

# Holier Than Thou? No Partisan Gap in the Consumption of Pornography Online\*

Lucas Shen<sup>†</sup>

Gaurav Sood<sup>‡</sup>

January 4, 2023

## Abstract

Consumption of pornography has been blamed for a variety of societal ills, including the rise in misogyny, sex crimes, and the coarsening of culture. Using passively collected browsing data from YouGov, we investigate how much pornography Americans consume online. We find that there is a sharp positive skew in the consumption of pornography, with a small number of users consuming lots of pornography and most consuming small amounts. The median American Internet user today spends X minutes per month consuming pornography, visiting Y sites per month; the 95th percentile is X and Y respectively. Lastly, we find that, unlike previous research (MacInnis and Hodson, 2015; Edelman, 2009), which relied on ecological inference, Democrats consume about as much pornography online as Republicans.

---

\*You can download the replication materials from <https://github.com/soodoku/adult>

<sup>†</sup>Lucas is a Research Fellow at Asia Competitiveness Institute, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, at the National University of Singapore, [lucas@lucasshen.com](mailto:lucas@lucasshen.com)

<sup>‡</sup>Gaurav can be reached at [gsood07@gmail.com](mailto:gsood07@gmail.com)

Consumption of pornography is associated with a variety of disturbing attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and behaviors. Consuming pornography is associated with support for violence against women (Hald, Malamuth and Yuen, 2010; Malamuth, Hald and Koss, 2012; Donnerstein, 1984), belief in rape myths (Foubert, Brosi and Bannon, 2011), increased gender role conflict, lesser sexual satisfaction (Szymanski and Stewart-Richardson, 2014; Stewart and Szymanski, 2012), poorer relationship quality (Szymanski and Stewart-Richardson, 2014; Szymanski, Feltman and Dunn, 2015), and sexually risky behaviors such as engaging in paid sex, and having extramarital sex (Wright and Randall, 2012). A lot of popular pornography also contains a healthy dose of violence. An analysis of popular pornography revealed that 88.2% of the scenes contained physical aggression, and 48.7% verbal aggression (Bridges et al., 2010). For all these reasons, there are serious concerns about consumption of pornography.

In this paper, we investigate how much pornography Americans consume online. Using passive browsing data from YouGov, we find that there is a sharp skew in the consumption of pornography, with a small set of users consuming a large chunk of pornography. Most individuals in the sample do not consumer pornography. The median American Internet user spends 0 minutes per month consuming pornography (0% of their time online), visiting 122 unique sites. The median American consumer of pornography spends about 44 minutes per month consuming pornography (3% of their time online), visiting three unique pornographic sites. The 95th percentile for time spent consuming pornography online is 337 minutes (about 21% of their time online).

We also use the data to shed light on an age-old debate — whether Democrats consume more pornography than Republicans or vice versa. Both parties claim the higher moral ground. And in surveys both parties think consumption of pornography is abhorrent, plausibly for different reasons. Unlike previous research, which relied on ecological inference, we find that Democrats consume about as much pornography online as Republicans (MacInnis

and Hodson, 2015; Edelman, 2009). Adjusting for background attributes like age, gender etc., makes little difference.

## Data

We use passively observed browsing data from a YouGov survey to measure the consumption of adult content (Sood, 2022). YouGov maintains a large online panel recruited through a variety of methods. It uses matched sampling to survey respondents: The provider first draws a random sample from a large synthetic representative sampling frame, finds respondents that match the sampled individuals from its panel, and invites them to take a survey. For details and validation, see Rivers and Bailey (2009). For this particular sample, panelists also provided de-identified access to their web browsing activity via passive metering software installed voluntarily on their computers. The software, called RealityMine, captures visited web URLs independent of the type of browser or browser-specific privacy settings.

The data are from 1,200 respondents and contains a month of data from June, 2022. We have data on visits to domains, which are about 6 million in total. For each visit, we have information on the domain (e.g., wikipedia.org), the time of visit, and the time spent on the domain. We capture about 64k unique sites, of which 900 are pornographic sites (1.4% of sites).

Our data also comes with characteristics for the 1,200 individuals. We have data on demographic characteristics like birth year, state, gender, race, and education level. We also have information on their party identification. Except for 120 respondents who did not respond or picked not sure/don't know, the rest stated the party they identified with. Of the 1,080 individuals who report party identification, 82 percent lean either Republican or Democrat. The remaining 18 percent identify as independent.

# Measuring Pornographic Content

We code pornographic content at the domain level. Our main analysis depends on the domain classifications that come with YouGov data. We code domains that YouGov categorizes as “Adult” as porn sites. These include “Adult” (e.g., xvideos.com), “Adult, Business” (e.g., onlyfans.com), and “Adult, Entertainment” (e.g., hentainfox.com). A fraction of web browsing activity, approximately 84k or 1.3 percent, are to porn sites. See [Figure SI 1.1](#) and [Figure SI 1.2](#) for the top visited domains. Certain domains are not predominately for porn consumption and we remove these from the classification of porn sites. For instance, urbandictionary.com and 4chan.org are “Adult” but not classified as porn site.<sup>1 2</sup>

In [SI 3](#), we leverage the `piedomains` package to classify which domains are pornographic sites using machine learning ([Chintalapati and Sood, 2022](#)). We leverage the probability estimates to produce a low false negative and low false positive version. The key results remain unchanged.

## Results

### Consumption of Pornography

The consumption of pornography is highly concentrated. Traffic to the top 10 most frequented porn sites is more than 12 times that of traffic to all other porn sites outside the top 10 (approximately 109 minutes vs 9 minutes, see [Figure SI 1.3](#)). Close to 80 percent of the

---

<sup>1</sup>We use the `forestplot` ([Shen, 2022](#)) and `tableone` ([Pollard et al., 2018](#)) packages to tabulate key descriptive figures.

<sup>2</sup>We manually check the top adult domains in our sample to remove obvious false positives of porn sites. Generally, if there is graphic nudity on the landing page or if the site is some form of erotica, we classify the site as a porn site.

traffic to pornographic sites is concentrated in just one pornographic site, a behavior that is fairly consistent across parties ([Figure SI 1.4](#)). The next most frequented pornographic site constitutes less than 20 percent of total traffic.

The consumption of pornography online is also limited to a minority of respondents. Only about 32 percent of the respondents visited at least one pornography online during the sample period. The average consumer of pornography online spends approximately 230 minutes (standard deviation of 576 minutes), which is 10.6 percent of total browsing activity (standard deviation of 17.9 percent). These come from 233 visits to pornographic sites (standard deviation of 550), which is 6.9 percent of visits to all sites (standard deviation of 11.2 percent).

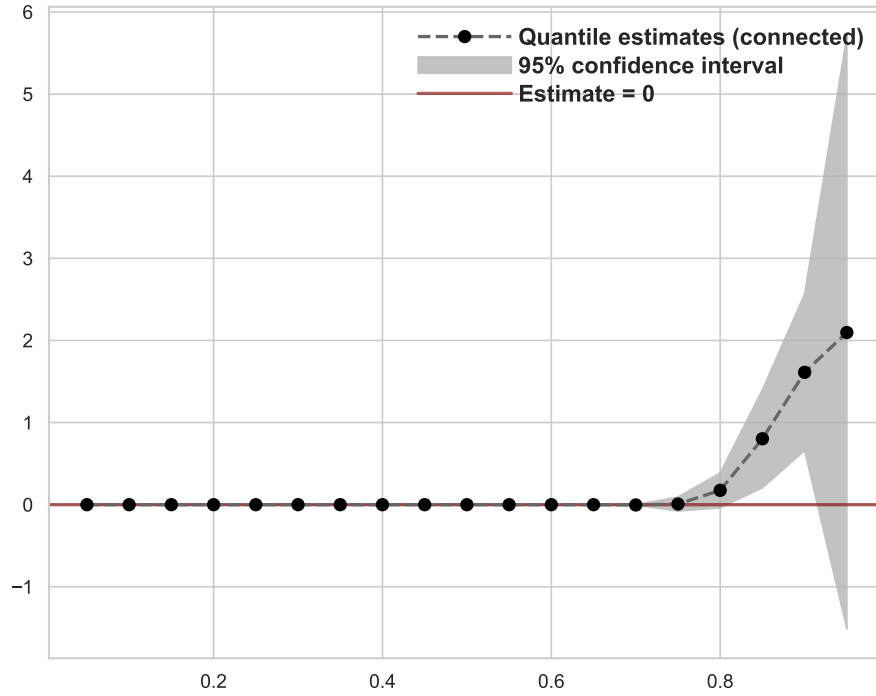
The key differences between consumers and non-consumers of pornography online are age and gender. Consumers of pornography online are younger and are more likely to be male.

## **Partisan Differences in Consumption of Pornography Online**

Our primary dependent variables of interest are: total time spent on pornographic sites and the proportion of time spent on pornographic sites. (In [SI 5.2](#), we show similar analysis for visits.)

Given the skew in the data, we ran a quantile regression, regressing the duration on party. As [Figures 1](#) and [2](#) show, there are no significant differences in consumption of pornographic content between the parties. To account for the possibility that these non-differences may be a result of confounding demographic differences between the parties, we control for immutable characteristics like age and gender to see if that adjustment changes the picture much. [Table SI 2.3](#) shows differences in age, gender, and race by party identification. We use these variables in our analyses of pornography consumption below. Given how concentrated pornographic consumption is in our data, it is unlikely to make much of a

**Figure 1:** Quantile Estimates—Hours Spent on Porn Sites by Party



*Notes:* Dependent variable is the number of hours individuals in our sample spent on porn sites. Each point indicates the difference between Republicans and Democrats and corresponds to a quantile regression at the quantile indicated by the x-axis. 95% confidence intervals constructed from standard errors. See [Figure SI 2.1](#) for the same plot controlling for individual characteristics.

difference and that is indeed what we find — see [Figure 1](#).

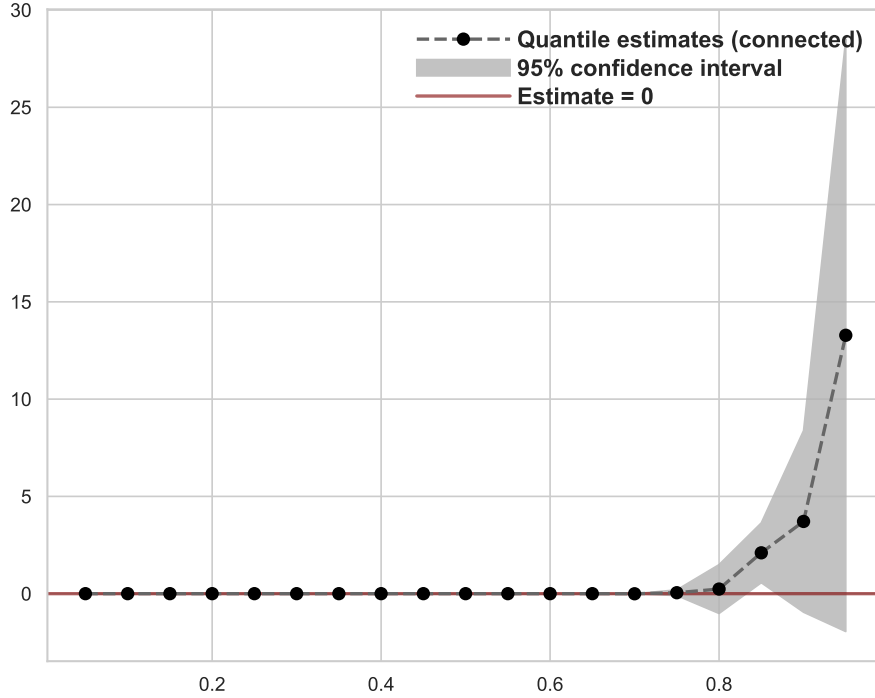
## Discussion

Consumption of pornography has been attributed to a variety of ills. It is also considered problematic from a religious perspective. Christian theologians believe that consumption of pornography leads people away from purity and hence should be avoided.<sup>3</sup> The Internet has dramatically increased access to pornography. This leads to the concern that pornography consumption has become very widespread. Our data suggest that pornography consumption online is highly concentrated with very few people consuming a lot of pornography and most

---

<sup>3</sup><https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/manual/help-for-pornography-users/effect-of-pornography>

**Figure 2:** Quantile Estimates—Percentage of Time Spent on Porn Sites by Party



*Notes:* Dependent variable is the percentage of time individuals in our sample spent on porn sites. Each point indicates the difference between Republicans and Democrats and corresponds to a quantile regression at the quantile indicated by the x-axis. 95% confidence intervals constructed from standard errors. See [Figure SI 2.2](#) for the same plot controlling for individual characteristics.

people consuming very little or none.

The second contribution of our paper is estimates of partisan differences in consumption of pornography online. Both the parties claim the higher ground when it comes to women—one’s case for morality is steeped in religion, the other’s in enduring concern for women. Our data suggest that the partisan differences are likely very small.

Our research has two major limitations. The first concern with our data is that we may not have data from all the machines that the respondent uses to visit online. If the respondent changes their behavior in response to the knowledge that their data is being collected (even if it is de-identified), for e.g., they may modify their behavior on the machine or figure out ways to evade detection, it may bias our results. In fact, we think it is likely that people would be less likely to search for pornography on machines on which they have installed passive monitoring software (though the data are de-identified). If that is so, our

estimates are a lower bound of net consumption of pornography per machine. If this bias varies by party, our estimates of partisan differences will also be biased.

The second concern with our measurement is that we code content at a domain level. This runs the risk of incurring some ecological fallacy. For instance, our classification would code websites like Tumblr as not carrying pornographic content but some of Tumblr content is pornographic.



## References

- Bridges, Ana J, Robert Wosnitzer, Erica Scharrer, Chyng Sun and Rachael Liberman. 2010. “Aggression and sexual behavior in best-selling pornography videos: A content analysis update.” *Violence Against Women* 16(10):1065–1085.
- Chintalapati, Rajashekar and Gaurav Sood. 2022. “piedomains: Predict the kind of content hosted by a domain based on domain name and content.”.  
**URL:** <https://github.com/themains/piedomains>
- Donnerstein, Edward. 1984. “Pornography: Its effect on violence against women.” *Pornography and sexual aggression* pp. 53–81.
- Edelman, Benjamin. 2009. “Markets Red Light States: Who Buys Online Adult Entertainment?” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 23(1):209–220.
- Foubert, John D, Matthew W Brosi and R Sean Bannon. 2011. “Pornography viewing among fraternity men: Effects on bystander intervention, rape myth acceptance and behavioral intent to commit sexual assault.” *Sexual Addiction & Compulsivity* 18(4):212–231.
- Hald, Gert Martin, Neil M Malamuth and Carlin Yuen. 2010. “Pornography and attitudes supporting violence against women: Revisiting the relationship in nonexperimental studies.” *Aggressive Behavior* 36(1):14–20.
- MacInnis, Cara C and Gordon Hodson. 2015. “Do american States with more religious or conservative populations search more for sexual content on google?” *Archives of sexual behavior* 44(1):137–147.
- Malamuth, Neil M, Gert Martin Hald and Mary Koss. 2012. “Pornography, individual differences in risk and men’s acceptance of violence against women in a representative sample.” *Sex Roles* 66(7-8):427–439.

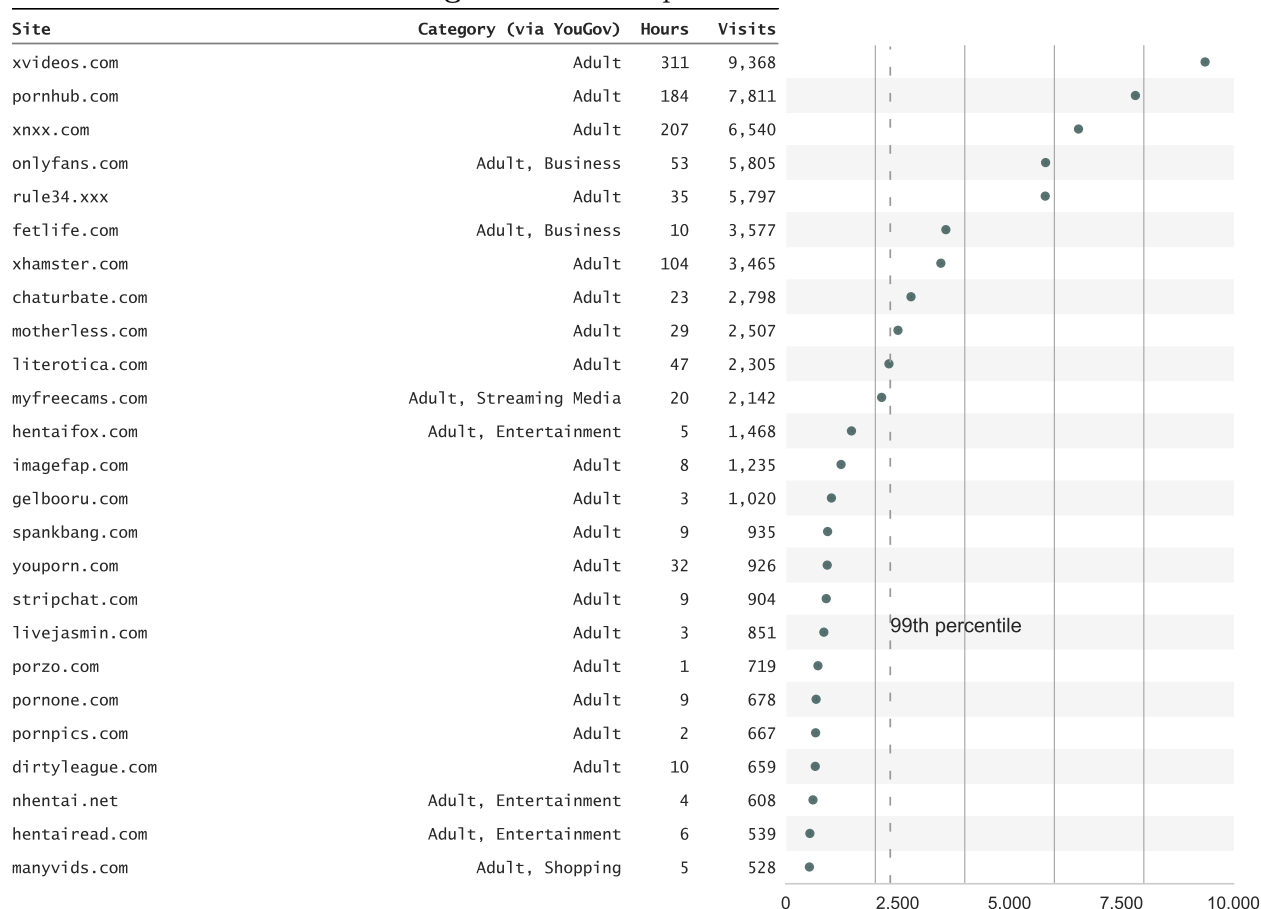
- Pollard, Tom, Alistair Johnson, Jesse Raffa and Roger Mark. 2018. “tableone: An open source Python package for producing summary statistics for research papers.”.
- URL:** <https://doi.org/10.1093/jamiaopen/ooy012>
- Rivers, Douglas and Delia Bailey. 2009. Inference from matched samples in the 2008 US national elections. In *Proceedings of the joint statistical meetings*. pp. 627–639.
- Shen, Lucas. 2022. “Forestplot: A Python package to make publication-ready but customizable coefficient plots.”.
- URL:** <https://github.com/LSYS/forestplot>
- Sood, Gaurav. 2022. “YouGov Pulse Data for 1200 people for June 2022.”.
- URL:** <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VIV4TS>
- Stewart, Destin N and Dawn M Szymanski. 2012. “Young adult women’s reports of their male romantic partner’s pornography use as a correlate of their self-esteem, relationship quality, and sexual satisfaction.” *Sex Roles* 67(5-6):257–271.
- Szymanski, Dawn M, Chandra E Feltman and Trevor L Dunn. 2015. “Male Partners’ Perceived Pornography Use and Women’s Relational and Psychological Health: The Roles of Trust, Attitudes, and Investment.” *Sex Roles* 73(5-6):187–199.
- Szymanski, Dawn M and Destin N Stewart-Richardson. 2014. “Psychological, relational, and sexual correlates of pornography use on young adult heterosexual men in romantic relationships.” *The Journal of Men’s Studies* 22(1):64–82.
- Wright, Paul J and Ashley K Randall. 2012. “Internet pornography exposure and risky sexual behavior among adult males in the United States.” *Computers in Human Behavior* 28(4):1410–1416.

# Supporting Information

## SI 1 Descriptive Analysis

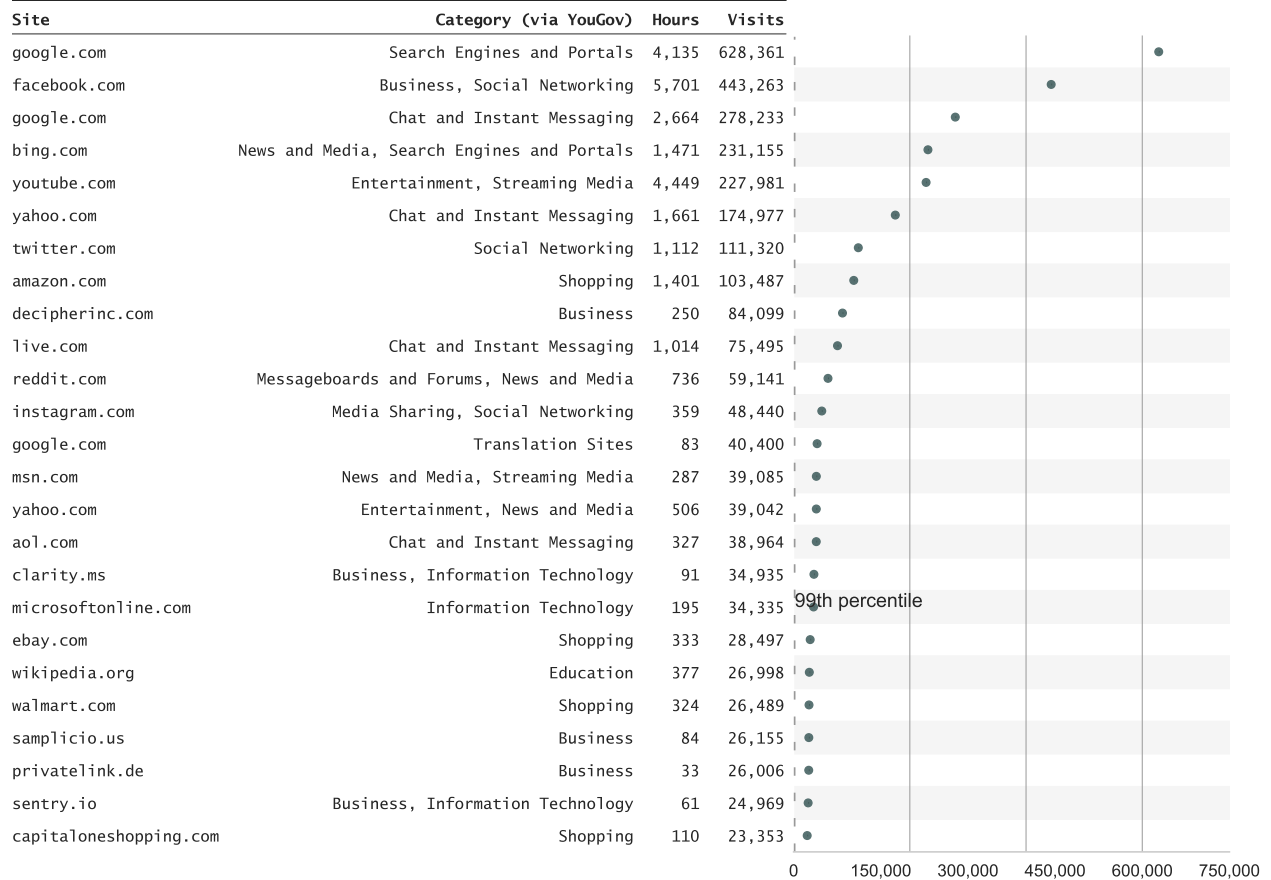
### SI 1.1 Skew in Website Visits

**Figure SI 1.1: Top 25 Porn Sites**



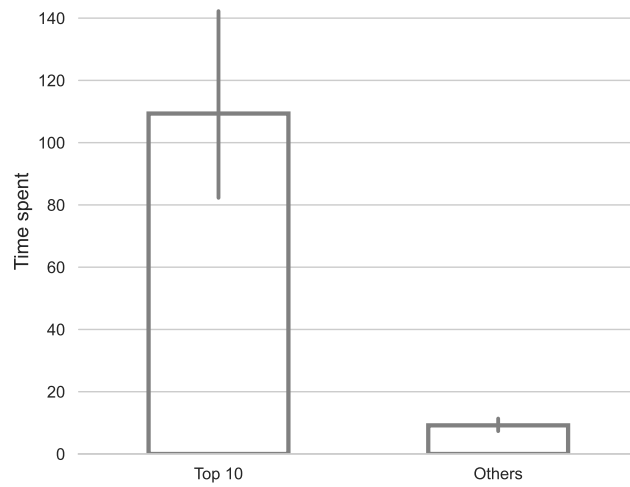
*Notes:* Table shows the top 25 porn sites that individuals visit in the sample period. Pornography sites are as categorized by YouGov (see the [Data](#) section). The *Hours* column are the total number of hours that individuals in the sample spent on the site. The *Visits* column is total number of visits by individuals in the sample to the site. Sites to the right of the vertical dashed are the top 1 percent of porn sites.

**Figure SI 1.2: Top 25 (Non-Porn) Domains**



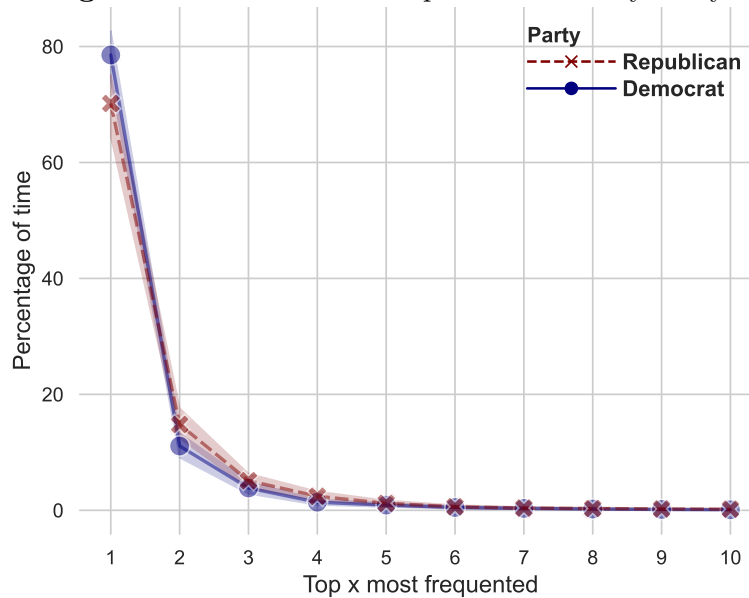
*Notes:* Table shows the top 25 non-pornographic sites that individuals visit in the sample period. The *Hours* column are the total number of hours that individuals in the sample spent on the site. The *Visits* column is total number of visits by individuals in the sample to the site. Sites to the right of the vertical dashed are the top 1 percent (of non-porn sites).

**Figure SI 1.3:** Traffic to Top 10 Pornographic Sites



*Notes:* The Top 10 bar indicates traffic to the top 10 pornographic sites in the data (see [Figure SI 1.1](#)). The Others bar indicates traffic to all other pornographic sites outside of the top 10. The y-axis is the total time spent on pornographic sites, averaged across individuals. Time units is hours. Vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals from bootstrapped standard errors ( $n = 1,000$ ).

**Figure SI 1.4:** Traffic to Top x Porn Sites by Party



*Notes:* Figure shows concentration of porn consumption based on individuals' most frequented porn sites. Shaded areas are 95% confidence intervals from bootstrapped standard errors ( $n = 1,000$ ).

## SI 1.2 Skew in Consumption of Pornographic Content

**Table SI 1.1:** Distribution of Consumption of Pornography Online

Percentile	Hours
0.00	0.00
0.10	0.03
0.20	0.08
0.30	0.19
0.40	0.41
0.50	0.73
0.60	1.47
0.70	2.38
0.80	4.53
0.90	10.09
0.95	20.04
0.96	22.04
0.97	26.76
0.98	29.10
0.99	40.76
1.00	93.96

*Notes:* Table shows key percentiles (each of the ten deciles plus quantiles at the right tail) and their corresponding values for the duration (hours) spent by individuals who consumed pornography in the sample period.

**Table SI 1.2:** Percentage of Time Spent on Pornographic Sites

Percentile	% time
0.00	0.0
0.10	0.0
0.20	0.1
0.30	0.7
0.40	1.3
0.50	3.1
0.60	4.8
0.70	8.4
0.80	14.3
0.90	36.4
0.95	58.5
0.96	63.5
0.97	64.8
0.98	69.8
0.99	74.5
1.00	87.5

*Notes:* Table shows key percentiles (each of the ten deciles plus quantiles at the right tail) and their corresponding values for the duration (hours) spent by individuals who consumed pornography in the sample period.

## SI 2 Partisan Differences

### SI 2.1 Distribution of Differences

**Table SI 2.1:** Distribution of Consumption of Pornography Online by Party

Percentile	Hours	
	Republicans	Democrats
0.00	0.00	0.00
0.10	0.06	0.02
0.20	0.18	0.05
0.30	0.33	0.11
0.40	0.68	0.23
0.50	1.36	0.46
0.60	2.18	0.74
0.70	3.02	1.55
0.80	5.48	2.74
0.90	11.17	7.03
0.95	25.43	13.84
0.96	27.06	18.28
0.97	27.93	19.92
0.98	30.03	22.03
0.99	36.53	45.97
1.00	37.54	90.46

*Notes:* Table shows splits by party and by key percentiles (each of the ten deciles plus quantiles at the right tail) for the duration (hours) spent by individuals who consumed pornography in the sample period.

**Table SI 2.2:** Percentage of Time Spent on Pornographic Sites by Party

Percentile	% time	
	Republicans	Democrats
0.00	0.0	0.0
0.10	0.1	0.0
0.20	0.5	0.1
0.30	0.9	0.3
0.40	2.3	0.9
0.50	4.0	1.3
0.60	6.6	3.2
0.70	10.7	5.7
0.80	20.8	12.3
0.90	36.8	35.8
0.95	46.4	53.4
0.96	54.8	58.6
0.97	63.3	64.0
0.98	68.7	65.0
0.99	71.9	72.9
1.00	87.5	77.4

*Notes:* Table shows splits by party and by key percentiles (each of the ten deciles plus quantiles at the right tail) for the duration (hours) spent by individuals who consumed pornography in the sample period.



## SI 2.2 Accounting for Confounders

**Table SI 2.3:** Differences in Pornography Consumption and Individual Characteristics by Party

Panel A. Measures of pornography consumption							
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Subgroups	NA	Total	Democrat	Republican	P-val	SMD	
n		1200	530	356			
Consume porn, n (%)	No	65	774 (68.2)	343 (68.5)	235 (70.6)	0.569	0.046
	Yes		361 (31.8)	158 (31.5)	98 (29.4)		
Minutes, mean (SD)		65	73.4 (342.1)	58.8 (331.7)	75.8 (277.4)	0.423	0.056
% of time, mean (SD)		65	3.4 (11.2)	2.9 (10.7)	3.5 (11.1)	0.486	0.049
Visits, mean (SD)		65	74.3 (328.9)	59.9 (298.9)	73.7 (271.1)	0.489	0.048
% of visits, mean (SD)		65	2.2 (7.1)	1.7 (6.1)	2.3 (7.1)	0.238	0.085
Panel B. Individual characteristics							
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Subgroups	NA	Total	Democrat	Republican	P-val	SMD	
n		1200	530	356			
Party (7-point), mean (SD)		120	3.6 (2.2)	1.7 (0.8)	6.3 (0.8)	<0.001	5.670
2020 Pres. election, n (%)	Other/No vote	170	270 (26.2)	97 (20.2)	47 (14.1)	<0.001	3.296
	Vote Biden		419 (40.7)	369 (76.9)	8 (2.4)		
	Vote Trump		341 (33.1)	14 (2.9)	278 (83.5)		
Age, mean (SD)		0	49.5 (18.1)	48.7 (17.8)	55.4 (18.0)	<0.001	0.373
Gender, n (%)	Female	0	635 (52.9)	312 (58.9)	174 (48.9)	0.004	0.201
	Male		565 (47.1)	218 (41.1)	182 (51.1)		
Race, n (%)	Asian	0	49 (4.1)	31 (5.8)	6 (1.7)	<0.001	0.747
	Black		152 (12.7)	96 (18.1)	7 (2.0)		
	Hispanic		176 (14.7)	87 (16.4)	35 (9.8)		
	Others		61 (5.1)	29 (5.5)	9 (2.5)		
	White		762 (63.5)	287 (54.2)	299 (84.0)		
Education, n (%)	College	0	525 (43.8)	258 (48.7)	158 (44.4)	0.625	0.091
	HS		354 (29.5)	146 (27.5)	103 (28.9)		
	No HS		73 (6.1)	24 (4.5)	17 (4.8)		
	Some college		248 (20.7)	102 (19.2)	78 (21.9)		
Region, n (%)	Midwest	8	239 (20.1)	100 (19.0)	83 (23.4)	0.034	0.204
	Northeast		210 (17.6)	103 (19.6)	50 (14.1)		
	South		502 (42.1)	208 (39.6)	159 (44.8)		
	West		241 (20.2)	114 (21.7)	63 (17.7)		

*Notes:* Table shows splits by party for pornography consumption and for individual characteristics for the 1,200 individuals. Party identification is based on a 7-point scale. We code 1–3 as “Democrat”, 4 as “Independent”, 5–7 as “Republican”. Column (1) shows subgroups for categorical variables. Column (2) indicates the count of missing variables, if any. Columns (3)–(5) show means and standard deviations for continuous variables and count and percentage of data for categorical variables, for the full sample, Democratic individuals, and Republican individuals. Standard deviations and percentages in parentheses. Column (6) and column (7) report the p-values and standardized mean differences for Democrats vs Republicans. Given the skew in consumption of pornography, we also performed tests for difference in means for the measures of pornography consumption by party. See [Table SI 2.5](#).

**Table SI 2.4:** Differences in Pornography Consumption and Individual Characteristics by Pornography Consumers

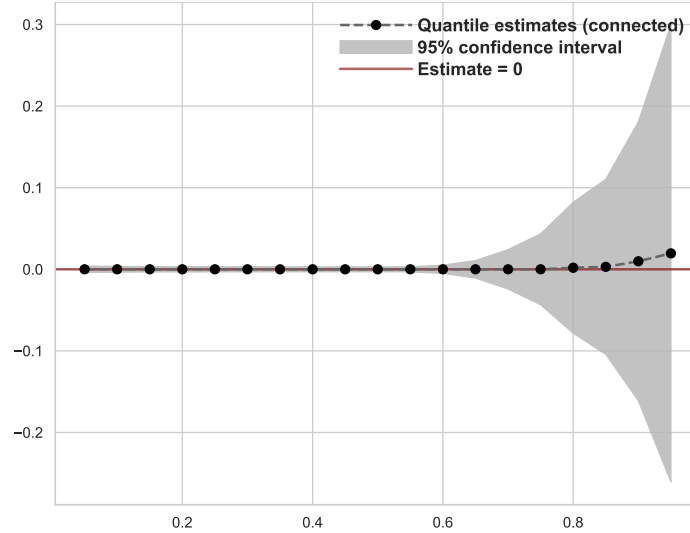
		Panel A. Measures of pornography consumption				(6) P-val	(7) SMD
	(1) Subgroups	(2) NA	(3) Total	(4) Non-Consumers	(5) Consumers		
n			1200	774	361		
Minutes, mean (SD)		65	73.4 (342.1)	0.0 (0.0)	230.8 (576.3)	<0.001	0.566
% of time, mean (SD)		65	3.4 (11.2)	0.0 (0.0)	10.6 (17.9)	<0.001	0.833
Visits, mean (SD)		65	74.3 (328.9)	0.0 (0.0)	233.5 (550.8)	<0.001	0.599
% of visits, mean (SD)		65	2.2 (7.1)	0.0 (0.0)	6.9 (11.2)	<0.001	0.870
		Panel B. Individual characteristics				(6) P-val	(7) SMD
	(1) Subgroups	(2) NA	(3) Total	(4) Non-Consumers	(5) Consumers		
n			1200	774	361		
Party (7-point), mean (SD)		120	3.6 (2.2)	3.6 (2.2)	3.6 (2.1)	0.580	-0.037
2020 Pres. election, n (%)	Other/No vote	170	270 (26.2)	145 (22.1)	110 (34.9)	<0.001	0.287
	Vote Biden		419 (40.7)	281 (42.8)	114 (36.2)		
	Vote Trump		341 (33.1)	230 (35.1)	91 (28.9)		
Age, mean (SD)		0	49.5 (18.1)	51.3 (18.2)	46.1 (17.1)	<0.001	-0.295
Gender, n (%)	Female	0	635 (52.9)	487 (62.9)	109 (30.2)	<0.001	0.695
	Male		565 (47.1)	287 (37.1)	252 (69.8)		
Race, n (%)	Asian	0	49 (4.1)	37 (4.8)	9 (2.5)	0.059	0.193
	Black		152 (12.7)	86 (11.1)	58 (16.1)		
	Hispanic		176 (14.7)	113 (14.6)	55 (15.2)		
	Others		61 (5.1)	36 (4.7)	20 (5.5)		
	White		762 (63.5)	502 (64.9)	219 (60.7)		
Education, n (%)	College	0	525 (43.8)	363 (46.9)	131 (36.3)	0.002	0.244
	HS		354 (29.5)	228 (29.5)	115 (31.9)		
	No HS		73 (6.1)	46 (5.9)	22 (6.1)		
	Some college		248 (20.7)	137 (17.7)	93 (25.8)		
Region, n (%)	Midwest	8	239 (20.1)	147 (19.2)	78 (21.7)	0.659	0.081
	Northeast		210 (17.6)	140 (18.3)	60 (16.7)		
	South		502 (42.1)	328 (42.8)	146 (40.6)		
	West		241 (20.2)	152 (19.8)	76 (21.1)		

*Notes:* Table shows splits by consumers of pornography for pornography consumption and for individual characteristics for the 1,200 individuals. 65 of the 1,200 individuals did not clocked any browsing activity and are in the first panel. These 65 individuals are not substantially different in characteristics than those included in the sample (untabulated). Party identification is based on a 7-point scale. We code 1–3 as “Democrat”, 4 as “Independent”, 5–7 as “Republican”. Column (1) shows subgroups for categorical variables. Column (2) indicates the count of missing variables, if any. Columns (3)–(5) show means and standard deviations for continuous variables and count and percentage of data for categorical variables, for the full sample, non-consumers of pornography, and consumers of pornography. Standard deviations and percentages in parentheses. Column (6) and column (7) report the p-values and standardized mean differences for non-consumers vs consumers.

**Table SI 2.5:** Differences (in Medians) in Pornography Consumption

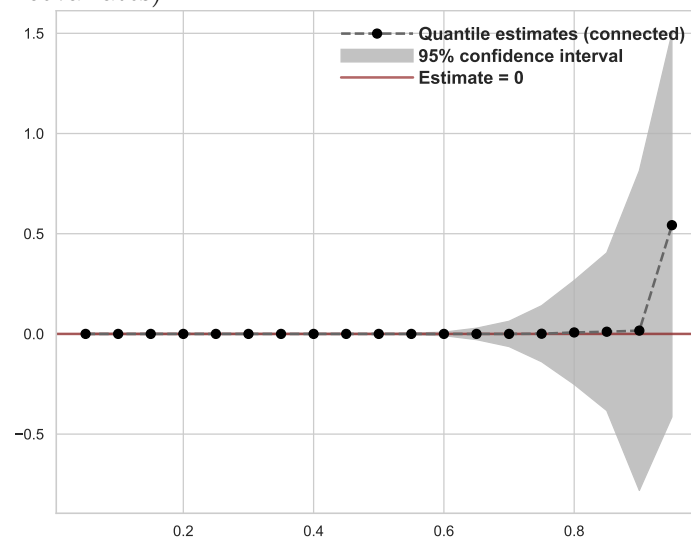
	(1) Subgroups	(2) NA	Measures of pornography consumption			(6) P-val	(7) SMD
			(3) Total	(4) Democrats	(5) Republicans		
n			1200	530	356		
Minutes, median [Q1,Q3]		65	0.0 [0.0,4.8]	0.0 [0.0,3.1]	0.0 [0.0,3.6]	0.981	0.056
% of time, median [Q1,Q3]		65	0.0 [0.0,0.1]	0.0 [0.0,0.1]	0.0 [0.0,0.1]	0.842	0.049
Visits, median [Q1,Q3]		65	0.0 [0.0,8.0]	0.0 [0.0,6.0]	0.0 [0.0,8.0]	0.933	0.048
% of visits, median [Q1,Q3]		65	0.0 [0.0,0.2]	0.0 [0.0,0.1]	0.0 [0.0,0.2]	0.916	0.085

*Notes:* Table shows splits by party for pornography consumption and for individual characteristics for the 1,200 individuals. This table focuses on differences in medians. Party identification is based on a 7-point scale. We code 1–3 as “Democrat”, 4 as “Independent”, 5–7 as “Republican”. Column (1) shows subgroups for categorical variables. Column (2) indicates the count of missing variables, if any. Columns (3)–(5) show the medians, the first quartiles, and the third quartiles, for the full sample, Democrats, and Republicans. 1st and 3rd quartiles in brackets. Column (6) and column (7) report the p-values and standardized median differences for Democrats vs Republicans. See Panel A of [Table SI 2.3](#) for differences in means.

**Figure SI 2.1:** Quantile Estimates–Hours Spent on Pornographic Sites by Party (with covariates)

*Notes:* Dependent variable is the number of hours individuals in our sample spent on pornographic sites. Each point indicates the difference between Republicans and Democrats and corresponds to a quantile regression at the quantile indicated by the x-axis. Covariates included on the right-hand side are: gender (Female/Male), race (White/Black/Hispanic/Asian/Others), education level (no HS/HS graduate/some college/college graduate), age and its quadratic, and region (NE/MW/S/W). 95% confidence intervals constructed from standard errors. See [Figure 1](#) for the same plot without covariates.

**Figure SI 2.2:** Quantile Estimates–Percentage of Time Spent on Pornographic Sites by Party (with covariates)



*Notes:* Dependent variable is the percentage of time individuals in our sample spent on pornographic sites. Each point indicates the difference between Republicans and Democrats and corresponds to a quantile regression at the quantile indicated by the x-axis. Covariates included on the right-hand side are: gender (Female/Male), race (White/Black/Hispanic/Asian/Others), education level (no HS/HS graduate/some college/college graduate), age and its quadratic, and region (NE/MW/S/W). 95% confidence intervals constructed from standard errors. See [Figure 2](#) for the same plot without covariates.

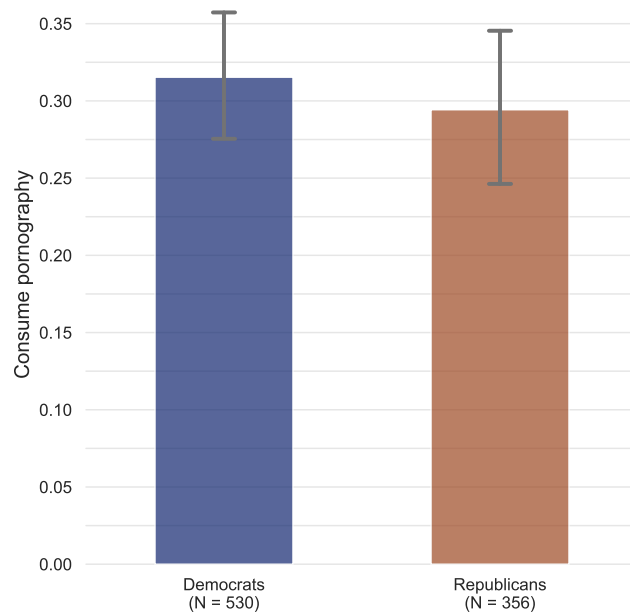
## SI 3    Alternate Ways of Measuring Pornography

## SI 4 Consumption of Pornography Among Independents

## SI 5 Alternate Measures

### SI 5.1 Proportion of Partisans Who Consumed Any Pornography

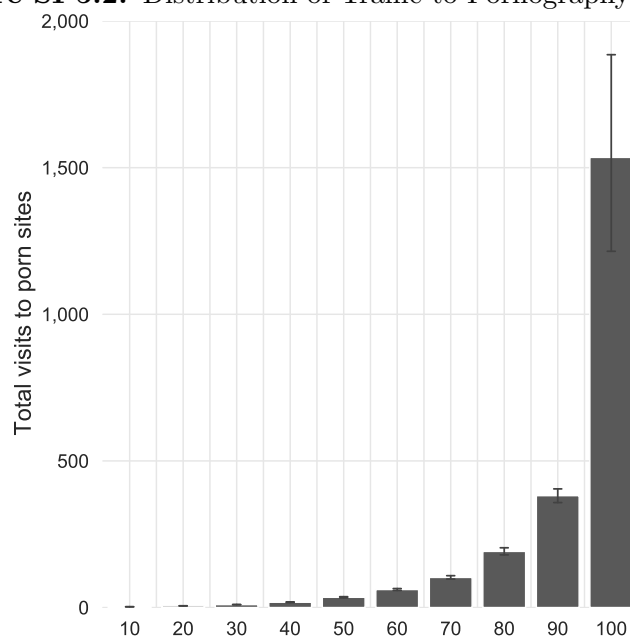
**Figure SI 5.1:** Pornography Consumption by Party



*Notes:* Figure shows proportion of individuals in the sample who ever consumed pornography in the sample period by party. Capped vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals from bootstrapped standard errors (n = 1,000).

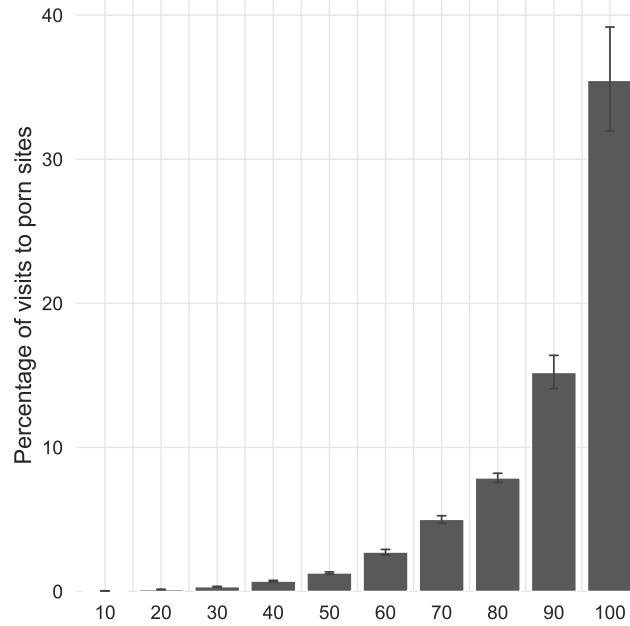
## SI 5.2 Analyses of Visits

**Figure SI 5.2:** Distribution of Traffic to Pornography Online



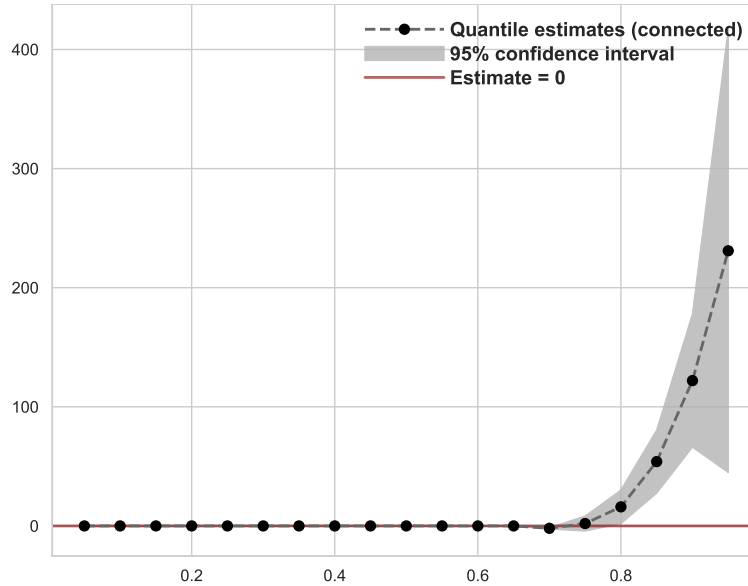
*Notes:* Figure shows the number of visits to pornography sites by individuals who consumed pornography in the sample period. Individuals are split into deciles with each bin containing approximately the same number of individuals. Height of bars indicate mean of each bin. Capped vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals.

**Figure SI 5.3: Percentage of Traffic to Pornography Online**



*Notes:* Figure shows the proportion of visits to pornography sites by individuals who consumed pornography in the sample period. Individuals are split into deciles with each bin containing approximately the same number of individuals. Height of bars indicate mean of each bin. Capped vertical bars are 95% confidence intervals.

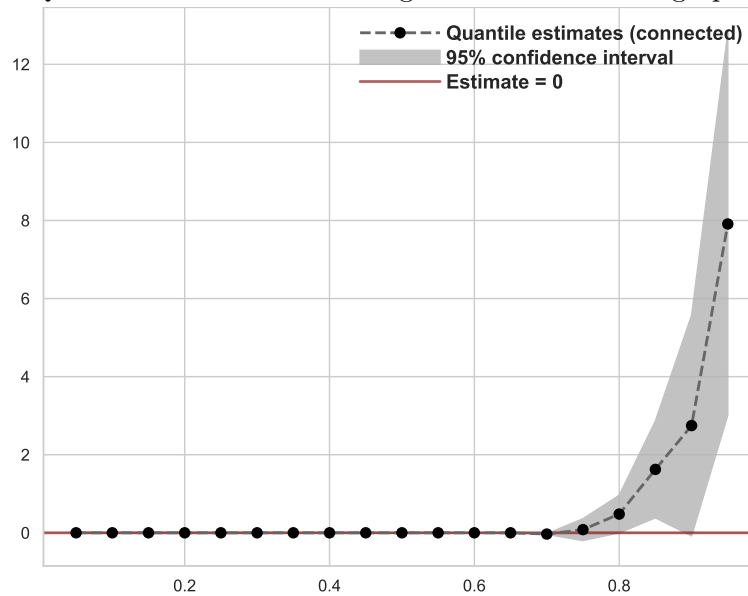
**Figure SI 5.4: Quantile Estimates—Traffic to Pornography Sites by Party**



*Notes:* Dependent variable is the number of visits to pornographic sites by individuals in our sample. Each point indicates the difference between Republicans and Democrats and corresponds to a quantile regression at the quantile indicated by the x-axis. 95% confidence intervals constructed from standard errors.

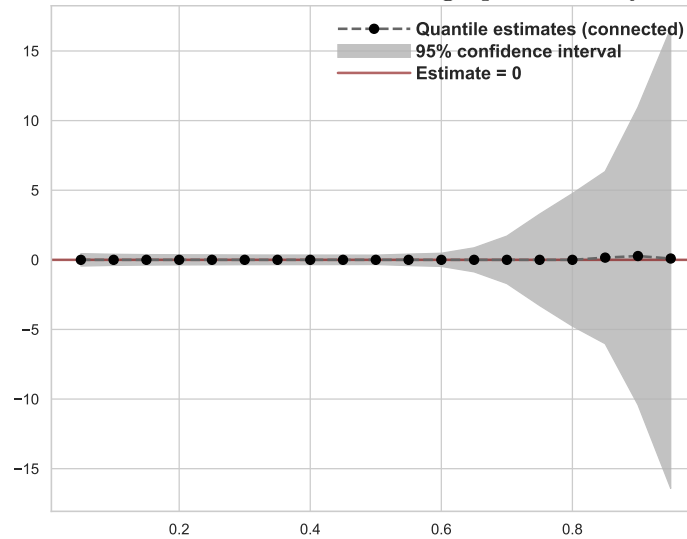


**Figure SI 5.5:** Quantile Estimates–Percentage of Traffic to Pornographic Sites by Party



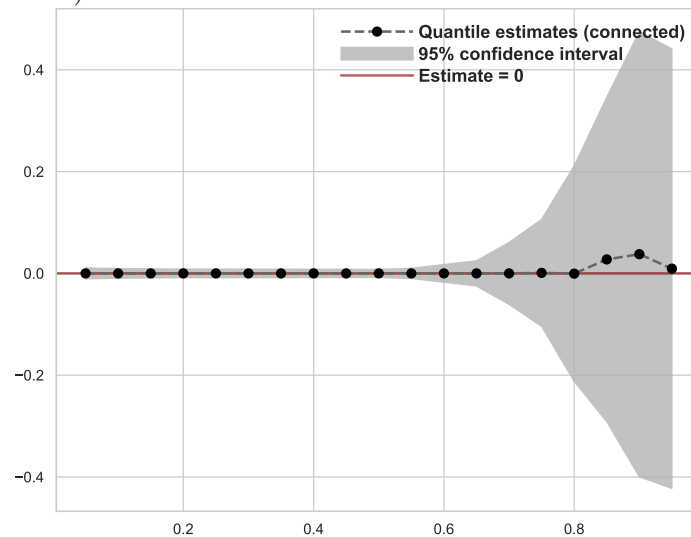
*Notes:* Dependent variable is the percentage of traffic to pornographic sites by individuals in our sample. Each point indicates the difference between Republicans and Democrats and corresponds to a quantile regression at the quantile indicated by the x-axis. 95% confidence intervals constructed from standard errors.

**Figure SI 5.6:** Quantile Estimates–Traffic to Pornographic Sites by Party (with covariates)



*Notes:* Dependent variable is the number of visits to pornographic sites by individuals in our sample. Each point indicates the difference between Republicans and Democrats and corresponds to a quantile regression at the quantile indicated by the x-axis. Covariates included on the right-hand side are: gender (Female/Male), race (White/Black/Hispanic/Asian/Others), education level (no HS/HS graduate/some college/college graduate), age and its quadratic, and region (NE/MW/S/W). 95% confidence intervals constructed from standard errors.

**Figure SI 5.7:** Quantile Estimates—Percentage of Traffic to Pornographic Sites by Party (with covariates)



*Notes:* Dependent variable is the percentage of traffic to pornographic sites by individuals in our sample. Each point indicates the difference between Republicans and Democrats and corresponds to a quantile regression at the quantile indicated by the x-axis. Covariates included on the right-hand side are: gender (Female/Male), race (White/Black/Hispanic/Asian/Others), education level (no HS/HS graduate/some college/college graduate), age and its quadratic, and region (NE/MW/S/W). 95% confidence intervals constructed from standard errors.