in linking sexuality to violence. Thus, actual women may experience increased danger of sexual violence due to the proliferation of violent pornography on the Internet.

The importance of research conducted in the 1980s suggesting the harmful effects of violent pornography was tempered by other studies suggesting that only a minority of pornography was violent. The accessibility of violent pornographic images on the Internet makes questions regarding the proportion of violent

pornography less important now. Given the need to stop sexual violence against women and understand the ways racism and sexism are expressed and reinforced through cultural representations, such as pornography, we hope Wilson's (1973) observation that new technologies lead to increased debates about pornography will hold true.

APPENDIX

Web Sites That Were Included in Our Analysis (6 April 1999) and Rechecked (12 February 2000).

<http://207.8.176.17/schoolm.html>
<http://hold-her-down.fuckpix.nu/2.html>
<http://illegal.series.rap.fsn.net.html>
<http://ladydancer.com/force/force.html>
<http://rape.bizarre.nu/rape/enter.html>
<http://slavefarm.com/picpost.html>
<http://www.adult-porno.com.html>
http://www.adult-porno.com/real_rape/real.html
<http://www.adult-porno.com/shark/shark.html>
<http://www.altsexweb.com/raped.html>
<http://www.bdsmtop-50.com.top-50.html>
<http://www.bondagevideo.com.html>
<http://www.bondagevideo.com/tits.html>
<http://www.catalog.com/stream/raped/page1.html>
<http://www.endlessex.com/forced.html>
<http://www.eroticdesires.com/ftop100.html>
<http://www.gaterz.com/gater.html>
<http://www.giltec.com/cult.html>
<http://www.mmphh.com/rope.html>
<http://www.sinistersex.com/links.html>
<http://www.superx.net/teens/adult.html>
<http://www.sweetteends.com/khan/index2.html>
<http://www.sickfantasies.com.html>
<wysiwyg://68/http://www.superx.net/teens/index.html>
<wysiwyg://103/http://www.extremefiles.com.html>
<wysiwyg://13/http://www.gaterz.com/psycho.index.html>
<wysiwyg://14/http://www.tortures.com.html>
<wysiwyg://164/http://rape.bizarre.nu.html>
<wysiwyg://4/http://www.tied-up.com/archives/gate.html>
<wysiwyg://58/http://www2.superx.net/assbond.html>
<wysiwyg://99/http://weazil.com.fs.html>

REFERENCES

- Barak, Azy, and William Fisher. 1997. Effects of interactive computer erotica on men's attitudes and behavior toward women: An experimental study. *Computers in Human Behavior* 13:353-69.
- Baron, Larry, and Murray A. Strauss. 1989. *Four theories of rape in American society: A state-level analysis*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Barron, Martin, and Michael Kimmel. 2000. Sexual violence in three pornographic media: Towards a sociological explanation. *Journal of Sex Research* 37:161-68.
- Bell, Laurie. 1987. *Good girls/bad girls: Feminists and sex trade workers face to face*. Toronto, Canada: Seal Press.
- Boeringer, Scott. 1994. Pornography and sexual aggression: Associations of violent and nonviolent depictions with rape and rape proclivity. *Deviant Behavior: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 15:289-304.
- Brownmiller, Susan. 1975. *Against our will: Men, women and rape*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Check, James. 1985. *The effects of violent and non-violent pornography*. Ottawa: Department of Justice, Canada.
- Check, James, and Ted Guloien. 1989. Reported proclivity for coercive sex following repeated exposure to sexually violent pornography, non-violent dehumanizing pornography, and erotica. In *Pornography: Research advances and policy considerations*, edited by Dolf Zillmann and Jennings Bryant. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cheney, Deborah. 1993. Visual rape. *Law & Critique* 9:189-206.
- Cherny, Lynn, and Elizabeth Reba Weise. 1996. *Wired women: Gender and new realities in cyberspace*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press.
- Connell, R. W. 1987. *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cowan, Gloria, and Robin Campbell. 1994. Racism and sexism in interracial pornography: A content analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 18:323-38.
- Cunneen, Chris, and Julie Stubbs. 2000. Male violence, male fantasy and the commodification of women through the Internet. *Domestic Violence: Global Responses* 7:5-28.
- Dalecki, Michael, and Jammie Price. 1994. Dimensions of pornography. *Sociological Spectrum* 14:205-19.
- Davies, Kimberly. 1997. Voluntary exposure to pornography and men's attitudes toward feminism and rape. *Journal of Sex Research* 34:131-37.
- Dines, Gail, Robert Jensen, and Ann Russo. 1998. *Pornography: The production and consumption of inequality*. New York: Routledge.
- Donnerstein, Edward. 1984. Pornography: Its effects on violence against women. In *Pornography and sexual aggression*, edited by Neil Malamuth and Edward Donnerstein. New York: Academic Press.
- Donnerstein, Edward, and Daniel Linz. 1986. Mass media, sexual violence, and male viewers: Current theory and research. *American Behavioral Scientist* 29:601-18.
- Donnerstein, Edward, Daniel Linz, and Steven Penrod. 1987. *The question of pornography: Research findings and policy implications*. New York: Free Press.
- Dworkin, Andrea. 1988. *Letters from a war zone*. New York: E. P. Dutton.
- Dworkin, Andrea, and Catherine MacKinnon. 1988. *Pornography and civil rights*. Minneapolis, MN: Organizing Against Pornography.
- Glascock, Jack, and Robert LaRose. 1993. Dial-a-porn recordings: The role of the female participant in male sexual fantasies. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 37 (Summer): 311-23.
- Herring, Susan, Deborah A. Johnson, and Tamra DiBenedetto. 1995. This discussion is going too far! Male resistance to female participation on the Internet. In *Gender articulated: Language and the socially constructed self*, edited by Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz. New York: Routledge.
- Hill Collins, Patricia. 1991. *Black feminist thought*. New York: Routledge.
- Hughes, Donna M. 1999. Pimps and predators on the Internet. Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. Available from www.catinternational.org/index.php.

- Kendall, Lori. 1996. MURder? I hardly know 'er! Adventures of a feminist MUDer. In *Wired women: Gender and new realities in cyberspace*, edited by Lynn Cherny and Elizabeth Reba Weise. Toronto, Canada: Seal Press.
- . 2000. "Oh no! I'm a nerd!" Hegemonic masculinity on an online forum. *Gender & Society* 14:256-74.
- Kimmel, Michael, and Annulla Linders. 1996. Does censorship make a difference? An aggregate empirical analysis of pornography and rape. *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality* 8:1-20.
- Kramarae, Cheris. 1995. A backstage critique of virtual reality. In *Cybersociety: Computer-mediated communication and community*, edited by Steven G. Jones. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kutchinsky, Berl. 1973. The effect of easy availability of pornography on the incidence of sex crimes: The Danish experience. *Journal of Social Issues* 29:163-81.
- Lai, Tracy. 1997. Asian American women: Not for sale. In *Reconstructing gender: A multicultural anthology*, edited by Estelle Disch. Toronto, Canada: Mayfield.
- Linz, Daniel. 1989. Exposure to sexually explicit materials and attitudes toward rape: A comparison of study results. *Journal of Sex Research* 26:50-84.
- Malamuth, Neil, and James Check. 1981. The effects of mass media exposure on acceptance of violence against women: A field experiment. *Journal of Research in Personality* 15:436-46.
- . 1985. The effects of aggressive pornography on beliefs in rape myths: Individual differences. *Journal of Research in Personality* 19:299-320.
- Malamuth, Neil, and Barry Spinner. 1980. A longitudinal content analysis of sexual violence in the best-selling erotic magazine. *Journal of Sex Research* 16:226-37.
- Mulvey, Laura. 1975. Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. *Screen* 16:6-19.
- Nowrojee, Sia, and Jael Silliman. 1997. Asian women's health: Organizing a movement. In *Dragon ladies: Asian American feminists breathe fire*, edited by Sonia Shah. Boston: Sutherland Press.
- Palys, T. S. 1986. Testing the common wisdom: The social content of video pornography. *Canadian Psychology* 27:22-35.
- Pearce, Kimber Charles. 1999. Third wave feminism and cybersexuality: The cultural backlash of the new girl order. In *Sexual rhetoric: Media perspectives on sexuality, gender, and identity*, edited by Meta G. Carstarphen and Susan C. Zavoina. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Pfaus, James, Lonny Myronuk, and W. J. Jacobs. 1986. Soundtrack contents and depicted sexual violence. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 15:231-36.
- Russell, Diane. 1994. *Against pornography: The evidence of harm*. Berkeley, CA: Russell.
- . 1998. *Dangerous relationships: Pornography, misogyny, and rape*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Scott, Joseph, and Steven Cuvelier. 1987. Violence in *Playboy* magazine: A longitudinal analysis. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 16:279-88.
- Sinclair, Carla. 1996. *Net-chick: A smart girl guide to the wired world*. New York: Holt.
- Smith, Don. 1976. The social content of pornography. *Journal of Communication* 26:16-24.
- Spender, Dale. 1995. *Nattering on the net: Women, power, and cyberspace*. North Melbourne, Australia: Spinifex Press.
- Stevens, Beth. 1998. Click here: Pornography on the Internet. *Off Our Backs* 28:8-9.
- Tajima, Renee. 1989. Lotus blossoms don't bleed: Images of Asian women. In *Making waves: An anthology of writing by and about Asian American women*, edited by Asian Women United of California. Boston: Beacon.
- Wilson, W. Cody. 1973. Pornography: The emergence of a social issue and the beginning of a psychological study. *Journal of Social Issues* 29:7-17.
- Winick, Charles. 1985. A content analysis of sexually explicit magazines sold in an adult bookstore. *Journal of Sex Research* 21:206-10.
- Yang, Ni, and Daniel Linz. 1990. Movie ratings and the content of adult videos: The sex-violence ratio. *Journal of Communication* 40:28-42.
- Zia, Helen. 1997. Where race and gender meet: Racism, hate crimes, and pornography. In *Reconstructing gender: A multicultural anthology*, edited by Estelle Disch. Toronto, Canada: Mayfield.

Jennifer Lynn Gossett is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Cincinnati. Her research focuses on social inequalities within society and the Internet. She is currently working on her dissertation, which focuses on the inequalities present in gaining access to social capital.

Sarah Byrne is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Cincinnati. She is currently writing her dissertation, a historical analysis of ways that race and sexuality intersect in personal advertisements.