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# Pornography: Important Political Symbol or Limited Political Issue?

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*From both the "status politics" and "politics of life style concerns" perspectives, pornography is viewed as a political symbol, standing for a general political conservatism and attitudes toward specific political topics that this general conservatism underlies. Analysis of data from a 1973 Gallup poll shows that a particular type of pornography, commercial nudity, is more of a limited political issue. Opposition to this type of pornography is significantly related to an indicator of general political conservatism; however, this relationship has little carryover effect on associations between attitudes toward commercial nudity and attitudes toward specific political topics. What opposition to commercial nudity does seem to symbolize is conservative sexual morality, exhibiting a much stronger association with an indicator of this morality than with any other variable in this study.*

Is pornography just another limited political issue or an important political symbol? By placing pornography within the status-politics framework (see Lipset, 1955; Gusfield, 1963; Brandmeyer and Denisoff, 1969), research by Zurcher and his colleagues points toward the latter. Anti-pornography activities in two towns are seen more as symbolic political crusades than simply as efforts limited to eradicating pornography through political means. Such activities are interpreted as a response to diminishing prestige of the crusaders' groups. By reaffirming the conservative political orientation identified with these groups, these activities symbolically reaffirm the importance of the groups themselves (Zurcher et al., 1971; Zurcher and Kirkpatrick, 1976).

A recent attempt to recast "status-politics" into a "politics of life style concerns" also views opposition to pornography as symbolic of political conservatism, but for a different reason. Rather than being a "sublimated response" to diminishing group status, this opposition is seen as one of several beliefs embedded in a life style called "cultural fundamentalism," which also includes such politically conservative orientations as patriotism, respect for authority, and opposition to leftist political values (Page and Clelland, 1978). When conflict between cultural fundamentalists and cultural modernists involves pornography, opposition to pornography becomes a symbol representative of the entire spectrum of beliefs — including political conservatism — contained in cultural fundamentalism.

Both perspectives, then, view opposition to pornography as a display of support for an overall politically conservative orientation, which in turn presumably underlies

conservative attitudes toward specific political issues. Research has generally supported this view. Opposition to pornography has been linked to both overall political conservatism (Abelson et al., 1971; Peckham, 1972; Wallace, 1973; Wilson and Abelson, 1973; Cummings et al., 1977) and to orientations toward particular governmental organizations (Peek and Brown, 1978). This research, however, has been limited to the question of *whether* pornography has symbolic impact. The key question of *how much* symbolic impact it has and thus how important a political symbol it is remains unanswered, due to at least two problems.

First, the *relative* importance of pornography as a political variable and thus as a political symbol has not been assessed. Previous research has failed to gauge how strongly opposition to pornography is associated with political orientations in comparison to how strongly other standard political variables, such as political party or voting behavior, predict these orientations. If attitudes toward pornography are less strongly related to political orientations than standard political predictors, or are associated with fewer of these orientations, then the impact of pornography as a political symbol is considerably decreased.

Second, an alternative non-political path through which attitudes toward pornography may be connected to political orientations has not been explored. Instead of symbolizing general political conservatism, or even the more encompassing cultural fundamentalism, attitudes toward pornography may primarily represent more limited *sexually*-oriented values. These attitudes would be linked to some political orientations, but *only* to the extent that such orientations were relevant to sexual values and morals. Rodgers' (1974) finding that campaigns to censor pornography in 18 U.S. cities were aimed more at the actual suppression of explicit sexual material rather than at championing general or political conservative values underscores this possibility. McCormack's (1978) contention that research on consequences of pornography illustrates little beyond the sexual values of predominantly male researchers may also point in this direction.

Thus, pornography may not be much of a general political symbol at all, with attitudes toward it being related primarily to attitudes toward other sexually relevant political phenomena, such as homosexuality, sex education, and abortion. This position would not rule out some association between opposition to pornography and general political conservatism. Such an association, however, would exist because of its link with sexual conservatism, in turn connected with general political conservatism in the cultural fundamentalist lifestyle Page and Clelland (1978) describe.

Our paper attempts to deal with both problems in exploring the symbolic importance to a national sample of U. S. adults of one type of pornography, commercial nudity, such as in plays, magazines, or nightclubs, in which no sexual contact between nude persons occurs. To assess the relative importance of commercial nudity as a political symbol, we will compare how well opposition to this form of pornography predicts both general political conservatism and attitudes toward specific political matters versus how well a standard political variable — political party identification — predicts these phenomena. Absence of data in our sample on explicitly sexual political matters prohibits fully addressing the second problem, in that relationships between opposition to pornography and attitudes toward sexual political issues cannot be examined. However, we will assess the degree to which such opposition is associated with (and thus symbolizes) sexual conservatism. We will also examine what happens to any associations between this opposition and atti-

tudes toward other non-sexual political matters when sexual conservatism is controlled. If opposition to commercial nudity has its political impact through its link to general political conservatism via sexual conservatism, then control for sexual conservatism should eliminate its associations with attitudes toward non-sexual political matters.

## METHODS

Data from a 1973 Gallup Poll — a probability sample of noninstitutionalized U. S. adults (AIPO 874, N = 1554) — provide the basis for our analysis. Responses to three questions provide an index of *attitudes toward commercial nudity*: (1) "Would you find topless nightclub waitresses objectionable?"; (2) "Would you find actors and actresses appearing in the nude in Broadway plays objectionable?"; (3) "Would you find pictures of nudes in magazines objectionable?" Crosstabulation of the "yes" and "no" replies shows a high degree of association (gamma values are .938, .897 and .957 respectively between the answer to questions 1 and 2, 1 and 3, and 2 and 3). Therefore, responses to all three questions were summed ("yes" was scored as 0; "no" as 1), creating an index of attitudes toward commercial nudity ranging from 0 to 3 (the highest score represents the highest acceptance of commercial nudity).

As pointed out in an earlier paper which utilized this index (Peek and Brown, 1978), this type of commercial nudity has no sexual contact; it is essentially "passive" pornography. While it may command less attention than the more "active" version that involves commercial nudity with sexual contact, it is usually a part of peoples' conceptions of pornography (Higgins and Katzman, 1969; Katzman, 1971; Massey, 1971; Reed and Reed, 1972; Wilson and Abelson, 1973). Additionally, a small amount of evidence suggests that orientations toward it have relationships with other variables similar to relationships displayed by orientations toward more active pornography (Abelson et al., 1971).

One of the two main political variables is *political party identification*, measured by a question asking whether respondents considered themselves Republicans, Democrats, or independents. Since "independent" is a residual category rather than a true political party, respondents identifying themselves as such were omitted from this analysis.

No question in this poll directly inquired whether one's general political orientation was more liberal or conservative. However, an item on preference for new Supreme Court appointments — "Would you like to have these people be liberal or conservative in their political views?" — came close. Responses to this question (conservative/liberal, with "no opinions" omitted) are our indicator of *general political conservatism*.

Twenty-three items concerning *specific political attitudes* were available in this poll. Most of them (16) dealt with respondents' ratings on a 16 point scale of how well they liked either well-known governmental or other politically active organizations (higher scores indicate more positive attitudes). Three items pertained to attitudes about state government's regulation of energy and public utilities, each scored as a dichotomy (more regulation not needed/more regulation needed). Two tap attitudes on political morality through questions about the seriousness of Watergate (not serious/serious) and about whether Nixon should be impeached (no/yes). One asks whether government or business and labor are more responsible for inflation (government/business or labor); and the final item concerns whether respondents favor laws allowing euthanasia (yes/no).

Finally, one item on this poll tapped *sexual conservatism*: "Do you think it is wrong for people to have sex relations before marriage, or not?" (no/yes). While obviously lacking in precision (conditions under which sex relations before marriage might or might not be wrong are unspecified), the attitudes which this item taps have continually been employed as indicators of sexual permissiveness/conservatism (Reiss, 1960; Reiss, 1967; Bayer, 1977; Kelley, 1978) and are strongly associated with at least one other indicator of sexual conservatism, attitudes toward extramarital sexual relations (Reiss et al., 1980). In fact, responses to a similarly-worded item have recently provided the basis for an analysis of national changes in sexual permissiveness during the 1970s (Singh, 1980).

## FINDINGS

### IMPORTANCE OF COMMERCIAL NUDITY AS A POLITICAL SYMBOL

To examine the relative importance of commercial nudity as a political symbol, we regressed both general political conservatism and the 23 specific attitudes on attitudes toward commercial nudity, political party identification, and 10 control variables.<sup>1</sup> Results of these regression analyses are presented in Table 1.

Before and after controls, attitudes toward commercial nudity exhibit a slightly stronger association with general political conservatism than does political party identification. Respondents more opposed to commercial nudity have a slightly greater preference for the appointment of conservative Supreme Court judges than respondents who identify themselves as Republicans. Because attitudes toward commercial nudity hold their own in comparison to a standard political variable in predicting a widespread political orientation, commercial nudity initially appears to be relatively important as a political variable and thus as a symbol.

But findings from the other 23 regression analyses point in the reverse direction. Opposition to commercial nudity is neither as strongly nor as consistently associated with specific political attitudes as is political party identification. In the absence of controls for other variables, statistically significant associations do appear between attitudes toward commercial nudity and 13 of these items (column 3), almost as many as the 15 which emerge for political party identification (column 6). However, application of controls for 10 additional social variables (see footnote b, Table 1) considerably changes this initial picture. Comparison of the standardized regression coefficients in columns 4 and 7 demonstrates that political party identification remains significantly related to 14 items, versus only three for attitudes toward commercial nudity (attitudes toward the CIA, John Birch Society, and ACLU). Further, in 16 instances associations with political party identification are among the three strongest of all variables (column 8), as compared to four instances in which relationships with attitudes toward commercial nudity are in the top three (column 5).

However, if opposition to commercial nudity is connected to specific political attitudes, primarily through its link with general political conservatism, then the three remaining associations it displays would be more convincing evidence that commercial nudity has impact as a political symbol. Rather than being viewed as simply three random occurrences

Table 1. Relationship of Attitudes Toward Commercial Nudity and Political Party Identification to Political Attitudes

Attitude Items (1)	N <sup>a</sup> (2)	Attitudes toward Commercial Nudity			Political Party Identification			R <sup>2</sup> (9)
		Zero- order r (3)	Std. Reg. Coeff. (SRC) (4)	Rank of SRC <sup>b</sup> (5)	Zero- order r (6)	Std. Reg. Coeff. (SRC) (7)	Rank of SRC <sup>b</sup> (8)	
General Political Conservatism	773	-.286 <sup>e</sup>	-.186 <sup>e</sup>	2	.185 <sup>e</sup>	.122 <sup>e</sup>	4	.165 <sup>e</sup>
<u>Atts. Toward Politically Relevant Organization</u>								
FBI	756	.196 <sup>e</sup>	.077	7	-.103 <sup>d</sup>	-.108 <sup>d</sup>	3	.108 <sup>e</sup>
CIA	698	.195 <sup>e</sup>	.153 <sup>e</sup>	1	-.065	-.077	3	.056 <sup>e</sup>
Local Police	760	.140	.073	4	-.056	-.002	11	.068 <sup>e</sup>
Supreme Court	746	.023	-.021	9	-.031	-.056 <sup>c</sup>	4	.025
Congress	757	-.004	-.040	8	.092 <sup>c</sup>	.095 <sup>c</sup>	1	.020
USA	766	.156 <sup>e</sup>	.050	7	-.086 <sup>c</sup>	-.048	8	.097 <sup>e</sup>
Russia	712	-.091 <sup>c</sup>	-.031	7	-.087 <sup>c</sup>	-.096 <sup>c</sup>	2	.055 <sup>e</sup>
CORE	578	-.088 <sup>c</sup>	-.040	8	.211 <sup>e</sup>	.152 <sup>e</sup>	2	.126 <sup>e</sup>
NAACP	727	-.124 <sup>e</sup>	-.058	5	.090 <sup>c</sup>	.047	6	.140 <sup>e</sup>
KKK	728	.041 <sup>d</sup>	-.018 <sup>d</sup>	10	-.071 <sup>d</sup>	-.107 <sup>d</sup>	2	.065 <sup>e</sup>
John Birch Society	625	.113 <sup>e</sup>	.151 <sup>e</sup>	2	-.113 <sup>e</sup>	-.145 <sup>e</sup>	3	.087 <sup>e</sup>
ACLU	578	-.246 <sup>e</sup>	-.172 <sup>e</sup>	2	.255 <sup>e</sup>	.173 <sup>e</sup>	1	.151 <sup>e</sup>
The Press	755	-.078 <sup>c</sup>	-.078	3	.251 <sup>e</sup>	.209 <sup>e</sup>	1	.092 <sup>e</sup>
AFL-CIO	730	-.054	-.022	8	.233 <sup>e</sup>	.179 <sup>e</sup>	1	.094 <sup>e</sup>
NAM	569	.061 <sup>d</sup>	.004	12	-.061	-.083	1	.022
AMA	747	.111 <sup>d</sup>	.029	11	-.022	-.093 <sup>c</sup>	7	.102 <sup>e</sup>

Table 1. Relationship of Attitudes Toward Commercial Nudity and Political Party Identification to Political Attitudes (continued)

<u>Atts. on Gov't Regulatory Activities</u>								
Reg. of utilities 1	689	-.011	.043	7	.091 <sup>c</sup>	.078	3	.031 <sup>c</sup>
Reg. of utilities 2	672	-.128 <sup>e</sup>	-.048	6.5	.079 <sup>c</sup>	.048	6.5	.061 <sup>e</sup>
Rationing energy	675	.014	.018	9	-.016	-.005	12	.021
<u>Political Morality</u>								
Watergate serious?	725	-.057	.045	8	.411 <sup>e</sup>	.397 <sup>e</sup>	1	.203 <sup>e</sup>
Impeach Nixon?	708	-.120 <sup>d</sup>	-.020	10	.340 <sup>e</sup>	.248 <sup>e</sup>	1	.207 <sup>a</sup>
Inflation Gov't Fault?	684	.044	.051	6	-.191 <sup>e</sup>	-.139 <sup>e</sup>	1	.072 <sup>e</sup>
Allow Euthanasia?	681	-.057	-.072	4	.106 <sup>d</sup>	.091 <sup>c</sup>	2	.032 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The substantial reduction of N in this and subsequent tables results from omitting respondents who did not have usable scores on the three major variables (or, in the other tables, on the dependent variables as well). Sixty failed to answer "yes" or "no" on all three items comprising our index of attitudes toward commercial nudity; 339 responded "no opinion" to the indicator of general political conservatism; and 517 identified themselves as belonging to neither major political party. The total number of unusable responses is slightly greater than the number of respondents omitted from our analysis because a few persons gave multiple unusable responses. Unusable responses or missing data on other variables are handled through a pairwise deletion procedure.

<sup>b</sup>The ranks in columns 5 and 8 are based on the absolute size of the standardized regression coefficient between attitudes toward commercial nudity and political party identification compared to the sizes of coefficients between ten control variables and the political attitude in each of the 24 regression analyses. The variables employed as simultaneous controls are sex (male/female), age (in actual years), race (white/black), religious preference (2 dummy variables: Protestant/nonprotestant and Catholic/noncatholic), occupational prestige or household head (unskilled/skilled/clerical-sales/professional-executive), level of education completed by respondent (eight categories), yearly family income (eleven categories), region (South/nonsouth), and community size (twelve categories).

<sup>c</sup>Significant at or beyond the .05 level.

<sup>d</sup>Significant at or beyond the .01 level.

<sup>e</sup>Significant at or beyond the .001 level.

in 23 chances, these associations could be interpreted as the effects of opposition to commercial nudity symbolizing general political conservatism, which in turn affects attitudes toward the three organizations. To explore this possibility, we re-ran regression analyses on these three items, adding general political conservatism as a control variable in the final step. As can be seen from Table 2, none of the associations between attitudes toward commercial nudity and these items are appreciably affected by this procedure. Thus, these associations cannot be explained as a consequence of opposition to commercial nudity symbolizing general political conservatism.

Table 2. Effects of Controls for General Political Conservatism on Significant Relationships between Attitudes Toward Commercial Nudity and Other Political Attitudes

Variables with Sign. Stnd. Reg. Coeffs. in Table 1 (1)	N (2)	Stnd. Reg. Coeffs. between Attitudes Toward Commercial Nudity and Polit. Attitudes <sup>a</sup>			Final R <sup>2</sup> (5)
		Without Control for Gen. Polit. Conserv. (3)	With Addit. Control for Gen. Polit. Conserv. (4)		
Atts. toward CIA	698	.153 <sup>c</sup>	.155 <sup>c</sup>		.056 <sup>c</sup>
Atts. toward J. Birch Society	625	.151 <sup>b</sup>	.134 <sup>b</sup>		.091 <sup>c</sup>
Atts. toward ACLU	578	-.172 <sup>c</sup>	-.134 <sup>b</sup>		.179 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Standardized regression coefficients in columns 3 and 4 are adjusted for the effects of all variables included in the analysis of these items in Table 1.

<sup>b</sup>Significant at the .01 level.

<sup>c</sup>Significant at the .001 level.

These findings create a dilemma for determining the importance of pornography as a political symbol. On the one hand, the association between attitudes toward commercial nudity and general political conservatism suggests that pornography is a viable political symbol. But the failure of attitudes toward commercial nudity to be associated with all but three of 23 attitudes toward specific political matters, as well as the inability to explain three remaining associations as a consequence of the symbolic import of commercial nudity for general political conservatism, suggests just the opposite: pornography is relatively unimportant as a political symbol.

# COMMERCIAL NUDITY AS A SYMBOL OF SEXUAL CONSERVATISM

These contradictory findings make sense, however, if opposition to pornography is more a symbol of sexual than political conservatism. The association between opposition to commercial nudity and general political conservatism would then be due to the link of both to sexual conservatism. The lack of associations between opposition to commercial nudity and most of the attitudes toward the other 23 political topics would be explained by the absence of sexual relevance of these topics. Finally, the significant associations after controls in Table 1 between attitudes toward commercial nudity and attitudes toward the three organizations would be attributed to a possible "latent" relevance of these items to sexual conservatism (i.e., ACLU is generally perceived as supporting freedom of choice concerning sex of sexual partner and right to abortion, while the John Birch Society is usually seen as opposing both).

To explore this explanation of our findings, we first regressed our indicator of sexual conservatism on both attitudes toward commercial nudity, general political conservatism, and the other variables used in each regression in Table 1. Table 3 contains the results of this analysis, which initially suggest that this explanation has potential. Opposition to commercial nudity exhibits clear evidence of being a symbol of sexual conservatism. Both before and after controls, it is more strongly related to the measure of sexual conservatism than to any other variable in this study. Also, sexual conservatism and general

Table 3. Relationship of Attitudes Toward Commercial Nudity and General Political Conservatism to Sexual Conservatism

Variables	Relationship with Sexual Conservatism		
	Zero-order r	Std. Reg. Coeff.	Rank of Std. Reg. Coeff. <sup>a</sup>
Att. toward comm. nudity	.491 <sup>c</sup>	.379 <sup>c</sup>	1
Gen. polit. conservatism	-.293 <sup>c</sup>	-.122 <sup>b</sup>	3
	N = 725		R <sup>2</sup> = .298

<sup>a</sup>Ranks in this regression analysis are determined the same way as in Table 1. The absolute size of the standardized regression coefficients of these two variables with sexual conservatism were compared to the coefficients of all variables included in each analysis in Table 1.

<sup>b</sup>Significant at the .01 level.

<sup>c</sup>Significant at the .001 level.



political conservatism are associated — persons opposed to premarital intercourse want conservative judges appointed to the Supreme Court.

If sexual conservatism is the primary link between opposition to commercial nudity and general political conservatism, as Table 3 suggests, then its addition as a control variable should eliminate the association between these two variables. To see if this is the case, we regressed general political conservatism on attitudes toward commercial nudity and the other variables, with our indicator of sexual conservatism added in the last step of the analysis. The first line of Table 4 shows that while the association did slightly decrease, it remained significant at the .001 level. Apparently, then, much of the link between attitudes toward commercial nudity and general political conservatism is *not* due to their mutual ties with sexual conservatism.

Table 4. Effects of Controls for Sexual Conservatism on Significant Relationships between Attitudes Toward Commercial Nudity and Political Attitudes

Variables with Sign. Std. Reg. Coeffs. in Table 1 (1)	N <sup>a</sup> (2)	Std. Reg. Coeffs. between Attitudes Toward Commercial Nudity and Polit. Attitudes <sup>b</sup>		
		Without Control for Sex. Conserv. (3)	With Addit. Control for Sex. Conserv. (4)	Final R <sup>2</sup> (5)
General Polit. Conservatism	725	-.204 <sup>d</sup>	-.147 <sup>c</sup>	.186 <sup>d</sup>
Atts. toward CIA	655	.172 <sup>d</sup>	.177 <sup>d</sup>	.066 <sup>d</sup>
Atts. toward J. Birch Society	589	.165 <sup>d</sup>	.194 <sup>d</sup>	.091 <sup>d</sup>
Atts. toward ACLU	544	-.194 <sup>d</sup>	-.142 <sup>c</sup>	.164 <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>These N's are slightly less than the N's for the corresponding analyses in Table 1. A few respondents included in the previous analyses were omitted from this one because of unusable responses on the sexual conservatism question.

<sup>b</sup>Standardized regression coefficients in columns 3 and 4 are adjusted for the effects of all variables included in the analysis of these items in Table 1. The coefficients in column 3 vary slightly from those in column 4 of Table 1 because analyses in this table are performed on a slightly different subsample of respondents (see footnote a, this table).

<sup>c</sup>Significant at the .01 level.

<sup>d</sup>Significant at the .001 level.

The links between attitudes toward commercial nudity and attitudes toward the three items in Table 1 to which it remained significantly related after controls also do not seem to be due to sexual conservatism. To check on this possibility, regressions including sexual conservatism in the last step were re-run on each item. Results of these analyses, displayed in the rest of Table 4, clearly demonstrate that none of the three associations are due to any mutual connection of attitudes toward commercial nudity and these items — through their “latent” sexual relevance — to sexual conservatism.

## DISCUSSION

Overall, these findings depict commercial nudity as a limited political issue rather than a national political symbol. Although opposition to this type of pornography is significantly related to general political conservatism, this relationship does not carry over to attitudes toward most of the other 23 specific political topics. While such opposition is significantly associated with many of these attitudes initially, after simultaneous controls for several other variables its relative importance as a predictor and thus a symbol of these attitudes is minimal. It remains significantly related to only three of these attitudes, compared to the 14 with which another standard political variable, political party identification, continues to be significantly related. Even these three remaining associations are not due to the relationship of opposition to commercial nudity to general political conservatism, since additional controls for general political conservatism failed to reduce these associations appreciably.

What opposition to commercial nudity does seem clearly to symbolize is *sexual* conservatism. By far its strongest association with any variable in this study is with our indicator of sexual conservatism, both before and after controls. But, sexual conservatism apparently is not the mediator which links opposition to commercial nudity to general political conservatism or the three specific political attitudes. While sexual conservatism is associated with general political conservatism, controls for it also failed to diminish significantly the associations of opposition to commercial nudity to either general political conservatism or the other three political attitudes.

Obviously, several limitations of this study prevent these findings from settling the issue of the importance of pornography as a political symbol. First, while we have examined the association of opposition to pornography with over 20 political attitudes, this set of political items is still rather limited. Use of a wider range of items might reveal relationships between attitudes toward pornography and other types of political attitudes we were unable to examine. Second, other types of attitudes toward pornography — such as feelings about the consequences of pornography or attitudes toward “active” pornography which involves sexual contact — may be more politically potent. Third, it is possible that attitudes toward pornography will fare better in predicting political orientation when compared with standard political predictors other than political party identification, such as voting behavior. Finally, this study investigates the symbolic impact of pornography on only one level, the national one. It does not explore its political impact on a local level, where in a more homogeneous environment pornography may be most strongly connected to political attitudes.<sup>2</sup>

However, to the degree that our findings are supported by subsequent research, they

possess implications for both the "status politics" and the "politics of life style concerns" perspectives. For neither perspective does pornography seem to promise much as a *political* symbol, due to its lack of connection with most other political attitudes. However, the relatively strong tie between opposition to pornography and sexual conservatism, coupled with the link between sexual conservatism and general political conservatism, suggests that further exploration of the *general* symbolic utility of pornography would be more fruitful within Page and Clelland's (1978) politics of life style concerns. This broader perspective, as opposed to the more strictly political focus of status politics, appears better able to accommodate relationships of nonpolitical attitudes like opposition to pornography or sexual conservatism to political attitudes such as general political conservatism.

In fact, Page and Clelland's "cultural fundamentalism" lifestyles may provide an explanation for the dilemma of why opposition to commercial nudity is linked to general political conservatism but only to a very few attitudes toward more specific political topics. This general lifestyle, dominated by an intolerance of other competing lifestyles, could be the overriding variable to which and through which both opposition to commercial nudity and general political conservatism are linked.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The problem of having several dichotomous dependent variables can be serious. However, recent works show that use of standard regression techniques on dichotomous dependent variables yields results similar to Goodman's log-linear techniques when the split on the dependent variable is between 25 and 75 percent (Knoke, 1975; Goodman, 1976). With one exception, the split on all the dichotomous dependent variables is well within this range, with the greatest split being 37 and 63 percent. The lone exception is the item concerning whether Nixon should be impeached, which splits 27 percent yes and 73 percent no. Therefore, regression analyses on this item were run again with the "no opinion" responses added as an intermediate category (1 = no, 2 = no opinion, 3 = yes). The coefficients decreased by no more than .01, and no changes occurred in any significance levels. Thus, results are presented for the dichotomized version of this variable in the tables that follow.

2. It may also not be. While there is some indication that pornography has symbolic import in certain local political arenas (Zurcher and Kirkpatrick, 1976), a recent review of the evidence (Peek and Brown, 1978) contends that this evidence is contradictory and marred by few controls for other potentially confounding factors.

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