

Men's Exploration of Multiple Sexual Partners: Economic vs. Psychosocial Explanation

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Abstract: *This paper examines factors influencing the number of female sexual partners for heterosexual men. Men's pursuit of multiple female sex partners can be measured two ways: the frequency of purchasing sexual services from prostitutes and the maintenance of sexual relationships with multiple women within a short span of time. Factors influencing the number of sexual partners include male differences in resource attainment, conservative versus progressive views about sexual behavior, and beliefs in stereotypes about "expected" behaviors for women. Findings show that (1) male resource attainment positively influences the men's preference for multiple partners, despite promoting progressive views about sexual behavior and less acceptance of female stereotypes, and (2) conservative sexual views and acceptance of female stereotypes have only indirect effects on men's preference for multiple partners.*

The present paper addresses certain factors that determine why some heterosexual men have more female sexual partners than others. Men's exploration of multiple female sex partners can be measured by their frequency of buying sex services from prostitutes and keeping sexual relationships with multiple women within a short span of time. The paper argues that men's differential resource attainment, their conservatism or progressivism about sexual behavior in general, and their belief system in regard to stereotypes or myths pertaining certain "expected" behaviors for women may result in some men's preference for temporary relationships to conventional ones, which ultimately makes differences among men in exploring multiple female sexual partners. In so doing, the paper shows pathways among aforementioned social-psychological factors.

The Social Exchange Theory tells us that sex is a resource for women when men want it, and thus men's having multiple partners for sex is a mere social exchange (Baumeister and Tice 2001). This perspective does not clearly convey, however, why the demand side of the exchange system has put some men in a more advantageous position than others; that is, to explore more sexual partners from the pool of women in society. Therefore, even when there are demands on men's side, the question remains: why do some men prefer and explore more temporary sexual relationships while others do not? To answer this question, at least partially, we argue that both structural (e.g., men's education and occupation), and cultural factors (that are inherent in the belief systems regarding sexuality) determine this difference to some extent. While men's ideological and psychological constructs regarding sexuality are shaped by society (e.g. sexual conservatism, believing in various myths and stereotyping) ensuring women's

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subordination in men's minds, only some men take the advantage of this privilege. These constructs are the core in some men's preferring short-term relationships to long-term ones leading to the exploration of multiple sex partners.

Men's preference for short term relationships is reflected in their intention to have temporary partners, perhaps to avoid responsibilities of relatively permanent relationships when they have no time to keep regular relationships. While the hegemonic expression of masculinity is shaped by differential social forms to confirm gender order in society (Carrington and Scott 2008), the sexual conservatism or progressive attitude towards human sexual practices (such as, premarital sex, teen-sex, homosexuality, and extramarital sex) may influence the construction and stereotyping of women's "expected" behaviors by men (Mankayi 2008). This stereotyping is reflected in believing in rape myths, such as women asking for sex when they are provocatively dressed, do hitchhiking, attempt to defend their reputations, and go men's homes willingly; the rape myths also include the belief that rapes are always women's fault, and a source of bad reputation for women. The acceptance of rape myths may contribute to men's exploration of multiple sexual partners measured by buying/ attempts to buy sex from prostitutes and keeping multiple partners.

From structural point of view, however, it can be argued that when some men have more access to resources than others, they may try to explore multiple sex partners. For men, therefore, the access to resources (such as, higher education and prestigious occupations) is one of the determining factors in exploring multiple partners for a short time-span. Thus, while the belief system pertaining sexuality and stereotypes of women's behavior encourage men to explore temporary partners, the lack of resources constrains some men's exploration. This belief system reflects men's feeling of entitlement to have multiple partners. Also, compared to men who lack the resources, such as education and decent occupations, men with more resources are more likely to be sexually less conservative, but less susceptible to rape myth acceptance because of their "enlightenment" through education and higher occupations. Yet, but they take advantage of their privileges as men by exploring relatively short-term sex partners from multiple outlets. Necessarily, all men have the privileges, but all cannot afford these.

In the present paper, we, therefore, try to establish connections among men's resources, their sexual conservatism, social-psychological constructs regarding their sexual power reflected in their stereotyping of women in various myths (e.g. rape myths for the present paper) with their preferring multiple short-term relationships to relatively permanent ones, which results in buying sex and having multiple sex partners. For the ease of interpreting these connections, the first section of the present paper addresses the patriarchal belief systems in relation to men's acceptance of rape myths, which serves as a proxy for their attitude towards women's behavior in general. This section also shows how the rape myth acceptance promotes men's preference for short- term sexual partnerships that ultimately results in exploring multiple

partners. The second section analyzes how the feeling of sexual entitlement in men's minds is reflected in their sexual conservatism and acceptance of rape myths, and how the latter is influenced by the former. After establishing these relationships in general terms, we relate men's differential accesses to resources to their levels of sexual conservatism, and rape myth acceptance. Also, we argue that these accesses reflect some men's more structural power over resources than others, and this differential accesses increase their likelihood of taking advantage of their privilege in exploring multiple sex partners, despite being less conservative and less susceptible to rape myth acceptance.

I. Rape Myth Acceptance: A Panorama of Masculine Hegemony in Labeling of Women's Sexuality

In general framework, buying sex and having multiple sex partners are closely dependent on a belief system that is operative in the minds of the actors, and thus, the analysis of these beliefs also reflects a social system. For men, both taking services from prostitutes and keeping multiple partners are socially acceptable and tolerable in several societies where the consumers of prostitution are invisible (Farley 2004 & 2005; Hughes 2004 & 2005; Hughes & Denisova 2002; Marianne 2004), and for the same reason, men's search for multiple partners is "naturalized" or "essentialized" in societies. Men are rewarded for having multiple partners while women are penalized by sexual double standards (Mihausen and Harold 1999). We argue that the belief system concerning women and sexuality among men needs to be understood when we explain the differences among men in exploring multiple partners. This system is obvious in men's differential levels of accepting various stereotyping (e.g. rape myths) about women's sexuality.

While some studies (e.g. Peplau 2003; Diamond 2004; Lenton & Bryan 2005) explicate that the notion that men have more sexual desires than women is questionable, others (e.g. Hawkins et al. 2004; King and Scott 2005) show that female sexuality is suppressed in many cultures. Although Impett and Peplau (2003) show that men have more sexual desire than women in general, and women are compliant in performing unwanted sex with partners, they do not reject the idea that it is because of social-cultural construction of sexuality in relation to gender. In this vein, we add that even among men, this belief system varies significantly, and as such, men's levels of preferring short term partners differ from one to another as well.

As Melrose (2000:1) argues, "'Patriarchy' refers to a system of male domination, which results in economic, social and political inequalities between men and women". This system, thus, creates privileges for men in general. Following Begany and Milburn (2002), we argue that these privileges ensure an existence of a patriarchal world in men's minds about their entitlements for sex and their control on women's sexuality. For example, while prostitution refers to the market for men to buy women's bodies, and as such their sexuality (O'Neil and Berberet 2000), having multiple female sex partners for

heterosexual men is normalized by men's power in society. This normalization is reflected in men's minds about women's sexuality, and also, because men can fulfill their sexual needs from multiple outlets, they prefer temporary sexual encounters to permanent ones.

The notion of "power" explicated above is based on what is called "gender privilege" (Johnson 2000; McIntosh 1993), which refers to "unearned" and "conferred" dominance and privileges (McIntosh 1993). These privileges also confirm men's feelings of entitlements for sex, which are largely unearned. Thus, following Johnson (2000), we argue that labeling of women's behavior is a reflection of men's power and dominance. The acceptance of rape myths, first introduced by Burt (1980), is one of such labels that construct how women should behave or they should dress or they should communicate with men. While traditional beliefs and rituals in society validate cultural standards of sexuality (Ayikukuwei et al. 2008), the "prescription", the term proposed by Glick and Fiske (1999), for women's behavior in relation to sexuality also tells how women should comply with men's standards, which essentially normalize men's view of women's sexuality. The "prescription", therefore refers to a type of "stereotyping" of women's behavior, which is strongly related to male power (Glick and Fiske 1999).

The above-mentioned stereotyping, we argue, is then reflected in several myths about women and their sexuality for justifying and legitimizing male power. The acceptance of rape myths is one of such stereotyping. This exposes a feeling of men about women's behavior in relation to sex, and this feeling is learned through extensive socialization process of men. This process also provides men the feeling of unearned entitlements for sex.

The above discussion also points to the psychological constructs of men about women in general. Many men believe that the rape of a prostitute, for example, cannot be called "rape" (Kurtz et al. 2004; Miller and Schwartz 1995). These men are found to be more likely to believe in "rape myths". For example, when women wear provocative dress or they agree to go to someone's home voluntarily, they really mean to have sex with men (Monto 2000). Thus, the term 'rape' is a 'myth'. The difference among men in believing rape myths largely explains the difference in their exploration of sexual partners.

If the above analysis is valid, then men's labeling and identification of women's sexuality opens up avenues for themselves to prefer short term relationships to long term conventional ones, because any violation of the label(s) and identification marks (e.g. rape myths) means that the women involved are exposed for violating social norms. For instance, if a woman wants to visit a friend's (presumably a man) home, it may "mean" to the man that she wants to have sex with him!!! For the man, then, it is not "unnatural" to believe that he can have a temporary sexual relationship with the woman. This belief is also enforced when he does not have "enough time" to explore a permanent partner. Also, when men have multiple outlets available, they might not want any permanent relationship particularly for sexual

encounters to avoid the responsibilities attached with such relationships. This feeling encourages men to have multiple partners and buy sex from prostitutes. In a logical framework, then, a man, conversely, does not feel this way if he is less likely to believe in rape myths.

We argue that the patriarchal notion of men's sexuality is a combination of feelings of control (power) over sexuality, which is reflected in acceptance of rape myth that ultimately encourage men to prefer temporary partners. While Monto (2000) contends that avoidance of conventional relationships is one of the reasons for men going to prostitutes (and as such, seeking multiple partners), he does not explicitly explain why men may avoid conventional relationships.

Following Månsson (2001), we argue that having multiple sexual partners (e.g. prostitutes) within a short span of time is an exposure of men's abuse of sex, because men see women as available when women violate the "standard codes of conduct" (e.g. wearing provocative dress, wanting a ride, visiting a man's home alone etc.). This attitude of men is also a reflection of what Baylies and Bujra (2000) calls the "hegemony of masculinity". The hegemony of masculinity actually enforces men's feeling of entitlements for sex that helps them to satisfy both their usual and unusual sexual desires (Hughes 2004; Marttila 2003; Pitts et al. 2004; Faugier and Cranfield 1995; McKeganey and Barnard 1996; Sawyer et al. 2001-02), which is reflected in the dualism of "embodiment" and "disembodiment" of women as prostitutes (Carpenter 1998) and also as sexual partners of men in society. This feeling among men encourages their preferring temporary sexual partners to relatively permanent relations, which is activated in men's buying sex and having multiple sexual partners within a short span of time.

II. Rape Myth and Sexual Conservatism: Are Conservatives Really Conservatives?

The above discussion reveals rape myth acceptance as a form of social-psychological construction that is also determined by the feeling of power and sexual conservatism. Monto (2000) found that the level of rape myth acceptance is relatively low among the clients of prostitution, and also, the direct correlation is very low between rape myth acceptance and sexual encounters with prostitutes. We argue, however, on the basis of our discussion presented above, that the level of rape myth acceptance may have indirect effect, via men's preferring short term non-conventional relationships to permanent ones, on men's actual sexual encounters with prostitutes and having multiple sexual partners. Men's multiple sexual encounters are also associated with their feeling of entitlements to have multiple sex partners. Therefore, at general level, the feeling of entitlement among some men is exposed in their sexual conservatism and rape myth acceptance. Following scholars (Monto 1999 & 2000; Farley and Kelly 2000; Browning et al. 1999), we argue that these are the core values in some men's minds regarding the control over women's bodies.

Men may justify their preference for relatively temporary partners to permanent ones by saying “no time” and by expressing inability to bear “responsibilities” of regular permanent relationships.

While men are conservative in their beliefs about human sexual activities (e.g. extramarital sex, teenage sex, premarital sex, homosexuality etc.), they are more likely to establish the control over women’s bodies by objectifying them through regulating women’s sexual behaviors. Since these men have feelings of “unearned” entitlements or privilege over sex, they want to enjoy this privilege by preferring short term to long term mating and end up having access to multiple outlets for satisfying sexual pleasure. This is the contradiction of the system itself. As scholars (e.g. Young 1990; Connell 1999; Glick and Fiske 1999) argue, the predominance of masculine hegemony in society actually enforces male supremacy by controlling women’s bodies, but this system has its own contradictions (Frank 2003; Harrio-Mannila & Kontula 2003; Xantidis et al. 2000; Kurtz et al. 2004). The conservative views about sexual encounters (e.g. extramarital, premarital etc.), therefore, do not confirm that the conservative believers would really prevent themselves from taking “advantage” of female subordination in sexual sphere of society; thus, even though they state their conservative views in the form of “morality”, in practice, they believe in enjoying multiple female bodies through materializing their unearned entitlements of sex.

Taking the above stand, we argue that the more a man is conservative about sexual activities, the more he takes the advantage of his power and privileges by preferring short term relations. Conversely, men with opposite beliefs (progressive) are less likely to take these advantages. If this argument has merit, we can establish a pathway from men’s conservatism to accepting rape myths, and this path leads to preferring temporary partners and ends in buying sex and having multiple partners.

The above discussions are congruent with scholars (e.g. Fromm 1973; Luhmann 1986; Brown 2000; O’ Neil 1996; Zurbriggen & Yost 2004) who argue that the notions of male power and sexuality are socially constructed as mentioned earlier. As we argued earlier, in the one hand, the rape myth acceptance is a reflection of men’s power to decide women’s sexuality, while on the other, the rape myth acceptance is also an effect of men’s conservatism about human sexual activities (e.g. extramarital sex, premarital sex etc.). We argue as such that while men are more liberal about sexual activities, they are less likely to believe in rape myths.

In summary, the psychological make up of men regarding sexuality, therefore, is the reflection of patriarchal socio-cultural system. This psychological construct is reflected in multiple belief systems, such as, the rape myth acceptance. This myth acceptance is also validated by men’s ideological basis of sexuality. The more the men are conservative, the more they accept the rape myths. When they accept rape myths, they do not find it unusual to choose short time mating, which is less troubling for them. This

preference or choice leads them to buy sex and having multiple short term partners. Therefore, sexual conservatives are not “real” conservatives; their “conservatism” confirms their privileges only.

III. Wealth, Sexual Liberalism, Rape Myth acceptance, and Men’s Exploration of Multiple Female Sexual Partners

Since men have access to multiple temporary outlets to fulfill sexual desires, they may avoid conventional relationships. According to Melrose (2000), in capitalist society, there is a pervasive influence of individualism. This individualism, in our view, may be reflected in men’s choosing short-term relationships instead of long-term ones. We argue, however, that men’s resources or roughly their socio-economic positions (e.g. wealth and education), for example, may provide more avenues for exploring multiple partners, because they have resources useful for such exploration. Kimuna and Djamba (2005) did not find significant influences of wealth, in general, on men’s extramarital sex, and as such on men’s having multiple sex partners in Zambia, an African society. However, it can be generally argued though that when men are more educated and financially successful, they are less likely to be conservative and believe in rape myths, but they may not avoid the privileges of their “unearned entitlements”.

The above-mentioned privileges are linked with their power and domination of acquired resources, and this is how men can identify themselves with the “men’s world” (Johnson 1997 & 2001). Therefore, sexual liberalism and fewer acceptances of rape myths by this group of people does not prevent them from taking advantage of the privileges that society assigns for them (Johnson 2001). This is the intersection of class and gender. Men with upper social standing in relation to their income and education are more likely to have multiple sex partners. They may explore multiple partners to have sex since they can afford that, while the lower stratum continues to be conservative and believing in the constructs mentioned above. Because of the lack of education and resources in comparison to upper stratum men, lower stratum men may be less able to take fewer advantages of their privileges as men.

We summarize the above discussion in Figure 1.

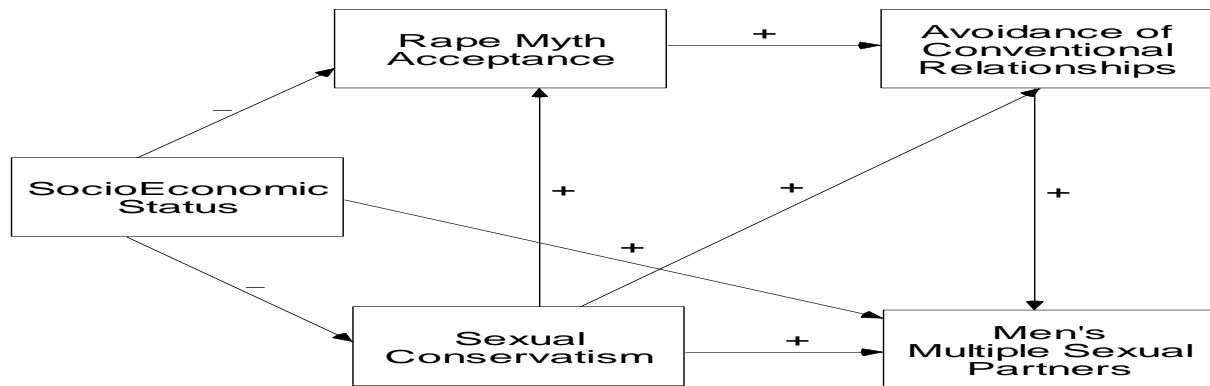


Figure 1: Socio-economic Status, Sexual Conservatism, Rape Myth Acceptance, Preference for Conventional Relationships, and Men’s Multiple Sexual encounters

Hypotheses

From the above discussion, we have formulated the following hypotheses:

H1: Socioeconomic status is inversely associated with conservatism.

H2: Socioeconomic status is inversely associated with rape myth acceptance.

H3: Socioeconomic status is positively associated with multiple sex partners.

H4: Conservatism is positively associated with rape myth acceptance.

H5: Acceptance of rape myths is positively associated with multiple sex partners.

H6: Conservatism is positively associated with short-term relationships.

H7: Conservatism is positively associated with multiple sex partners.

H8: Preference for short-term relationships is positively associated with multiple sex partners.

The heuristic model presented in Figure 1 outlines the hypotheses in the form of pathways.

Data and Methods

Data:

For the present study, we use the dataset on clients of street prostitutes in Portland, San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Las Vegas. These data were collected between 1996 through 1999, and deposited for ICPSR (Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Study# 2859). The project was directed by Dr. Martin A. Monto, and funded by US Department of Justice and National Institute of Justice. We choose to use this dataset, because this is a unique source of information where the respondents reveal their sexual encounters measured by number of sex partners and how many times they had sex with prostitutes.

A total of 1342 clients of street prostitution were interviewed. For the present study, we examine only those cases that are primarily heterosexuals. This reduced the original sample size significantly. The missing values, and the responses "Do not know" on all observed variables for the present study are deleted, and as such the sample size came down to 487. According to Allison (2002: 84), "Listwise deletion is the least problematic...Although listwise deletion may discard a substantial fraction of the data"...However, one concern in this regard is that the sample size used in the study is much smaller than the original dataset, but there are some demographic justifications to show the representative merit of our sample size.

First, the cleaned dataset, which deleted cases with missing values and "Do not know" responses, used for the present study shows that 35% of the respondents were from the minority groups, whereas in the original dataset it was 40%; while the whites were 60% in the original dataset compared to 56% in our cleaned dataset. Second, in terms of marital status, in our dataset we have 47% married respondents. There are 41% in the original dataset. Our estimate is closer to the national sample (56% cited in Monto 2000). Third, when work and educational backgrounds are considered, we are closer to the original dataset; the classes are more evenly distributed, such as, workers and middle range job-holders are 54%, and the upper class represents 46% of the respondents. Fourth, considering the recommended large limit of the sample size (>200) for Structural Equation Modeling (Schumacker 2004; Kline 2005), 487 is fairly acceptable. Kline (2005) mentions that the acceptable ratio of the number of cases to the number of free parameters is 10:1. In the present study, this ratio for each of the models (initial, re-specified, and final) is within this range, and therefore, our sample size is acceptable. We recognize, however, that the larger sample size is always helpful for better generalization. Our sample size is non-random, which is more likely to hold back generalizability. Lastly, following the rationale of Higgins and Ricketts (2004), we argue that the generalization on any survey data should be considered in relative terms.

Technique of analysis:

We use Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to test our hypotheses. The measurement part of our model has used Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), because theoretically, the variables we have depicted in Figure 1 are actually latent in combinations of some beliefs. Therefore, the usual path analysis cannot be

used to measure these latent constructs. Moreover, the use of CFA examines the construct validity of our measurements. The structural part of the model estimates the effects of the independent latent constructs on the dependent latent ones. For this part, we use Maximum Likelihood method, because this method “maximizes the likelihood of a sample that is actually observed” (Kline 2005:112). In most SEM research, this is the most popular method of analyzing data.

However, the first condition to do maximum likelihood is to confirm the normalcy of data. Following the guidelines of Kline (2005), we checked this, and found that the skew index is below 3, and the kurtosis is below 8 for each variable. Thus, our data in the analysis are normal, and also, we do not have any outliers.

Measures:

We mentioned earlier that we need to assess latent constructs based on observed indicators for the present study. Let us elaborate these latent constructs and their corresponding observed indicators.

(1) Socio-economic Status (SES) of men: Our first three hypotheses outline the effects of men’s socio-economic status on their beliefs about sexuality and rape myths as well as on their exploration of multiple sex partners. As we argue, one’s socioeconomic status is associated with one’s progressive or conservative views about sexuality and rape myths while access to resources creates avenues for men to explore multiple sex partners, and thus men enjoy the privileges in society. The access to resources in society can be determined by one’s education and occupational status. Instead of taking income as one of the variables, we opt for occupational status, which counts on both income and status. Therefore, the most acceptable measure for Socio-economic status (SES) is comprised of two variables: occupational status and education. The occupational status is constructed by Hollingshead’s SES-scale that included 10 professions in the original dataset. For simplicity and the popular perception of a 3-tier class system (upper, middle, and lower) we recoded them into three. The recoding of the categories was as follows: Unskilled employees=1, Clerical/Sales/Technicians=2, and Executives/Proprietors/Major Professions/Business Managers/Medium Proprietors/Administrative Personnel/Small Business Owners= 3. Thus, the higher scores indicate higher occupational status. Education is coded as follows: Did not graduate from high school=1, Graduate from high school=2, Some college after high school=3, Bachelor’s=4, and Masters=5. The bivariate positive correlations among these two observed variables are moderate and statistically significant. The internal consistency (Cronbach alpha) is .66, which is close to adequate (.70) value, and therefore, this reliability is acceptable for our model.

(2) Sexual Conservatism (SEXCONS): The tests for hypotheses 4, 6, and 7 require a meaningful measure that captures the underlying features reflecting men’s beliefs about sexuality. These major aspects of sexual attitudes are addressed in the following questions: (a) “Do you think that premarital sex is ok?”; (b) “Do you think that extramarital sex is ok?”; (c) “Do you think that homosexual

sex is ok?"; and (d) "Do you think that teenage (below the age of 16) sex is ok?". The scores for the opinions were measured by a 1-4 point scale for each opinion on the just mentioned questions. The answers were "Always wrong", "Almost always wrong", "Wrong only sometimes", and "not wrong at all". The scores for these just mentioned answers ranged from 1 through 4 respectively. Thus, the respondents with low scores were considered more conservative than the high scorers on the scale. There were positive- moderate and significant bivariate correlations among the indicators. Although the internal consistency (Cronbach alpha is .67) is little lower than adequate (.70 as suggested by Kline 2005), we accept the scale, because our alpha is close to adequate value.

(3) Rape Myth Acceptance (RAPEMYHTS): Our fifth hypothesis suggests that men believing in rape myths are more likely to avoid conventional relationships; the choice for avoiding permanent relationships lead one to explore for temporary sex partners. Therefore, rape myths are some attitudes that are highly conducive for men to have multiple female partners while in between these two edges, men have tendencies to avoid permanent relationships. We have identified six observed measures for this latent construct. The analysis based on the original dataset (Monto 2000), used two more observed indicators, which we do not include here, because of multicollinearity in our cleaned dataset. Our indicators included six separate statements. These were: (a) "Women report rape to protect own reputation"; (b) "When a woman wants to go home with a man, this implies that she is willing to have sex with that person"; (c) "Provocative dress asks for trouble"; (d) "Rape victims have bad reputation"; (e) "Forced sex after necking is the woman's fault"; and (f) "Women hitchhiking deserve rape". The scores for the opinions were measured by a 1-4 point scale for each opinion on the just mentioned statements. The answers for the first two statements were "Almost all women", "About three fourths of women", "About half of women", and "About ¼ of women or none". These responses for the first two statements ranged from 1 through 4 respectively. The responses for the rest four statements were: "Agree strongly", "Agree somewhat", "Disagree somewhat", and "Disagree strongly". As for other two statements, these responses ranged from 1 through 4 respectively. Thus, the respondents with low scores were considered more susceptible than the high scorers on the scale to accept rape myths. The positive and significant bivariate correlations among the observed variables just mentioned were moderate. The internal consistency (Cronbach alpha) is .76, which is higher than adequate (.70 as suggested by Kline 2005).

(4) Preference for short term relations (SHORTREL): This construct is composed of three observed indicators. The indicators included three separate statements. These were: (a) "Prefer prostitution to regular relationship"; (b) "No time for regular relationship"; and (c) "Do not want to bear responsibilities of regular relationships". The scores for the opinions were measured by a 1-4 point scale for each opinion on the just mentioned statements. The responses for these three statements were: "Agree strongly", "Agree somewhat", "Disagree somewhat", and "Disagree strongly". Thus, the respondents with low scores were considered more susceptible than the high scorers on the scale to prefer short term sexual relationships. The positive and significant bivariate correlations among the

observed variables just mentioned were moderate. The internal consistency (Cronbach alpha) is .75, which is higher than the adequate range (.70 as suggested by Kline 2005).

(5) Having Multiple Partners (MULTPART): This construct is composed of two (2) observed indicators. The indicators included three separate statements. These were: (a) “Number of sex partners in the last 12 months”; and (b) “Number of times sex with prostitute during the last year”. We recoded the original data. In our coding, the first indicator contains the following scores: 0-1 partner=1; 2 partners=2; 3-4 partners =3; and 5 through more than 5 = 4. For the second indicator, we used the following coding principles: Never to only 1 time sex in the last 12 months=1; Less than once per month =2; 1 to 3 times per month =3; and Once or twice a week to 5 or more times a week =4. Thus, the respondents with high scores were considered having more sexual partners than the low scorers on the scale. The positive and significant bivariate correlation between the observed variables just mentioned was moderate. The internal consistency (Cronbach alpha) is .70, which is just within the adequate range (.70 as suggested by Kline 2005).

Analysis:

The data analysis has three parts. We present information on means, standard deviations, and correlation matrix for the variables used in our model. This descriptive section is followed by the measurement part of our model. As the first step for Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), we perform the assessment of our measurement model. Finally, the structural part of the model explicates the relationships among the latent constructs as mentioned before. We run SEM using AMOS 5.0.

Results:

Table 1 presents means and standard deviations for all the observed variables used in the model. Both means and standard deviations for the observed variables that compose the dependent latent construct (MULTPART) are close to each other. Among the observed variables for the independent constructs, other than the sexual conservatism (SEXCONS), both means and standard deviations are close enough to replicate men’s minds. In case of sexual conservatism, the differences in means are little larger than those of other constructs, but considering the range of standard deviations, these means are within the acceptable limits. The observed variables of SES represent middle class group in relation to both education and occupation.

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations for Observed Variables

Variables	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Number of Sex Partners in Last 12 Months	487	2.21	1.26
Times of Sex with Prostitutes in Last 12 Months	487	2.14	1.02
Opinion about Premarital Sex 1-4 point scale)	487	3.41	.973

Opinion about Teenage Sex 1-4 point scale)	487	1.90	1.06
Opinion about Homosexual Sex 1-4 point scale)	487	2.31	1.36
Opinion about Extramarital Sex 1-4 point scale)	487	1.80	.915
Women Report Rape to Protect Reputation 1-4 point scale)	487	3.31	.893
Women Going Home Willing to Have Sex 1-4 point scale)	487	3.22	.866
Provocative Dress Asks for Trouble 1-4 point scale)	487	3.11	.943
Rape Victims Have Bad Reputation 1-4 point scale)	487	3.44	.796
Forced Sex After Necking is Women's Fault 1-4 point scale)	487	3.51	.785
Women Hitchhiking Deserve Rape 1-4 point scale)	487	3.71	.635
Prefer Prostitution to Relationships 1-4 point scale)	487	3.39	.905
No Time For relationships 1-4 point scale)	487	3.03	1.09
Do not Want Relationship Responsibilities 1-4 point scale)	487	3.18	1.08
Education 1-5 point scale)	487	3.20	1.10
Occupational Status 1-3 point scale)	487	2.19	.837

Table 2 shows that the items in each scale are significantly correlated. The squared multiple correlations (not presented here) suggest that there was no multicollinearity. All correlations coefficients are below the value of .50.

Table 2: Correlation Matrix for Observed Variables

VARS	SXPAR	PROSS	PREMS	TEENS	HOMS	EXTMS	TEMPRE	NOTMRE	AVOIDR	RPREP	HMRAP	DRSRP	BADRPU	FRCRP	HITRAP	EDUC	OCCP
SXPAR	1																
PROSS	.554***	1															
PREMS	.070	.028	1														
TEENS	.093*	.049	.377***	1													
HOMS	.155***	.168***	.384***	.352***	1												
EXTMS	.139**	.057	.321***	.279***	.356***	1											
TEMPRE	-.153**	-.273***	-.054	-.128**	-.059	-.146**	1										
NOTMRE	-.079	-.139**	-.064	-.063	-.027	-.074	.352***	1									
AVOIDR	-.157***	-.223***	-.025	-.109*	-.036	-.097*	.489***	.636***	1								
RPREP	.079+	.113*	.116*	.022	.229***	.039	.017	.082+	.110*	1							
HMRAP	-.029	-.064	.064	.026	.109*	.021	.120**	.107*	.162***	.238***	1						
DRSRP	.070	-.003	.174***	.050	.184***	.132**	.077+	.024	.058	.299***	.401***	1					
BADRPU	.091*	.069	.196***	.047	.265***	.141**	.040	.044	.095*	.322***	.270***	.422***	1				
FRCRP	.035	.000	.056	-.036	.184***	.030	.069	.068	.067	.314***	.380***	.432***	.414***	1			
HITRAP	.010	.022	.103*	-.048	.103*	.027	.112*	.098*	.108*	.234***	.282***	.357***	.324***	.324***	1		
EDUC	.140***	.109*	.188***	.117**	.250***	.203***	.011	.015	.059	.297***	.062	.101*	.184***	.184***	.184***	1	
OCCP	.140***	.108*	.121**	.123**	.259***	.203***	-.097*	.067	.001	.241***	.083	.146***	.184***	.184***	.184***	.184***	1

Notes: ***= $p < .001$, **= $p < .01$, *= $p < .05$, and += $p < .10$

SXPAR = Number of sex partners in last 12 months; PROSS = Number of times sex with prostitutes in last 12 months; PREMS = Pre-marital sex is ok; TEENS = Teen sex is ok; HOMS= Homosexuality is ok; EXTMS= Extramarital sex is ok; TEMPRE= Prefer temporary relations; NOTMRE= No time for regular relations; AVOIDR = Avoid responsibility of regular relations; RPREP= Report rape to protect reputation; HMRAP= Going home deserves rape; DRSRP= Women wearing provocative dress deserve rape; BADRPU= Rape victims have bad reputation; FRCRP=Forced sex after necking is the woman's fault; EDUC= Education; OCCP= Occupation

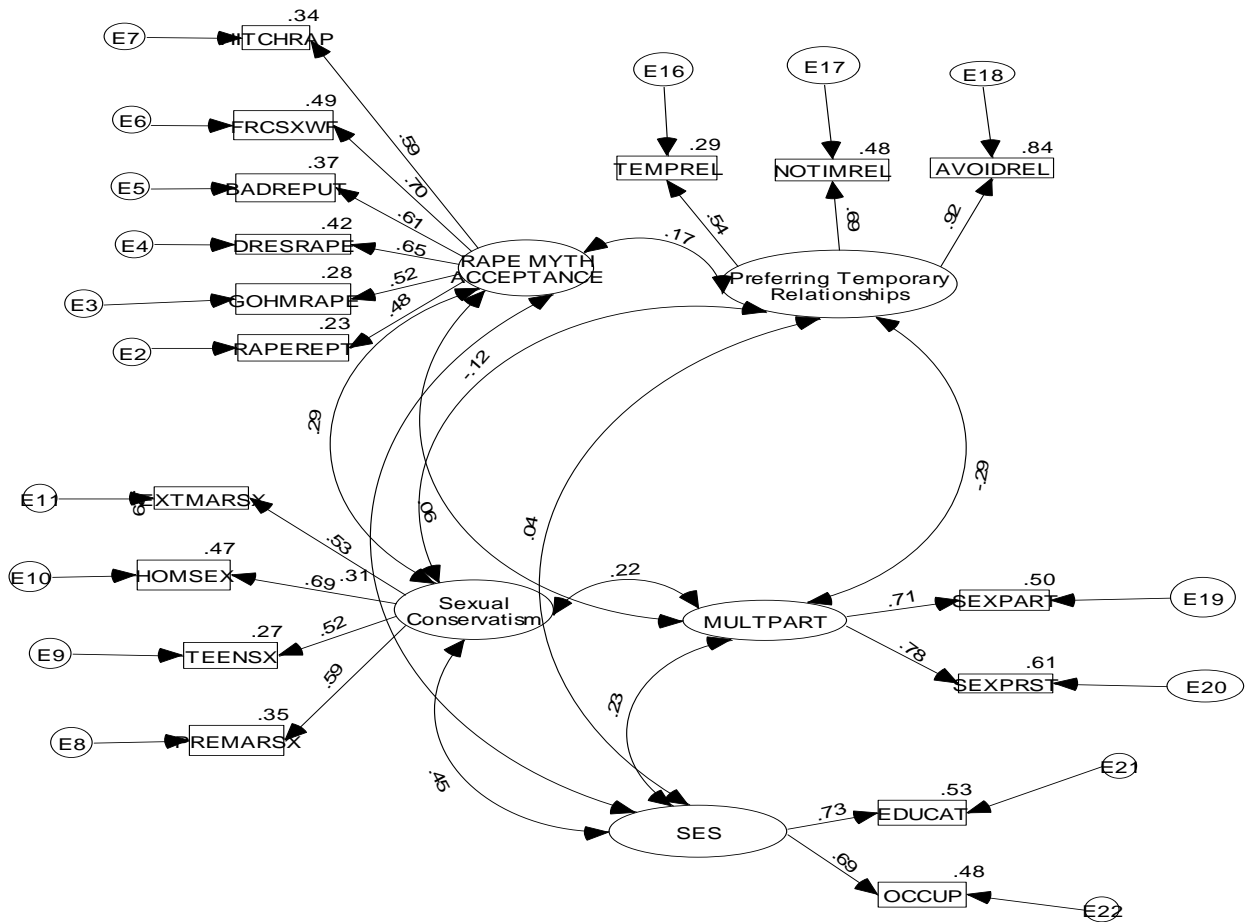


Figure 2: Standardized Values of Measurement

Turning to the measurement part of analysis, Figure 2 presents the standardized values for measurement. We have 44 distinct parameters to be estimated (17 observed variables with corresponding 17 errors, and 10 covariance estimates), which determines the number of distinct sample

moments at 153^1 . The degrees of freedom is 109, which is larger than the total free parameters to be estimated. Thus, the model is identified.

In Figure 2, we have specified the measurement part of our model. The model is a good fit ($\chi^2 = 217.643$, $p = .000$, $RMR = .048$, $GFI = .95$, $AGFI = .93$, $NFI = .887$, $CFI = .939$, $RMSEA = .045$, $Hoelter = 301$ & 327 at $.05$ and $.01$ respectively) for our analysis. However, one concern might be the significant chi-square value. Although the chi-square being significant in SEM implies the model's poor fit, it is not unlikely for large sample size (e.g. >200), because large sample size may inflate the chi-square (Kline 2005; Schumacker and Lomax 2004). Since other than chi-square and NFI, all fit indices are within the acceptable limits, we accept the measurement model as a good fit. For other fit indices, the scores for AIC (.305.643 compared to 306 and 1960.670 for saturated and independence models respectively) and ECVI (.629 compared to .630 and 4.034 for saturated and independence models respectively) for our model are smaller than both saturated and independence models. These ensure the cross-validation of our measurement model. Overall, the measurement part of our model is a good fit for analysis.

We also ran a model by taking the modification indices into consideration. The errors between "When a woman wants to go home with a man, this implies that she is willing to have sex with that person" (GOHMRAPE), and "Provocative dress asks for trouble" (DRESRAPE) are correlated. In the same vein, the errors between "Forced sex after necking is the woman's fault" (FRCXWF), and "Women hitchhiking deserve rape" (HITCHRAP) are correlated as well. We accept these modifications for re-specification of the model, because errors attached to the observed variables may emerge from the same sources. For example, men who believe that women willing to go home with them actually deserve rape may not believe in women's responsibility in this affair by wearing "provocative" dress, and vice versa, whereas the same pattern of responses are expected from the researcher's point of view. The same argument can be made about the other two correlated errors. Another cause of any correlated errors is that sometimes some respondents want to hide their actual opinion, which may result in emergence of correlated errors. Respondents may intentionally hide their opinions on one set of items, yet express their genuine opinions on other items. Theoretically, however, we argued earlier that all these possibilities exist in men's minds when they are studied. Further, the use of instruments in collecting this type of information always has the potential for misunderstanding by respondents. Based on these rationales, the re-specification of the model with the just mentioned correlated errors does fit with our theory.

Now, in Figure 3, we have re-specified the measurement part of our model. We have 46 distinct parameters to be estimated (17 observed variables with corresponding 17 errors, 2 correlated errors, and 10 covariance estimates), which determine the number of distinct sample moments at 153, and as such

¹ The formula is $p(p+1)/2$, where p refers to total observed variables (Schumacker and Lomax 2004).

the degrees of freedom is 107, which is larger than the total free parameters to be estimated. Thus, the model is identified.

The model is a good fit ($\chi^2 = 191.439$, $p=.000$, $RMR = .046$, $GFI = .956$, $AGFI=.937$, $NFI=.901$, $CFI = .953$, $RMSEA=.04$, $Hoelter=336$ & 366 at $.05$ and $.01$ respectively) for our analysis. Clearly, all fit indices have improved significantly, and this is a better fitting measurement model than the one presented in Figure 2. The NFI has within significant level now compared to earlier one (.901 vs. .887), and thus other than chi-square, all fit indices are within the acceptable limits. Even in relation to chi-squares in two models, there is a significant reduction in values ($217.643-191.439=26.20$). For other fit indices, the scores for AIC (283.439 vs. 305.643 compared to 306 & 1960.670 for saturated and independence models respectively) and ECVI (.583 vs. .629 compared to .630 and 4.034 for saturated and independence models respectively) of the re-specified model exhibit better fitting model. These ensure the better cross-validation of our re-specified measurement model. Overall, the measurement part of the model is a good fit for analysis.

Now let us look at standardized solutions of the measurement model presented in Figure 3. Most factor loadings for observed variables are above .50, whereas only the loading for "Women willing to go home" is only .49, but we accept it in the model since the loading is close to .5, and several scholarly articles accept this type of loading. In the measurement model, however, the covariance estimates between Rape Myth Acceptance and Having Multiple Sexual Partners, and between SES and preferring temporary relationships are not significant, while variances among other latent constructs are found to be significant. In our theoretical discussion, we did not confer any direct association between rape myth acceptance and men's multiple sexual partners either, but we anticipated an association between these two while the preference for short time relations has space in men's psychological state. The same argument is applicable for the non-significant covariance between SES & preferring temporary relationships. All other associations among the latent constructs are statistically significant as expected.

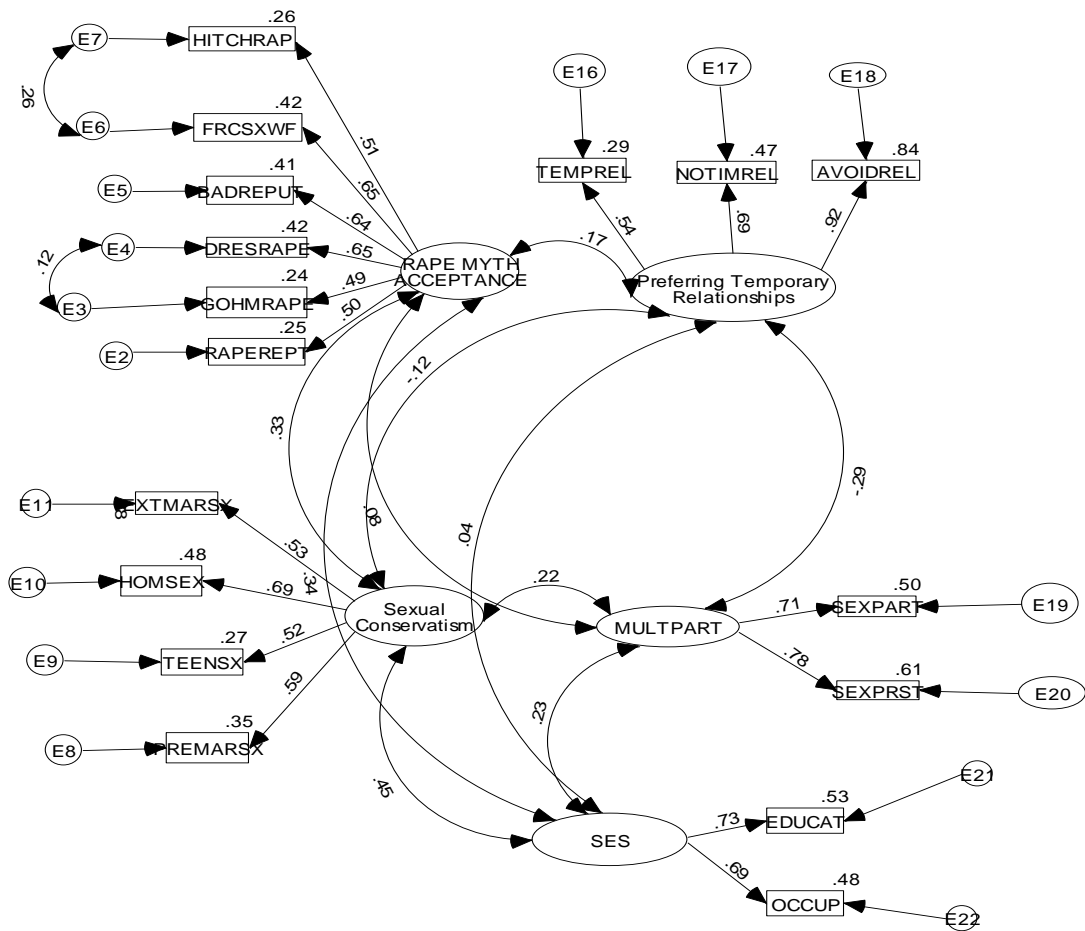


Figure 3: Respecified Measurement Model With Some Correlated Errors

On the basis of our measurement model, the structural part of our model does not include the direct paths from rape myth acceptance to men's multiple sexual partners, and from SES to preferring temporary relationships. Figure 4 has presented standardized estimates of our structural model. We have 44 distinct parameters to be estimated (17 observed variables with corresponding 17 errors, 2 correlated errors, and

8 direct paths), which determines the number of

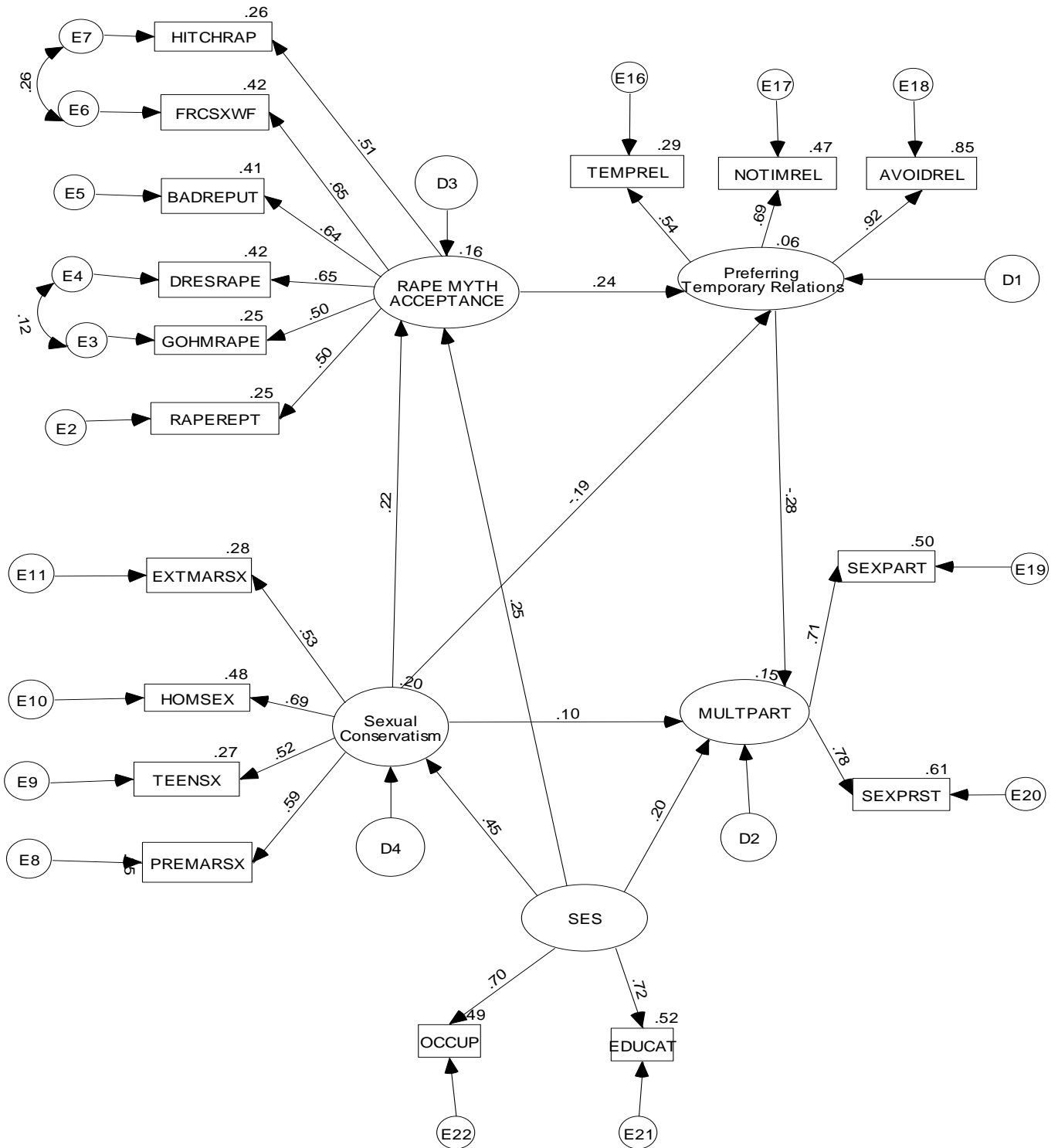


Figure 4: Structural Model for Relationships among Latent Constructs

distinct sample moments at 153, and as such the degrees of freedom is 109, which is larger than the total free parameters to be estimated. Thus, the model is identified.

In Figure 4, we have specified the structural part of our model. The model is a good fit ($\chi^2 = 192.628$, $p = .000$, RMR = .046, GFI = .956, AGFI = .938, NFI = .90, CFI = .953, RMSEA = .040, Hoelter = 340 & 370 at .05 and .01 respectively) for our analysis. The chi-square value is little higher here compared to our measurement model, and it is because we have not included the paths from Rape Myth Acceptance to Men's Multiple Sexual Partners, and from SES to Preferring Temporary Relations. Since other than chi-square, all fit indices are within the acceptable limits, we accept the structural model as a good fit. For other fit indices, the scores for AIC & ECVI of our model are smaller than both saturated and independence models. Thus, the structural part of our model is accepted.

The Squared Multiple Correlations (SMC) suggest that the model explains 16, 20, 16, and 6% of the variances in men's having multiple sexual partners, sexual conservatism, rape myth acceptance, and preferring temporary relationships respectively by their predictors concerned. While the size of the variances are small, they are acceptable, because any sociological research using SEM puts emphasis on testing hypotheses explicating complex mechanisms among variables, not focusing much on the total variances explained. Above all, while the total variance is small, the statistical significance makes them valid to proceed on.

Other than the direct link between sexual conservatism and men's multiple sexual partners, all expected direct links are found statistically significant. The links between SES and Sexual Conservatism, Rape Myth Acceptance, and men's multiple sexual partners are statistically significant. The unstandardized coefficients (Figure 5) suggest that when men have a one-point increase in SES, their both sexual conservatism and rape myth acceptance decrease² by .33 and .14 respectively, while exploring multiple partners increases by .22. These show positive coefficients, which means that if SES increases, men are less likely to be conservative, and accept rape myths, but are more likely to explore temporary sexual partners. Thus, hypotheses 1 through 3 are supported.

Sexual conservatism has direct links with rape myth acceptance and preference for short term relationships. One point increase in sexual conservatism scale, i.e., men become more progressive, leads to .17 unit increase in denying rape myths, and thus, the hypotheses 4 and 6 are supported. The direct link between sexual conservatism and men's multiple sexual partners is statistically non-significant. We will conduct the alternative model deleting this path to check whether that model is better fitting. However, the hypothesis 7 is not supported in relation to direct

² The parameters show positive directions since the higher scores in sexual conservatism and rape myth acceptance mean less conservatism and less likelihood of accepting rape myths.

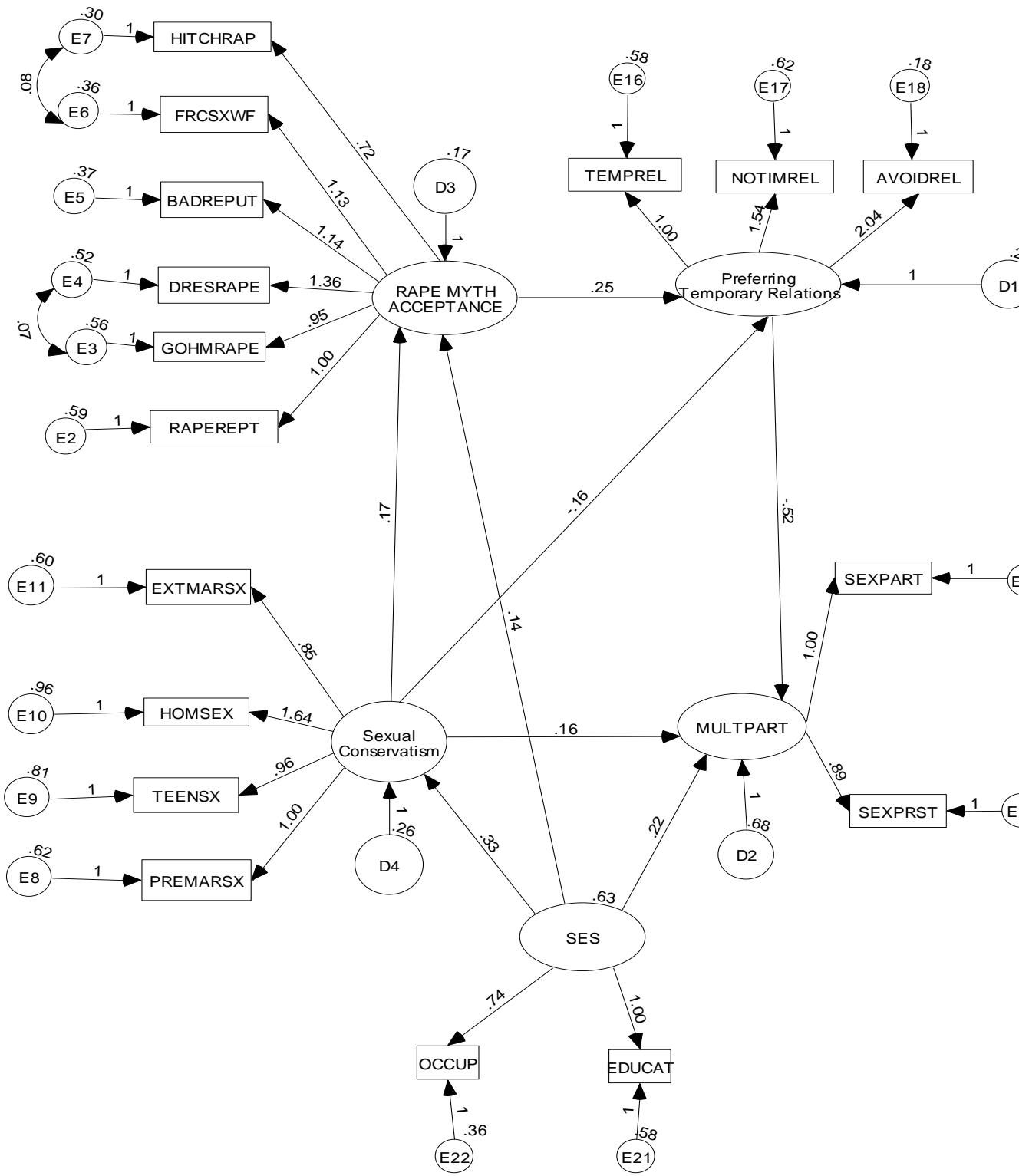


Figure 5: Structural Model Unstandardized Solutions)

effects on men's multiple sexual partners. We notice, however, that the preference for short term relationships have significant direct links to men's having multiple sexual partners (the hypothesis 8 is supported). Also, rape myth acceptance has direct significant effect on the preference for temporary relationships, which influences men's exploring multiple short term partners, and thus hypothesis 5 is supported. When there is a 1-point increase in denying rape myths, men are less likely to choose temporary relationships by .25. In the same vein, when men prefer temporary relationships to permanent ones by 1 point, they are more likely to explore multiple partners and buy sex from prostitutes by .52.

Tables 3 through 5 show the decomposition of the standardized direct, indirect, and total effects in Figure 4. Sexual conservatism has indirect significant effects on men's exploration for multiple partners. Thus, this hypothesis is partially supported. Rape myth acceptance has indirect effects, through preference for short term relationships, on men's taking multiple sexual partners (the hypothesis 2 is supported). Clearly, sexual conservatism significantly influences preference for temporary relationships in both direct and indirect ways. Although rape myth does not have any direct effect on men's sexual encounter, we find an indirect effect on men's taking multiple sexual partners. Clearly, men who believe more in rape myths are more likely to prefer short term relations to long term ones, and this later proposition leads them to take services from prostitutes and have multiple partners.

Examining the total effects (Table 5), it is obvious that the preference for temporary relations has more effects than other predictors on men's multiple sexual partners, followed by SES, sexual conservatism, and rape myth acceptance. Overall, SES is a very important predictor in determining sexual conservatism and rape myth acceptance. In preferring temporary relationships, it is highly influenced by rape myth acceptance.

Table 3: Standardized Direct Effects

LATENT CONSTRUCTS	SES	SEXUAL CONSERVATISM	RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE	Preferring Temporary Relations
SEXUAL CONSERVATISM	.449	.000	.000	.000
RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE	.250	.221	.000	.000
PREFERRING TEMPORARY RELATIONS	.000	-.192	.235	.000
PROMISCUITY	.197	.103	.000	-.283

Table 4: Standardized Indirect Effects

LATENT CONSTRUCTS	SES	SEXUAL CONSERVATISM	RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE	PREFERRING TEMPORARY RELATIONS
SEXUAL CONSERVATISM	.000	.000	.000	.000
RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE	.099	.000	.000	.000
PREFERRING TEMPORARY RELATIONS	-.004	.052	.000	.000
PROMISCUITY	.047	.040	-.067	.000

Table 5: Standardized Total Effects

LATENT CONSTRUCTS	SES	SEXUAL CONSERVATISM	RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE	TEMPORARY RELATIONS
SEXUAL CONSERVATISM	.449	.000	.000	.000
RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE	.349	.221	.000	.000
PREFERRING TEMPORARY RELATIONS	-.004	-.140	.235	.000
PROMISCUITY	.244	.143	-.067	-.283

Overall, the hypotheses presented earlier are found tenable in the present study.

Alternative/ Equivalent Models:

To estimate the alternative model, we delete the non-significant path to assess whether the re-specified model is better than our original one. Since the direct link from sexual conservatism to men’s multiple sexual partners is non-significant, we run a structural model deleting this path. The model has the following fitting statistics: $X^2 = 194.401$, $p=.000$, $RMR =.048$, $GFI = .955$, $AGFI=.938$, $NFI=.899$, $CFI =.953$, $RMSEA=.040$, $Hoelter=339$ & 369 at $.05$ and $.01$ respectively. In general, these statistics are a little worse than our proposed model, and therefore, our model is considered more acceptable with the non-significant path from sexual conservatism to men’s multiple sexual partners.

Another model we compared with our proposed one is by testing the reverse paths from promiscuity to preference for temporary relationships, from temporary relationships to rape myth acceptance, from rape myth acceptance to sexual conservatism, and from promiscuity to sexual conservatism. The theoretical foundation of this model lies in the fact that multiple outlets for men’s sexual exploration encourage them prefer short term mating. In the same vein, men’s preference for temporary relationships leads them believing in rape myths, because their preference for temporary relationships can easily put the blame on women themselves, and thus, women’s behavior can be controlled. The acceptance of rape myth obviously increases sexual conservatism.

The fit-statistics for the above model are as follows: $X^2 = 199.918$, $p=.000$, $RMR =.049$, $GFI = .949$, $AGFI=.935$, $NFI=.896$, $CFI =.949$, $RMSEA=.041$, $Hoelter=332$ & 361 at $.05$ and $.01$ respectively. Although the fitting statistics are not bad, the stability index for sexual conservatism, preferring temporary relationships, and rape myth acceptance for this model is $.019$, and therefore, the model is unacceptable until further modification is done. Since this model with further modification needs more research, and the overall fitting statistics are not better than our proposed model, we prefer our model to this one for the present research.

In general, our model is more acceptable than the two alternative models presented above.

Discussion and Conclusion

The results presented above clearly indicate that the men's belief system regarding sexual ideology and their own stereotyping about how women should or should not behave largely affect their sexual preference, and hence their sexual mating. We argue that men's differential psychological and behavioral traits are mainly influenced by social-structural causes. One of these structural causes includes men's differential accesses to resources. This control influences their overall psychological constructs related to sexuality of women, also their structural capacity (controlling resources) facilitates exploring multiple sexual partners. The present research did not target providing any fundamental addition to the existing body of literature, but, in short, it intended to reconfirm the view that men's psychological constructs about women are largely affected by their beliefs about sexual behavior, the level of their sexual conservatism or liberalism, and ultimately the combination of these as affected by their structural power measured by access to resources lead several men to take services from prostitutes and multiple women instead of having regular relationships.

In our findings, evidence suggests that men's structural power (e.g. access to resources) influences their ideology about sexuality (e.g. conservatism). The more they have accesses to resources, as shown above, the less they are conservative; however, because of their structural power, they take the advantage of their privileges as set by society. Although we did not find any direct significant effects of sexual conservatism and rape myth acceptance on men's search for multiple partners, our analysis suggests that these have significant indirect effects on men's exploring multiple sexual partners, because these both influence men's preference for short term relationships to long term ones. Also, our analysis indicates that higher resource attainment (and as such control) may make men less conservative and less susceptible to rape myth acceptance. Therefore, following Johnson (2000), we argue that men do not abandon their privileges in exploring partners from multiple outlets in society, even when they are even less conservative and less susceptible to rape myths.

However, the study suggests prospects for research combining more aspects. Because of the lack of a combined dataset on both men and women's having multiple partners, we could not test the differential belief systems in relation to gender, but any future research of this sort may be attempted to have more comprehensive view on the issue. Also, on policy implication, any future research can also check whether the multiple sexual encounters with multiple women make men believing in progressive ideas about women and prostitution, such as legalization and decriminalization of prostitution. While comparing an alternative model with the present one, we indicated that a research might be attempted to investigate whether the existence of men's opportunity structure in getting multiple partners influence their preferences for short term relationships. Going further, it is also possible to inquire whether multiple sexual mating creates less conservative attitude in men's mind about sexuality and rape myths. While

attempting this, we believe that a more comprehensive analysis of the relationships between men's structural power and their psychological make up regarding women's sexuality is possible.

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