was angered and whether the film offered a realistic (suffering) or unrealistic (rape myth) perspective on forcible sex. Violent pornography that showed a woman enjoying forcible sex promoted aggression in men regardless of whether or not they had been angered. In contrast, violent pornography that showed a woman being distressed by violent sex promoted aggression in men who had been provoked but not in men who had not been angered. This finding is consistent with other evidence that pain cues decrease violence if no provocation has occurred (R. A. Baron, 1974; Hartmann, 1969).

It is interesting to consider why violent pornography should have such a deleterious effect. Unlike television shows and movies, most of which are clearly fictional, pornography seems to be realistic. No one but a young child believes that actors are actually killed during a violent movie, but a man inclined to believe that women enjoy forcible sex may believe that an actress who is being victimized in a pornographic movie is actually experiencing sexual gratification. In short, the line between fantasy and reality is blurred in a pornographic film, making the negative effects more severe than with fictional television or movies.

**FIGURE 13.8**
**Pornography, Provocation, and Aggression**

As part of an alleged learning study, male participants were given the chance to shock a female confederate (who had either insulted or not insulted them) after watching one of four movies. The data show three effects of interest: (1) nonviolent pornography did not increase aggression toward women; (2) violent pornography that depicted a woman enjoying forcible sex did increase aggression among men, regardless of whether they were angry or not; but (3) violent pornography that depicted the victim suffering led to increased aggression only among men who had been provoked. These data suggest that violent pornography that shows a woman enjoying forcible sex is particularly apt to incite men to be aggressive.

Source: Donnerstein and Berkowitz (1981).