



Men's Sexual Sadism towards Women in Mozambique: Influence of Pornography?

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Abstract

The aim of this study is, first, to determine whether in Mozambique men who watch pornographic videos frequently behave more sadistically towards their female partners during sexual intercourse than those who watch pornographic videos relatively infrequently; and secondly, to know if pornography has an influence on men's sexual behavior towards women. A total of 512 men and women participated in the study, responding to an original questionnaire, and were interviewed as well. Statistical processing of the data consisted of descriptive analysis (means and standard deviations), comparison of means (*t*-test) and correlation analyses. First, the results show that men's frequent exposure to pornography is correlated to male sadistic behavior towards women. Second, the results show that, amongst male participants, being in love with one's partners and being older correlate negatively with men's sexual sadism toward women. Finally, there is an indication that in Mozambique pornography influences some men's sexual behavior towards women in sadistic way, although more studies are needed to gauge to what extent.

Keywords Gender · Pornography · Sexuality · Sadism

Pornography can be defined as a sexually explicit material (SEM) showing a sexual act generally (not always) realized with a commercial purpose.

The rapid development of new communication and social interaction technologies (computers and smartphones that are constantly connected to the internet, social networks based on the use of these devices) has meant that since the early 2000s pornography has been accessible to everyone, everywhere, all the time (Dines 2010; ESPAD-INSERM 2004; Twohig and Crosby 2010). This means that more and more people are watching pornographic videos frequently and at an increasingly early age (Dines 2010; ESPAD-INSERM 2004). At the same time, the sexual content of pornographic videos is becoming more and more violent (sadistic and masochistic) (Bridges et al. 2010; Diamond 2009). However, it is important to stress that not all pornography video display violent sexual scenes.

Research on the correlates and consequences of exposure to pornography has been conducted for over 30 years. Among them, the most recent studies carried out into how frequent

viewing of pornography videos affects sexual behavior suggests that it influences viewers' attitudes, behavior and sexual practices (e.g., Kraus et al. 2015; Twohig and Crosby 2010; Wright and Randall 2012), both in positive and in negative way (e.g., Kraus et al. 2015; Twohig and Crosby 2010; Wright and Randall 2012). Nonetheless, controversy among social scientist concerning the effects of exposure to pornography persists, largely because the results of the studies carried out on this matter are often conflicting.

Indeed, a meta-analytic review examining the effect that exposure to pornography produces showed that consumption of material depicting nonviolent sexual activity increases aggressive behavior, and that media depictions of violent sexual activity generates more aggression than those of nonviolent sexual activity (Allen et al. 1995). Some research works have even established a correlation between male frequent viewing of pornographic videos at an early age (13–16 years) with aggression towards female peers or a relationship between men's frequent viewing of pornographic videos and the creation of negative attitudes and sexual behavior towards women (e.g., Bridges et al. 2010; Diamond 2009; Foubert et al. 2011; Malamuth et al. 2000; Kutchinsky 1973; Padgett et al. 1989).

Conversely, there are several studies showing that pornography use does not necessary lead to harm (e.g., McKee 2006, 2007a), and even suggesting that viewing pornography can benefit couples by challenging restrictive gender roles or by

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overcoming shame about sex (e.g., Kimmel 1990; MacDonald 1990; McKee 2006, 2007a, 2007b). Furthermore, in Japan, according to Diamond and Uchiyama's (1999), the prevalence and the accessibility of pornography featuring violent sex scenes has been shown to be negatively correlated to sexual violence.

Anyway, the most common negative effects reported in scientific literature were that pornography led consumers to objectify people; caused them to have unrealistic sexual expectations; caused relationship problems; caused loss of interest in sex; and led to addiction (McKee 2007a, b; Vera Cruz 2015). The most common positive effects were that pornography led consumers to become less repressed about sex, becoming more open-minded about sex, and more tolerant of other people's sexualities; pornography gives pleasure to consumers, help them maintain sexual interest in long term relationships, being more attentive to a partner's sexual pleasure, and making it possible for the consumers to open discussions about sex with their partners (see review by McKee 2006; Vera Cruz 2015).

Parallel to the studies into the consequence of frequent exposure, since the 80s, some researchers have tried to establish a theoretical point of view which explains how pornography influences viewer's behavior. For instance, Malamuth (1986) applied Bandura's social learning theory, while Zillmann and Bryant (1984) evoked the transfer theory to explain the effects of frequent exposure to such sexual material. More recently, scholars (e.g., Fisher and Barak 1991; Kraus et al. 2015; McKay and Dolf 1984; Wilson 2014) reported that frequent exposure to pornography, especially if it happens at an early age, appears to act like a drug on the limbic system (which contains the brain's reward and pleasure circuitry) and impairs the physiological and the cognitive functioning of the brain regions responsible for initiating and coordinating responses to external sexual stimuli. This may lead to addiction and an escalating need for pornography, with more frequent exposure to more extreme pornographic stimuli required to maintain optimal levels of pleasure and satisfaction (reward).

To the best of our knowledge, most research into the effects of pornography on consumers' sexuality were carried out in Western and in Asian countries, and we believe that this kind of studies has not been sufficiently diverse in geographical and cultural terms for the conclusions to be generalized (Vera Cruz 2015). For this reason we decided to contribute to the debate about the relationship between high exposure to pornography and consumers sexual behavior by carrying out research in Southern Africa (more specifically, in Mozambique), a part of the world where, to our knowledge, there has not been any research in this field.

I also have to say that my interest in this subject as a psycho-social researcher come from my experience as a journalist hosting a call-in television show as medium for sex education. In this show, since the pornography started to be easily available in Mozambique (2010), many teen and young

adult girls have been phoning complaining that their male partners use to pressure them in order to do what they saw in pornography videos, a fact that upsets them.

The Mozambican Situation

Mozambique is an ex-Portuguese colony in Southern Africa that gained independence in 1975, after a century of colonial rule. The country's official language is Portuguese but there are several indigenous languages, the most widely spoken of which are Makua-Lomwe, Swahili and Tsonga.

Mozambique has an estimated population of 27.128.447 (52% women) (Mozambican Office for Statistics 2017). In 2016, the Human Development Index for Mozambique was 0.416, ranking the country 180th out of 186 countries and the majority of the population lives below the poverty line (on less than two US dollars per day). Recently Mozambique scored 0.881 on the Gender Inequality Index, ranking the country 180th out of 188 countries (United Nations Development Programme 2016). In addition, Mozambique has one of the highest rates of violence against women in Africa (Vera Cruz et al. 2014), especially the violence concerning psychological abuse in the context of intimate relationships, harassment and sexual assault outside of intimate relationships.

Regarding sex roles, in the south of the country the patriarchal tradition dictates that a man is the head of the family, the one who makes the most important decisions within the couple (Vera Cruz 2015). In the north of the country, where a matrilineal society prevailed before the colonial influence, generally women have a more assertive role in the couple and inside the family (Vera Cruz 2015).

However, more so than the weight of tradition, the current gender differential in access to resources is what tends to create imbalanced relationships between men and women. One of the reasons for this difference in access to resources is that families generally favor the education of their male children over their female ones (Vera Cruz and Maússe 2014). Moreover, as in many places in the world, men are better paid than women for equal work. Also, men are more likely to get a job in the formal sector than women, having a regular wage guarantee (Vera Cruz and Maússe 2014). This economic imbalance in favor of men reinforces their domination over women, and the sugar-daddy phenomenon is one extremely widespread consequence of this (young women, usually adolescents, who have a much older lover, often already married, who regularly gives them money or the means to survive in exchange for frequent sexual intercourse) (Vera Cruz 2015).

With regard to sexual attitudes and sexual behavior in Mozambique, traditionally a man is the one who has to take the initiative during sexual intercourse, and he can have an extramarital sexual life (Junod 1927); even nowadays, within couples, male sexual infidelity is largely tolerated. There are

two coexisting models of sexual behavior for women: the traditional (pre-colonial) model in which women are at least as free as men, and the post-colonial model (the result of colonial and Christian influences), which requires women to adhere to restrictions on their sexual expression, remaining ‘honorable’, reserved spouses who leave sexual decisions to their partner (Vera Cruz and Mullet 2012). With reference to the Mozambicans’ attitudes towards certain sexual practices, a study by Vera Cruz and Mullet (2012) showed that in the context of heterosexuality, sodomy is negatively perceived, and sadomasochistic practices are reprovved as well.

Finally, with regard to pornography, in Mozambique the wide availability of this kind of sexually explicit material is a recent phenomenon. It is started around 2010 when local mobile companies started to offer internet connection services through mobile telephones in an accessible price. The internet service of some mobile companies is even free at certain hours of the night. Although there is no official statistic reporting the percentage of people that have access to the internet via mobile phones, a survey by Vera Cruz (2016) revealed that, in urban areas, 86% of Mozambicans over 16 years old have a personal mobile phone with internet connection or have access to internet contents through that of their friends. It is also common practice to watch and exchange videos downloaded from the internet between friends, colleagues, etc., and it is by this means that many people have access to pornographic materials (Vera Cruz 2016).

Another thing worth noting in this regard is that while in Western or developed countries pornography had been “easily” accessible (at least for an adult audience) since the 70s, through video cassettes and specialized cinema, prior to the “great” availability created by internet and smartphones. Consequently, these populations had a long time to familiarize themselves with the phenomenon, enough time to educate themselves and above all to understand that it is a question of sexual acts largely simulated for a commercial purpose. In Mozambique, by contrast, easily available pornography emerged all at once in a population little educated in the matter and also little educated in matters of sexuality and gender equality. Thus, for instance, junior and high school teachers often complain that students watch pornographic videos during classes; and, it is not uncommon to see young male teens watching pornographic videos (on their phone) on public transport. These examples give an idea of the current pervasiveness of phenomenon in this country (Vera Cruz 2016).

The Present Study

Purpose

The aim of this study is, first, to determine whether in Mozambique men who watch pornographic videos frequently

behave more sadistically towards their female partners during sexual intercourse than those who watch pornographic videos relatively infrequently; and secondly, to know if pornography (which is currently widely available and easily accessible through the Internet via devices such as smartphones) has an influence on men’s sexual behavior towards women.

Definitions

Sexual sadism is the condition of experiencing sexual arousal in response to pain, suffering or humiliation of others (American Psychiatric Association 2013). Sexual sadism can also be defined as a physical or psychological sexual behavior in which an individual forces another or inflicts physical and/or psychological pain, humiliation, submission in order to obtain sexual pleasure (Thornton 2010). Furthermore, in this study, *sexual respect* must be understood as a sexual behavior that takes into account the partner’s desire, their satisfaction, physical and psychological well-being.

Pilot Study

First we conducted a pilot study consisting of interviews and focus groups with 30 young adolescents (aged 14–17 years; 15 men and 15 women) and 30 young adults (aged 18–26 years; 15 men and 15 women). The male participants were interviewed by a male research assistant and the female participants were interviewed by female research assistant. The results of this pilot study showed that 63% of male adolescents and 55.7% male adults watched pornographic videos frequently (more than four times a week); the corresponding numbers for female participants are respectively 7.4% of adolescents and 5.9% of young adults.

It is clear that there is a huge gender gap in terms of pornography consumption. From the interviews we conducted in this pilot study, we have understood that there are at least three explanations for this: (a) male participants (especially adolescents with little experience in sexuality), on whom social norms confer the role of “initiative” taker during the sexual act, and who are often preoccupied by their sexual performance, often watch pornographic videos to “learn what they have to do” to be “sexually efficient” during their own sexual practice, and they think that pornographic videos will “teach” them how “to be a sexual skilled” man; (b) some male participants also stressed that they watched pornographic material for pleasure and to masturbate (it is notable that in the local context male masturbation is tolerated while the same practice is discouraged in female individuals); (c) female participants declared that most pornographic videos they had seen either “disgusted” them or did not fit their sexual needs, and they did not want to see more.

Most of the pornographic videos viewed by participants are made in Europe, North America and Brazil. According to the

results of this pilot study, 82% of the pornography videos the participants saw contained sexual scenes in which a female was spanked, sodomized by a male partners who also ejaculated in her face or month; 53% of the pornography videos they saw contained sadomasochistic sexual scenes in which the women were tied up, beaten, insulted and brutally fucked. However, it is to be stressed that not all pornography videos that the participants declared to have seen contained sexual violent scenes.

The majority of adolescents (71.3%) and close to half the young adults (46.5%) that participated in the pilot study believed that what they see in pornographic videos is a ‘real’ sexual intercourse (not simulated) and ignored the fact that pornography presents a dramatized, heightened version of sexual behavior for commercial purposes. Finally, 58% of male adolescents and 61.5% of young men said that pornography influenced their sexual behavior and sexual practices; while only 11.9% of female adolescents and 14.8% of young women said that pornography influenced their sexual behavior and sexual practices.

The accounts given by women who participated in the pilot study suggest that pornography influences their sexual partners’ behavior in the way that at the very least upsets them. Here are some of their comments¹:

17-Year-Old Girl

When I was in junior high school, my ex-boyfriend invited me to watch porn videos and thereafter asked me to perform a blowjob and lick his anus, as in the sexual scene we have just watched. I did not want to do that. But he insisted so much, and at the time I was very insecure and I was afraid to lose him, so I did...

16-Year-Old Girl

The guys here, they ask you to do things they saw in porn videos, such as being tied up, getting spanked, swallow their sperm, etc. If you refuse, they accuse you of being frigid and stiff... Anyway, there are girls who agree to do so; then, we all end up doing it...

26-Year-Old Woman

For a while my husband has been asking me to have rough anal sex. I agree just to please him. But sodomy hurts me, I feel a lot of pain. Sometimes, I tell him to stop with such things because it is painful to me, but he often insists, saying that my rectum gives him more pleasure than my vagina and that the pain is linked to pleasure. We have been married for

five years, and he used not to ask me to do that. I think that now he is very influenced by pornographic videos he watches in secret...

25-Year-Old Woman

I believe that since our guys here have begun to be addicted to pornography they changed the way they behave with us. Lately, the guys I dated, all of them wanted to spank and roughly sodomize me. I sometimes accepted being spanked, although it is painful; but I always refused anal penetration. My last lover was so insistent that I asked him if he would let me put a dildo in his ass. He got angry and then left me saying he would meet many other women ready to meet his desire.

We used the results of this pilot research to develop the research questions, the hypotheses addressed in the main study, and the questionnaire used for data collection.

Research Questions

- (1) Do men who watch pornography frequently (high exposure) behave more sadistically towards their female partners during intercourse, compared with those who watch relatively little pornography (low exposure)?
- (2) Do age, educational level, socioeconomic status, being in love correlate with the men’s sexual behavior (sadism vs. respect) towards women in Mozambique?
- (3) Overall, does the pornography influences men’s sexual behavior towards women in Mozambique?

Hypotheses

Based on the pilot study we predicted that men who watch pornography frequently would behave more sadistically towards their partners than those who watch little pornography. We also predicted that age and being in love would be negatively correlated with men’s sexual sadism towards women; and that in Mozambique pornography may have an impact on the sexual behavior of those who watch it frequently.

Method

Participants

The participants were 512 individuals aged 18–46 years (men: $n = 264$, M age = 25.8 years, $SD = 4.3$; women: $n = 248$, M age = 26.5 years, $SD = 5.4$). Thirty-one percent of men reported that they watched pornographic videos frequently (≥ 4 on a five-point scale), and 22% of men reported that they were frequently in love. Only 5.3% of women reported that they watched pornographic videos frequently, and 50.8% of them

¹ The interviews were conducted in Portuguese, therefore what is transcribed here are translations.

reported to have been frequently in love. Eighty-eight percent of participants had completed primary education (seven years of schooling); 56.2% had completed secondary education (12 years of schooling) and 15.3% had a university degree (at least 16 years of schooling). The socio-economic status distribution was as follow: low (39%), intermediary (35%), and high (26%).

Instrument

Based on the pilot study we developed two questionnaires: one designed to collect data on men's self-reported sexual behavior and one designed to collect data on women's reports of male partners' sexual behavior. Both questionnaires were presented as a single root question and a list of behaviors; and responses were given using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 'never' to 'frequently'. For men the root question was "During sexual intercourse with a regular or occasional partner, have you ever done any of the following actions?", followed by 23 items e.g. "Spanked your partner"; "Ejaculated on your partner's face"; "Been tender towards your partner"; "Tried to satisfy your partner's desire", etc. The root question for women was "During sexual intercourse has a regular or casual partner did any of the following actions on you or behaved as described below?". The 23-item list below included "Spanked you"; "Ejaculated on your face"; "Been gentle with you"; "Tried to satisfy your desire". Both questionnaires were designed around two "factors": *Sadism towards sexual partners* and *Respect towards sexual partners*. At the end of both questionnaires there were questions about age, educational level (measured in terms of years of schooling), socio-economic status (measured using a five-point scale) and the typical extent of the respondent's love feelings for his or her sexual partners (measured using a five-point scale).

It must be stressed that in this research, in addition to take into account the definition of *sexual sadism* and *sexual respect* as it is above, the sadistic items and the respect items were selected according the pilot study participant's (60 individuals) unanimous judgments. We did it because we assume that what could be considered as *sexual sadism* and *sexual respect* behavior in one culture could not automatically be considered as such in another culture, vice-versa. That is to say that the *sadism questionnaire* and the *respect questionnaire* are culturally grounded.

It also must be noted that, beyond the simple correlation, in order to try to determine whether there is an influence of pornography in the behavior of certain men towards their female partners, we subsequently conducted semi-structured interviews with half (42 individuals, randomly selected) of the male participants who had a high score on the sadistic factor (83 participants). All of them were interviewed by a male researcher.

Procedure

Potential participants were randomly approached in the streets of cities in southern Mozambique (Maputo, Matola and Boane) or on university campuses by two specially trained female and male psychology students. Those who agreed to participate were invited to a special location to complete the questionnaire; before they completed the questionnaire the researcher once again explained the purpose of the study. Completion of the questionnaire took about 30 min. It is to be stressed that to make sure that individuals (male and female) with different socio-demographic characteristic were represented in the sample, the random approach was offset by a much more "representative" sampling technique, consisting of selecting – in addition to those recruited randomly – participants with socio-demographic characteristics in the proportions of the target population.

The study conformed to current laws in the country; that is, free and informed consent was obtained from each participant, and their anonymity was strictly preserved. The research was approved by the Board of Trustees of the University Eduardo Mondlane and supported by the Department of Psychology.

Data Analysis

Statistical processing of the data consisted of descriptive analysis (means and standard deviations), comparison of means (*t*-test) and correlation analyses. The significance level for all tests was set at $p < .05$. The interviews were submitted to a thematic discourse analysis.

Results

Self-Reported Male Sexual Behavior

Men's sexual behavior was assessed using the self-report questionnaire described above. In this sample the questionnaire had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .83.

Seventy-eight (29.5%) of the 264 men who responded to the questionnaire reported low exposure to pornography (1–2 points on a five-point scale), 103 (39%) reported moderate exposure (2–4 points), and 83 (31.4%) reported high exposure (4–5 points).

Taking into account the responses of all 264 male participating subjects, on a five-point scale, the mean score for the *sadism factor* was 1.69 ($SD = 0.75$) and the mean score for the *respect factor* was 2.76 ($SD = 1.16$). A paired-samples *t*-test indicated a difference between these means ($t(21) = 2.95$, $p = .012$, $d = .47$), implying that, according to their own assessment men are more respectful than sadistic towards women during sexual intercourse. However, given that the small

magnitude of the difference between the two means ($d = .47$), this conclusion is to be put into perspective.

Table 1 lists descriptive statistics for the items contributing to the sadism and respect factors organized according to exposure to pornography and the results of an independent-samples t -test and the value of d (a measure of effect size). Overall men who reported that they watched pornographic videos frequently also reported more sadistic behavior towards women, ($t(21) = 6.26; p < .001; d = .84$).

Table 2 shows correlations between the two factors (sadism and respect) and the independent variables (exposure to pornography; age, education level, socioeconomic level, typical extent of love for a sexual partner). The sadism factor was positively correlated with frequent exposure to pornography ($r = .47, p = .0001$) and negatively correlated with low exposure to pornography ($r = -.37, p = .0001$) and was also negatively correlated with being in love with one’s sexual partner ($r = -.37, p = .0001$). In other words, the more often a man watched pornography, the more likely he was to behave sadistically towards his sexual partners. Men who tended to be in

love with their sexual partners were less likely to be sexually sadistic towards them. The respect factor was positively correlated with low exposure to pornography ($r = .39, p = .0001$) and negatively correlated with high exposure to pornography ($r = -.25, p = .001$). It was also positively correlated with being in love ($r = .51, p = .0001$) and with participant’s age ($r = .22, p = .001$). In other words, men are more respectful towards their partners during sexual intercourse if they have low exposure to pornography, are in love with their partner and are older.

Women’s Reports of Male Partners’ Sexual Behavior

Women’s reports of male sexual behavior were collected using the questionnaire described above. In our sample the questionnaire had a Cronbach’s alpha coefficient of .71.

The women reported their partners’ exposure to pornography on a five-point scale and the distribution was as follows: 67 (27%) reported that their male partners had low exposure to pornography (1–2 points), 122 (49.2%) reported partners with

Table 1 Comparison of men with high and low exposure to pornography

Factors	Items	Low exp. (<i>n</i> = 78)		High exp. (<i>n</i> = 83)		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
		M	SD	M	SD			
Sadism	Give a spanking to your partner	2.98	1.01	4.11	0.88			
	Videotape your partner in humiliating positions during sex	3.03	.72	3.08	1.01			
	Ejaculate in the mouth of your partner	2.22	.64	4.03	.59			
	Brutally penetrate your partner’s rectum despite her unwillingness	1.45	1.00	4.05	.91			
	Force your partner to have sex with you without using a condom	2.05	.79	3.17	0.79			
	Insist on penetrating deep into your partner’s throat with your penis despite his unwillingness	2.57	0.98	4.15	1.07			
	Ejaculate on your partner’s face	1.65	1.10	4.02	.97			
	Tie up your partner	1.03	1.03	4.06	.87			
	Swear at or insult your partner	1.06	1.14	4.19	.63			
	Beat your partner	1.21	.61	3.84	.85			
	Force your partner to do things she did not want to do	1.67	.58	3.87	.49			
	Humiliate your partner	2.04	0.81	3.14	.73			
	Simulate strangulation of your partner	1.23	0.95	1.37	1.02			
	Total	1.86	.87	3.62	.83	6.26	.000042	.84
Respect	Respect your partner’s wishes	3.12	.93	2.62	0.57			
	Be gentle towards your partner	4.03	.84	2.89	1.00			
	Try to satisfy your partner’s desire	4.13	.78	3.45	.85			
	Be tender towards your partner	4.16	.77	1.73	0.98			
	Not force your partner to do things she did not want	2.55	.86	1.47	0.79			
	Let your partner take the initiative	2.91	.93	1.13	1.21			
	Say nice words to your partner	3.77	.76	1.49	.69			
	Care about your partner’s physical and emotional state	3.90	1.01	3.19	1.03			
	Not urge your partner to have sex without a condom	2.58	1.02	1.58	.86			
	Make efforts to help your partner reach orgasm	4.17	.83	2.32	0.99			
	Total	3.53	.87	2.19	.89	6.16	.000012	.67

Low exp. = low exposure to pornography; High exp. = high exposure to pornography

Table 2 Correlation between sadism and respect factors and various participant characteristics

Factors	Low exp	High exp	Age	Love	Educational level	Socio-economic status
Sadism	-.09	.47*	-.12	-.37*	.05	.04
Respect	.39*	-.25*	.22*	.51*	.10	.09

Low exp. = low exposure to pornography; High exp. = high exposure to pornography. The asterisk indicate a statically significant correlation

moderate exposure (2–4 points), and 59 (23.8%) reported partners with high exposure (4–5 points).

Taking into account the responses of all 248 female participating subjects, the mean sadism factor score for male partners was 1.94 ($SD = .94$), and the mean respect factor score was 2.55 ($SD = .48$). A paired-samples t -test indicated that these means were not statistically different ($t(21) = 1.94$, $p = .068$; $d = .75$); in other words, women participants judged that the level of sadism vs. the level of respect displayed by their male partners towards them were generally similar.

Table 3 shows descriptive statistics for the items contributing to the sadism and respect factors organized according to exposure to pornography (all values result from the female participants' reports of their male partners' behavior and characteristics) as well as the results of independent-samples t -tests and data on effect size (d). Overall, the results indicate that men who reportedly had high exposure to pornography were also reported as behaving more sadistically towards women ($t(21) = 6.09$; $p < .001$, $d = .73$).

Table 4 shows the correlations between the two factors (sadism and respect) and exposure to pornography and being in love with one's partner (all data are women's report of their male partners' behavior and characteristics). The sadism factor was positively correlated with high exposure to pornography ($r = .47$, $p = .0001$) and negatively correlated with low exposure to pornography ($r = -.36$, $p = .0001$) as well as being negatively correlated with being in love with one's partner ($r = -.31$, $p = .0001$). The respect factor was positively correlated with low exposure to pornography ($r = .24$, $p = .001$) and negatively correlated with high exposure to pornography ($r = -.40$, $p = .0001$) as well as being positively correlated with being in love ($r = .50$, $p = .0001$).

Interview Results

The data from the follow-up interviews were analyzed thematically in a multi-step process using the constant comparative method. The interview transcriptions were managed utilizing Atlas-ti © software, version 6.0.

The main results indicate that most of the male participants who have a high score on the sadism factor began to watch pornographic videos in their early teens (12–14 years). The

themes that emerged from the interviews included: (a) *imitative learning*, (b) *addiction and formatting of one's sexual script*, (c) *sexual performance obsession and dominance fantasies*, (d) *misinformation about women's sexual desire*.

Imitative Learning For most of these participants, their “sexual education” was based on pornographic videos: “I started seeing pornographic videos at age 13 to learn how to fuck. I also wanted to see how a woman's sexual organ is made... Later, when I was 14, I started having my first sexual real experience and at that time I already knew what to do,”² said a 17-year-old teen.

Addiction and Formatting of One's Sexual Script For most responders pornographic videos became an addiction and influenced their sexual script and fantasies: “Since the first time I watched a pornographic video I never could do without it afterwards... It gets me to the point that when I see an attractive woman in the streets I imagine doing with her all this stuff that I look in these videos over and over again,” said a 24-year-old young man.

Sexual Performance Obsession and Dominance Fantasies

From the speech of the majority of the interviewees it emerged that they are obsessed by sexual performance, boasting of this in terms of being able to satisfy any women: “Believe-me, I can satisfy any woman... When I know I'm going to fuck a woman in the hours to come, especially if it's a new conquest, I get ready by watching porn videos, masturbating myself so that when I get to the meeting with the woman in question, I do not get overwhelmed by the excitement ... I fuck her for hours without ejaculating. I want to do what no other man has ever done to her, so that she will never forget me... A man gotta to do what a man gotta to do,” said a 43-year-old man.

Misinformation about Women's Sexual Desire The majority of respondents believe that the false demonstration of pleasure that pornographic actresses generally manifest during the sexual act is real, and deduce from it that all women like to have sex in the same way whether they admit this openly or not: “I do believe that women in general enjoy being sexually dominated by men, whether they confess to it or not... That is in women's nature, and pornography just shows what feminists don't want to admit,” said a 34-year-old man.

Discussion

The aim of this study was, first, to determine whether in Mozambique men who watch pornographic videos frequently

² The interviews were conducted in Portuguese, therefore the transcriptions in this article are translations.

Table 3 Comparison of women’s reports of the behavior of male partners they rate as having high or low exposure to pornography

Factors	Items	Low exp. (n = 67)		High exp. (n = 59)		t	p	d
		M	SD	M	SD			
Sadism	Spank you	2.05	0.80	3.77	.83			
	Videotape you in humiliating positions during sex	1.89	0.97	3.51	1.02			
	Ejaculate in your mouth	2.03	1.05	4.27	0.99			
	Insist on brutally sodomizing you despite your unwillingness	1.28	.91	4.08	0.87			
	Force you to have sex with you without a condom	2.49	.92	2.68	.58			
	Insist on penetrating deep into your throat with his penis despite your unwillingness	2.33	.88	2.76	1.06			
	Ejaculate on your face	1.34	1.03	4.22	0.51			
	Tie you up	1.03	.99	3.35	1.05			
	Swear at or insult you	2.71	.64	3.95	.85			
	Beat you	1.82	1.09	3.08	.96			
	Force you to do things you do not want to do	2.55	0.87	3.19	1.03			
	Humiliate you	1.93	1.00	4.03	0.67			
	Simulate strangling you	1.02	.91	1.54	1.01			
	Total		1.88	.93	3.42	.78	6.09	.000054
ReRespect	Respect your desire	3.22	.78	2.07	.68			
	Behave kindly to you	3.14	1.02	2.45	.97			
	Try to satisfy your desire	4.03	.59	1.89	1.04			
	Behave tenderly towards you	3.97	.77	2.56	.93			
	Not force you to do things you do not want	2.44	1.07	2.03	.96			
	Let you take the initiative	4.05	.65	1.85	1.00			
	Say nice words to you	3.07	.98	2.58	.99			
	Care about your physical and emotional state	3.31	1.03	2.41	1.03			
	Not insist on having sex with you without a condom	2.50	.64	2.48	.97			
	Help you to reach orgasm	3.79	.85	3.46	.68			
Total		3.35	.84	2.37	.93	4.11	.002625	.61

Low exp. = low exposure to pornography; High exp. = high exposure to pornography

behave more sadistically towards their female partners during sexual intercourse than those who watch pornographic videos relatively infrequently; and secondly, to know if pornography has an impact on men’s sexual behavior towards women.

Firstly, the results show that, comparatively, men reported to statistically behave more respectfully than sadistically towards their female sexual partners; whereas female participants reported experiencing both respect and sadism (in an equivalent level) from their male partners. However, since the amplitude of the difference between men’s self-report

means ($d = .47$) on sadism ($M = 1.69$) and respect ($M = 2.76$) factors was quite low it can be concluded overall that the men participants report and the female participants report on male sadism and respect behavior with their partners during sexual intercourse are in agreement.

Secondly, in accordance with our first hypothesis, men’s exposure to pornography predicted their sadistic behavior towards women. In other words, male individuals who engage frequently in pornography viewing are relatively likely also to engage in sadistic sexual behavior towards their female partners. These results are consistent with studies conducted in the West showing a relationship between men frequent exposure to pornography and men sexual aggressive behavior towards women (e.g., Allen et al. 1995; Kraus et al. 2015; Wright and Randall 2012), and are contradictory with those who showed the opposite (e.g., Diamond and Uchiyama’s 1999; McKee 2007a, b).

Since this study show a correlation between a frequent exposure to pornography and sexual sadistic behavior toward women, the fact that, in general, older men reported less

Table 4 Correlations between exposure to pornography and sadism and respect factors based on women’s reports of their male partners

Factors	Low exposure to pornography	High exposure to pornography	Love
Sadism	-.36*	.47*	-.31*
Respect	.24*	-.40*	.50*

The asterisk indicates a statically significant correlation

sadism and more respect toward women (confirming one of our hypothesis) is probably linked to the fact that in Mozambique the easy availability of pornography is a recent phenomenon as we explained it in introduction section.

The results also confirmed our second hypothesis that, amongst Mozambican men, being in love with one's partners negatively correlated with men's sexual sadism towards women. However, from results of this study, it is unclear whether among male participants, sadism and respect are mutually exclusive, or the individuals in question are respectful with some partners and sadistic with others (e. g., those with whom they were not in love). Future researches have to clarify this particular point.

Finally, acknowledging that correlation does not necessarily imply causation, we subsequently conducted interviews with half (42 individuals) of the male participants who had a high score on the sadistic factor (83 participants) in order to examine whether their sadistic behavior towards women is influenced by their frequent exposure to pornography material. The results of these interviews indicate that most of them began to watch pornographic videos in their early teens (12–14 years) and that their sexual fantasies and sexual scripts were formed from sexuality featured in the pornographic videos they watched at that early age. In other words, for most of these participants, their “sexual education” was based on pornographic videos. Thus, the results of these interviews suggest that their sadistic sexual behavior towards their female partners has been at least partially influenced by their frequent exposure to pornographic videos. Nevertheless, only a longitudinal (methodologically more appropriate study) would reveal with a higher degree of certainty if, among Mozambican men, there are a causal link between frequently viewing pornographic videos and sexual sadistic behaviors towards women or not.

In sum, the results of this study seem to indicate a certain degree of pornography influence on Mozambican men's sexual behavior towards their women partners. Above all, the sudden emergence of the easy availability of pornography in a social context dominated by gender imbalanced relationships is creating a situation where men are putting pressure on their female partner to practice sexual acts that they have seen in the pornographic videos; while the women, even if they do not want to do it, are obliged to accept to please their lovers of simply because they fear to lose him if they refuse to comply. Thus, in Mozambique, frequent use of pornography seems to be linked to some men's sexual behavior towards women that goes against mutual sexual satisfaction. This failure to recognize that women are also entitled to sexual satisfaction is damaging, since sexual satisfaction is an important component of public health (World Health Organization [WHO], 2006). Also, frequent pornography exposure seems to drive (influence) some Mozambican male consumers into heterosexual sexual practices which carry a high risk of STI

transmission (e.g., unprotected anal sex), which is a matter of concern in a country that has a high HIV rate prevalence (10.5% of the 15–45 years old individuals are HIV positive).

The interpretation we can make of these results is that in Mozambique, a society largely affected by the problems of gender imbalances relationships, with a fairly high level of violence against women, pornography, in particular that one that displays violent sexual acts, inspires certain category of male individuals, through the process of imitation, to behave in a sexual sadistic way towards their female partners. This does not mean that pornography is always and everywhere at the origin of men's sexual violence towards women. Simply, what seems to happen in the particular case of Mozambique is that pornography has found a favorable ground for stimulating men's sexual sadism towards the opposite-sex.

Implications

Given that the health including sexual health of the population is important, the results of this study underscore the need for a major sex education initiative in Mozambique (there is currently no sex education program). Such an initiative should have several objectives. First, it should teach people that pornography depicts dramatized, heightened and extreme sexual behavior for commercial purposes. It is clear that this is something of which the majority of adolescents and many young adults are ignorant (see the results of the pilot study outlined above) and this may lead them to confuse eroticism and sadism. Second, men need to understand that a sexual act is a form of communication that is more likely to be *mutually satisfactory* if it is undertaken with the aim of satisfying the desire of both partners. Finally, women must be encouraged and supported to ask their male sexual partners to take their wishes and desire into account. This is difficult, because in many heterosexual relationships there is a socio-economic imbalance in favor of the man and this makes it difficult for the woman to assert her will in a variety of contexts.

We believe that the kind of sex education program which have to be put in place should be part of the secondary curriculum and part of universities' activities. Public radio and public television stations could also be used to deliver sex education to a wider audience.

Since 2009 to the present, I have hosted a call-in television show with sexuality as discussion subject; I have also conducted several interventions on sexuality in universities and during seminars organized by non-governmental organizations. I have seen from this experience that in general the Mozambican public interest in informing oneself, discussing, and exchanging on sexual matters, especially adolescents and young adults, is large enough and that a large-scale sexual education program would be extremely useful.

Limitations

This study has at least two limitations. The first is that the sample was composed by men and women who were able to read and understand questionnaire items written in Portuguese. Although this is the official language of the country, not all Mozambicans can read and understand it. The second limitation is that we collected data on *reported* sexual behaviors and practices and the reliability of these reports is unknown. The participants' responses were, however, coherent, as the satisfactory Cronbach's alpha coefficients showed (see results section). The broad agreement between men's self-reports and women's reports of the behavior of their male partners also suggest that participants' responses were fairly reliable. Finally, more studies are needed to explore the ways in which (negative, positive or neither one) pornography affects Mozambican sexual behavior.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Ethical Approval All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

Informed Consent Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

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