

Less Than Human? Media Use, Objectification of Women, and Men's Acceptance of Sexual Aggression

Rita C. Seabrook
Rutgers University

L. Monique Ward and Soraya Giaccardi
University of Michigan

Objective: Previous research has documented connections between media use and violence against women, yet the mechanism behind that relation remains unclear, especially for media that do not explicitly depict sexual violence. The purpose of this study was to examine whether objectification of women mediates the relations between media use (TV and pornography), and attitudes and behaviors supportive of violence against women. **Method:** Participants were 283 undergraduate men who completed surveys that assessed TV consumptions (across four genres) and pornography use; acceptance of objectification of women; and rape myth acceptance and sexual deception behaviors. **Results:** Consumption of reality TV, sports programming, and pornography was each associated with greater acceptance of objectification of women, which in turn was associated with greater rape myth acceptance and more frequent acts of sexual deception. Objectification of women mediated the relations among sports programming consumption and rape myth acceptance and sexual deception, and among pornography consumption and rape myth acceptance and sexual deception. **Conclusions:** Objectification of women is one mechanism by which TV consumption (even TV that does not explicitly depict sexual violence) and pornography use are related to attitudes and behaviors supportive of violence against women. Media literacy programs for men that challenge the idea that women exist for men's sexual pleasure may be an important step in combatting acceptance of rape myths and sexual violence.

Keywords: sexual objectification, sexual violence, rape myth acceptance, pornography, TV

Portrayals that intertwine sexuality and violence are common in the media, especially in sexually explicit media, where 88% of scenes were reported to contain some form of physical aggression toward women (Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, & Liberman, 2010). Regular exposure to this content has emerged as one of the many risk factors contributing to attitudes that are more accepting of sexual aggression. In meta-analytic reviews (Hald, Malamuth, & Yuen, 2010; Wright, Tokunaga, & Kraus, 2016), frequent consumption of sexually explicit media is linked both to sexually aggressive behavior ($r = .28$) and to attitudes supportive of sexual violence toward women ($r = .18$). What is surprising is that similar connections have emerged concerning the use of media that do not heavily feature portrayals of sexual violence. Analyses indicate that regular exposure to sports programming (Hust et al., 2013), men's magazines (Hust, Rodgers, Ebreo, & Stefani, 2016; Romero-Sánchez, Megías, & Krahé, 2012), daytime soap operas (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011; Lei, Hust, Ran, Ren, & Marett, 2013), sexual music videos (Kaestle, Halpern, & Brown, 2007; van

Oosten, Peter, & Valkenburg, 2015), and overall TV content (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011; Kahlor & Morrison, 2007) is each associated with attitudes supportive of rape myths or a lower intention to seek sexual consent. Why might general media exposure be linked to sexual violence attitudes and rape myths, even if this content is not portrayed? We argue that one path may be through the sexual objectification of women, which is featured prominently in mainstream media (Ward, 2016). We test that assertion in this study.

Exploring Sexual Objectification as a Potential Mediator

Sexual objectification may contribute to sexual violence because it dehumanizes women, reducing them to mere objects without agency or feelings (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). It is easier to inflict pain on an object because, unlike a human, an object does not merit fair and moral treatment (Loughnan, Pina, Vasquez, & Puvia, 2013). Gervais and Eagan (2017) argued that the sexual objectification of women leads to violence both by teaching people to treat women as objects rather than subjects and by changing cultural expectations for how men should treat women. Therefore, exposure to both mainstream and sexually explicit media may contribute to sexual violence by suggesting that women are objects (rather than subjects) that exist in service to others (men) and are not deserving of humane treatment.

Findings across several studies suggest that objectified women are indeed perceived as less human than nonobjectified women, as

This article was published Online First May 21, 2018.

Rita C. Seabrook, School of Social Work, Center on Violence Against Women and Children, Rutgers University; L. Monique Ward and Soraya Giaccardi, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Rita C. Seabrook, School of Social Work, Center on Violence Against Women and Children, Rutgers University, 390 George Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901. E-mail: rseabrook@ssw.rutgers.edu

evidenced by their receiving less moral concern and by assumptions that they engage less frequently in mental activities like planning and reasoning (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Loughnan et al., 2010, 2013). Moreover, the objectification of women has been associated with greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence against women (Bernard, Loughnan, Marchal, Godart, & Klein, 2015; Galdi, Maass, & Cadinu, 2014; Loughnan et al., 2010, 2013; Wright & Tokunaga, 2016). For example, men who implicitly associate women with objects also report greater likelihood to rape and sexually harass women (Rudman & Mescher, 2012). Male undergraduates who engage in more objectification (e.g., by staring at someone's body or making a sexually degrading gesture) also report more sexual violence perpetration (Gervais, DiLillo, & McChargue, 2014). Experimental studies support these findings. For example, though not a direct measure of sexual assault perpetration, Loughnan and colleagues (2010) found that adults were more willing to administer pain-inducing tablets to objectified targets (both female and male) than nonobjectified targets. Taken together, the results from these studies suggest that objectified women are perceived as less human and are more likely to be targets of sexual violence than nonobjectified women, and that those who engage in more objectification are generally more accepting of sexual violence.

Sexual Objectification and Mainstream Media

Sexually objectifying content is a prominent element of mainstream U.S. media, appearing in 71% of music videos (Frisby & Aubrey, 2012), 22% of TV commercials featuring women (Messineo, 2008), and among 45.5% of young adult female characters on prime-time TV (Smith, Choueiti, Prescott, & Pieper, 2012). Reality TV also prominently features objectified images of women. In their content analysis of reality programs, Flynn, Park, Morin, and Stana (2015) found that 28% of female characters were partially or fully nude, compared with only 11% of male characters. In reality dating programs (e.g., *The Bachelor*), women are referred to as sexual objects nearly once every 10 min (Ferris, Smith, Greenberg, & Smith, 2007).

Objectification of women also features heavily in pornography (Bridges et al., 2010; Fritz & Paul, 2017; Klaassen & Peter, 2015). Examples of objectification of women in pornography include camera focus on genitalia (Fritz & Paul, 2017; Klaassen & Peter, 2015), "cumshots" (i.e., a man ejaculates onto a woman's body; Bridges et al., 2010; Fritz & Paul, 2017), and stripping (Fritz & Paul, 2017). In their content analysis of 300 pornographic scenes from online videos, Fritz and Paul (2017) found that 79% of mainstream pornography videos featured extended camera focus on women's genitalia, 44% featured cumshots, and 43% featured stripping. Klaassen and Peter (2015) found similar results for focus on genitalia (60.8% of scenes from Internet pornography), and Bridges and colleagues (2010) found that almost every scene in 30 top-selling pornography videos depicted a cumshot.

Effects of Sexualized Media: Theoretical and Empirical Analyses

Both theoretical and empirical analyses outline how exposure to sexually objectifying media may affect men's sexual attitudes and behaviors toward women. According to cultivation theory (Ger-

ner & Gross, 1976), repeated exposure to commonly portrayed media messages will foster analogous beliefs in media users. With heavy viewing, frequently activated constructs and associations (e.g., women are sexual objects) become more accessible in memory, eventually making related content feel more acceptable (Shrum, 1996). According to Bandura's (2001) social cognitive theory, viewers' beliefs are shaped by their engagement with media content, and these beliefs inform behavior. Therefore, if men are regularly exposed to messages that women are sexual objects, they might internalize this belief, and use it in making decisions during future interactions with women. Similarly, according to Wright's (2011) acquisition, activation, application model (3AM), sexual media exposure shapes the acquisition of new sexual scripts, the activation of existing scripts, and the application of these scripts to one's own real-world sexual experiences. Thus, these theories would argue that regular exposure to mainstream media, which often sexually objectify women, might lead men to be more accepting of notions that women *are* sexual objects, and to engage in sexually objectifying behavior toward women, including dehumanizing sexual aggression.

Empirical analyses support these premises. First, evidence indicates that more frequent consumption of specific media genres is associated with stronger support of notions that characterize women as sexual objects whose main value is in their appearance (Hust & Lei, 2008; Ward, 2002; Ward, Vandebosch, & Eggermont, 2015). For example, Ward and colleagues (2015) found that adolescent boys who regularly consumed sexualizing magazines expressed stronger support, 6 months later, of objectifying notions about women. Hust and Lei (2008) demonstrated that for undergraduates, frequently watching sports and music TV was each related to greater acceptance of the sexual objectification of women. Findings are similar concerning exposure to pornography. For example, among 962 Dutch adolescent girls and boys, exposure to sexually explicit media on the Internet was associated with greater endorsement of women as sex objects 1 year later (Peter & Valkenburg, 2009). Together, these studies indicate that more frequent exposure to media formats that commonly objectify women is associated with greater endorsement of the objectification of women.

Second, findings from experiments indicate that exposure to sexually objectifying media is associated with greater endorsement of attitudes and behaviors supportive of sexual violence toward women. Across multiple studies, undergraduate participants who viewed sexually objectified women from movies, video games, magazines, or music videos later offered more tolerance of sexual harassment, rape myths, or interpersonal violence than did participants without this exposure (Aubrey, Hopper, & Mbure, 2011; Dill, Brown, & Collins, 2008; Galdi et al., 2014; Kistler & Lee, 2009; Lanis & Covell, 1995; Romero-Sánchez et al., 2012). For example, undergraduate men who were exposed to sexually objectifying music videos in a lab setting reported greater acceptance of interpersonal violence and sexual harassment than men exposed to less objectifying music videos (Aubrey et al., 2011). Evidence also indicates that participants exposed to sexualized images of women or to objectifying media content attribute less guilt to perpetrators of sexual assault, more blame and responsibility and less empathy to the victims, and stronger intention to engage in sexual coercion (Burgess & Burpo, 2012; Loughnan et al., 2013; Milburn, Mather, & Conrad, 2000).

The Current Study

The link between media and sexual objectification and between sexual objectification and sexual violence has led some researchers to wonder whether objectification of women can explain the relation between media consumption and acceptance of sexual violence. We uncovered only one study that tested all three components together. Wright and Tokunaga (2016) used structural equation modeling (SEM) to explore these relations among 187 undergraduate men. They found that consumption of pornography, reality TV, and men's magazines was associated with objectification of women, which was in turn associated with greater acceptance of sexual violence.

Our goal was to replicate and expand upon Wright and Tokunaga's (2016) study. Similar to Wright and Tokunaga (2016), we used SEM to test relations among media use, objectification, and acceptance of sexual violence among emerging adult men. However, we expanded on Wright and Tokunaga's (2016) study in three important ways. First, we included several TV genres, such as situation comedies (sitcoms) and dramas, rather than focusing exclusively on reality TV. Second, we used more thorough measures of media consumption, objectification, and sexual violence. Rather than the single-item measures of media consumption used by Wright and Tokunaga (2016), we asked participants about their consumption of several TV programs within each genre to obtain a more accurate measure of TV diet. We also used more reliable and comprehensive measures of objectification of women and rape myth acceptance. Finally, whereas Wright and Tokunaga (2016) conceptualized acceptance of sexual violence using an abbreviated measure of rape myth acceptance, we included a behavioral measure of acceptance of sexual violence in addition to rape myth acceptance. Specifically, we examined sexual deception behaviors, such as lying about one's identity or feelings to have sex with someone. Although sexual deception behaviors do not necessarily

meet the criteria for sexual assault, they do indicate a general lack of respect for one's sexual partner. Further, several sexual deception behaviors, such as using drugs or alcohol to gain consent, mirror sexual coercion behaviors (Tyler, Hoyt, & Whitbeck, 1998). We believe that using a behavioral measure of sexual deception adds an important component to the study of media, objectification, and acceptance of sexual violence.

We proposed the following hypotheses (Figure 1):

Hypothesis 1: Media use (reality TV programs, sports programs, sitcoms, drama programs, and pornography) will be associated with greater acceptance of objectification of women.

Hypothesis 2: Acceptance of objectification of women will be associated with greater rape myth acceptance and greater perpetration of sexual deception.

Hypothesis 3: Acceptance of objectification of women will mediate the relations among media use and rape myth acceptance and sexual deception.

Method

Participants

Our sample came from a study of 411 undergraduate men who completed the survey and passed at least one out of two validity checks. Because we focus on sexual violence against women, we excluded men who identified as predominantly or exclusively gay or did not indicate their sexual orientation ($n = 40$). We also excluded men who were missing data on any of our predictor variables ($n = 88$, see the following text for analysis of missing data). We were left with an analytical sample of 283 undergraduate

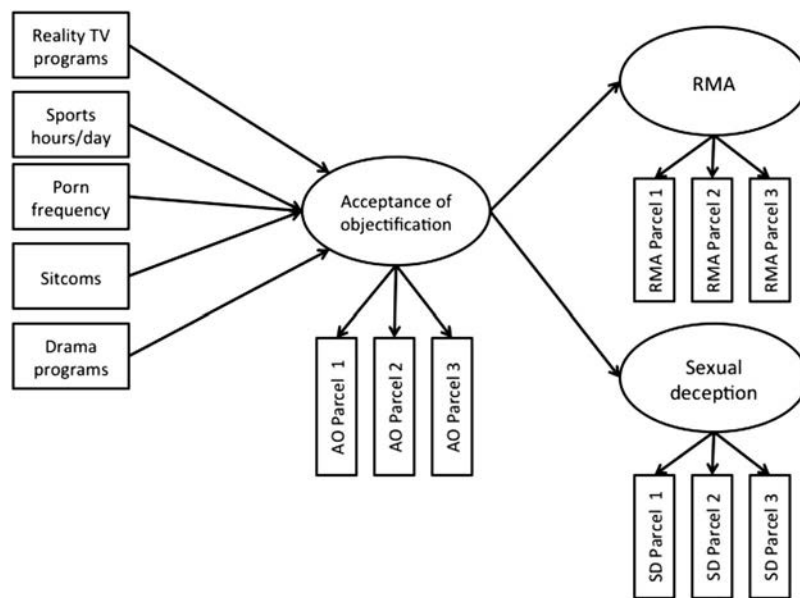


Figure 1. Proposed structural model. AO = acceptance of objectification; RMA = rape myth acceptance; SD = sexual deception.

men, aged 17–27 ($M = 19.29$, $SD = 1.23$), who identified as exclusively or predominantly heterosexual ($n = 279$, 98.6%) or bisexual ($n = 4$, 1.4%). The majority of participants identified as White ($n = 202$, 71.4%), and another 38 identified as Asian/Asian American (13.4%), eight as Latino (2.8%), six as Black/African American (2.1%), 10 as Middle Eastern (3.5%), and 15 as multi-racial (5.3%). Most participants had had vaginal intercourse ($n = 192$, 67.8%). Participants also indicated their level of dating and sexual experience on an 11-point scale ranging from *just starting out* to *several sexual relationships*. On average, participants reported a sexual experience level equivalent to one to two sexual relationships ($M = 4.87$, $SD = 2.84$).

Measures

Sexual deception. Sexual deception was measured using the Blatant Lying subscale of the Sexual Deception Scale (Marelich, Lundquist, Painter, & Mechanic, 2008), which has been validated on sexually active university students. Participants indicated (*yes* or *no*) whether they had engaged in seven deceptive behaviors, such as “Told someone ‘I love you’ just to have sex with them” and “Gotten a partner really drunk or stoned in order to have sex with them.” We calculated mean scores across the seven items such that higher scores indicate more deception (see Table 1 for means, standard deviations, and Cronbach’s α for all measures).

Rape myth acceptance. Rape myth acceptance was measured using the Burt’s (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, which has been validated on adult men and women. Although there are more recent rape myth acceptance scales, we chose Burt’s scale for its short length. Participants rated their agreement with 10 common rape myths on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. A sample item is, “When a girl goes to a guy’s house on the first date, it means she is willing to have sex.” We calculated mean scores across the 10 items such that higher scores indicate stronger acceptance of rape myths.

Acceptance of objectification of women. Acceptance of objectification of women was measured using an abbreviated version of the Sexual Objectification Scale (Morse, 2007). The original scale was validated on a sample of undergraduate men (Morse, 2007). Participants rated their agreement with 15 items using a 6-point Likert scale that ranged from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. A sample item is, “It is okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn’t know.” We calculated mean scores such that higher scores indicate more acceptance of objectification of women.

TV exposure by genre. For each TV genre, participants were presented with a list of programs that both previous research (Ward, Seabrook, Manago, & Reed, 2016) and pilot data had indicated were popular among undergraduate men, and were asked to indicate how many episodes of each program they had watched using a 4-point scale anchored by *none at all* and *a lot/almost all episodes*. We eliminated programs that fewer than 10% of participants had viewed. We were left with 15 reality TV programs to measure *reality TV exposure*, 14 sitcoms to measure *sitcom exposure*, and 12 drama programs to measure *drama program exposure*. The list of reality TV programs and percentage of the sample that had seen at least one episode was *Pawn Stars* (54.8%), *American Ninja Warrior* (46.5%), *Man v. Wild* (41.6%), *Cops* (33.0%), *Deadliest Catch* (32.4%), *Top Gear* (30.1%), *Jersey Shore* (27.0%), *Duck Dynasty* (26.7%), *Catfish* (20.6%), *Guy Code* (17.8%), *Viva La Bam* (17.4%), *American Chopper* (13.5%), *Dog the Bounty Hunter* (13.2%), *The Real World* (11.0%), and *The Ultimate Fighter* (10.3%). The list of sitcoms and percentage of the sample that had seen at least one episode was *Family Guy* (79.8%), *The Simpsons* (67.3%), *How I Met Your Mother* (63.5%), *Big Bang Theory* (62.2%), *Modern Family* (56.0%), *American Dad* (51.2%), *Two and a Half Men* (51.2%), *Community* (36.7%), *Adventuretime* (32.3%), *Ridiculousness* (30.6%), *Bob’s Burgers* (28.4%), *King of Queens* (27.4%), *The Middle* (21.4%), and *Boon-*

Table 1
Zero-Order Correlations, Descriptive Statistics, and Cronbach’s α s for Variables of Interest and Demographic Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Reality TV programs	.80							
2. Drama programs	.35**	.63						
3. Sitcoms	.35**	.37**	.72					
4. Sports programming	.23**	.22**	.14	n/a				
5. Pornography	.17*	.24**	.22**	.03	n/a			
6. Acceptance of objectification	.22**	.18*	.06	.25**	.32**	.86		
7. Rape myth acceptance	.11	-.03	-.12	.07	.01	.35**	.83	
8. Sexual deception	.17*	.27**	.17*	.17*	.23**	.38**	.25**	.78
9. White	.13	.04	-.08	.08	.01	.14	.02	-.02
10. Asian	-.15	-.07	.00	-.06	-.01	-.10	.04	.01
11. Latino	-.04	-.05	.06	-.05	-.04	.04	-.04	-.02
12. Black	.12	.04	.03	-.06	.05	-.05	-.08	-.04
13. Multiracial	-.01	.04	.13	.08	.08	.05	-.01	.05
14. Middle-eastern	-.08	.03	-.04	.00	-.05	-.18*	.05	.02
15. Sexual experience	.18*	.25**	.13	.16*	.22**	.30**	-.04	.39**
16. Age	.10	.19*	.01	.06	.01	.05	.02	.09
<i>M</i>	1.41	1.71	1.84	5.63	3.54	3.24	1.81	.10
<i>SD</i>	.39	.48	.46	3.25	1.36	.78	.65	.19

Note. n/a = not available. Members of each race category are coded 1 and nonmembers are coded 0. Cronbach’s α s are reported on the diagonal and bolded.

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

docks (20.9%). The list of drama programs and percentage of the sample that had seen at least one episode was *Breaking Bad* (64.7%), *Game of Thrones* (48.9%), *The Walking Dead* (47.5%), *House of Cards* (44.5%), *Criminal Minds* (33.0%), *Law & Order: SVU* (32.0%), *NCIS* (30.6%), *Dexter* (27.4%), *Orange is the New Black* (24.8%), *Entourage* (18.5%), *Friday Night Lights* (16.1%), and *Sons of Anarchy* (9.9%). We calculated a mean score for each genre such that higher scores indicate more exposure.

Sports programming exposure. Participants indicated how many hours of sports programming (e.g., *SportsCenter*) they viewed on a typical weekday, Saturday, and Sunday. Average daily hours of sports programming exposure was calculated by multiplying the weekday exposure by 5, adding Saturday and Sunday exposure, and dividing the total hours by 7.

Pornography exposure. Participants indicated how often they watched porn/sexually explicit media. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from *never* to *3 times per week or more*.

Procedure

This study is part of a larger, online survey whose link was e-mailed to a random sample of 1,973 male undergraduates in their first, second, or third year of school, as well as fraternity officers. The larger survey assessed media use, romantic relationships, sexual behaviors, gender beliefs, and fraternity membership. This is the first article from this data set to examine correlates of regular media exposure. The survey was completed online and took between 30 and 45 min to complete. Participants were offered a \$10 Starbucks gift card in exchange for their participation.

Missing Data

Of the 88 men who had missing data, most were missing data on level of sexual experience ($n = 73$), reality TV exposure ($n = 53$), drama program exposure ($n = 54$), and sitcom exposure ($n = 53$). There was no difference between the 283 men who completed the media measures and the 88 men who did not on age, $t(368) = .03$, $p = .98$. Cell sizes were too small to examine race differences between participants with missing and nonmissing data on the predictor variables. However, the racial makeup of those with missing data was similar to the analytic sample: 61.4% ($n = 54$) identified as White, 25.0% ($n = 22$) as Asian/Asian American, 3.4% ($n = 4$) as Black/African American, 2.3% ($n = 2$) as Latino, 1.1% ($n = 1$) as Middle Eastern, and 4.5% ($n = 4$) as multiracial. Asian/Asian American participants may be slightly more likely to have missing data than participants of other races/ethnicities. Participants with missing data were less likely than those with complete data to have had sexual intercourse, $\chi^2(1) = 26.40$, $p < .001$. Because many of the questions in this survey relate to sexual experience, we suspect that those without sexual experience may have been more likely to drop out. We acknowledge this as a limitation and control for sexual experience level in subsequent analyses.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations between variables of interest and sample demographics are presented in Table

1. Participants who watched one media genre were more likely to watch other genres, as well. Men who identified as Middle Eastern scored lower than other men on acceptance of objectification. Greater sexual experience was associated with more frequent consumption of reality TV programs, drama programs, sports programs, and pornography, as well as greater acceptance of objectification and more sexual deception behaviors. Because sexual experience and Middle Eastern identity were significantly associated with the outcome variables at $p < .01$, we included them as control variables in our analyses.

Testing the Main Research Questions

We used MPlus software (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2015) to conduct SEM with maximum likelihood estimator to test our main research questions (Figure 1). For each of our latent variables (acceptance of objectification, rape myth acceptance, and sexual deception), we created three parcels using the item-to-parcel balance technique (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002) so that individual scale items were distributed across three indicators in order of their factor loadings (i.e., the highest loading item on Parcel 1, second highest on Parcel 2, third highest on Parcel 3, fourth highest on Parcel 1, etc.). Our measures of media use were treated as manifest variables.

We followed the recommendations of Anderson and Gerbing (1988) to test our proposed model. First, we tested a measurement model for the latent constructs in which each latent construct is permitted to vary freely with all other latent constructs. The measurement model provided an acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(24) = 74.69$, $p < .001$, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .08 with 90% confidence interval (CI) [.06, .10], comparative fit index (CFI) = .96, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .05. Next, we tested our proposed structural model (Figure 2), in which acceptance of objectification mediates the relations among media use, rape myth acceptance, and sexual deception (Figure 2). The model provided an acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(76) = 174.72$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .07 with 90% CI [.06, .08], CFI = .92, SRMR = .05, Akaike information criterion (AIC) = 2,974.64.

Our first hypothesis was that media use would be associated with greater acceptance of objectification; this hypothesis was partially supported. Exposure to reality TV programs, sports programming, and pornography was each associated with greater acceptance of objectification (Figure 2). However, consumption of drama programs and sitcoms was not associated with acceptance of sexual objectification. Our second hypothesis was that acceptance of objectification would be associated with greater rape myth acceptance and sexual deception; this hypothesis was supported (Figure 2).

Our third hypothesis was that acceptance of objectification would mediate the relation between media use and rape myth acceptance, and media use and sexual deception. To test this hypothesis, we calculated the indirect effect (IE) and bootstrapped CIs (1,000 iterations) for each mediation relation. Our results suggest that acceptance of objectification mediates the relation between sports programming and rape myth acceptance, IE = .10 [.04, .16], the relation between sports programming and sexual deception, IE = .09 [.04, .15], the relation between pornography viewing and rape myth acceptance, IE = .13 [.06, .19], and the

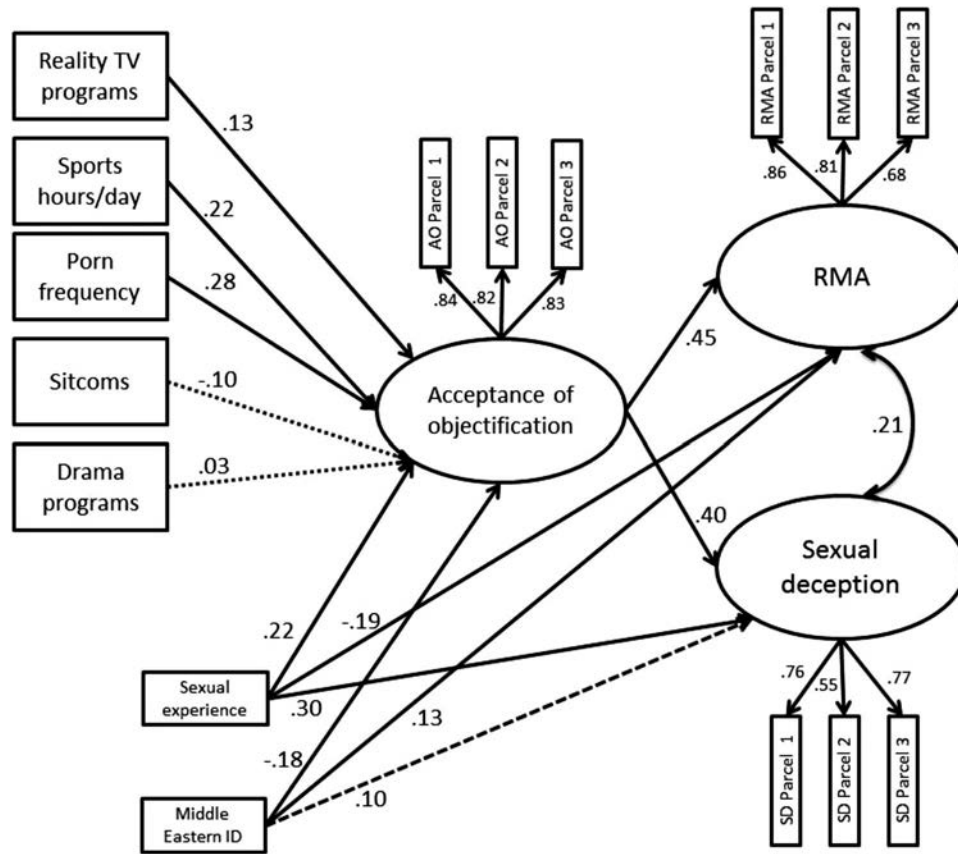


Figure 2. Finalized structural model. Solid arrows indicate $p < .05$; dashed arrows indicate nonstatistically significant relations. AO = acceptance of objectification; RMA = rape myth acceptance; SD = sexual deception.

relation between pornography viewing and sexual deception, $IE = .11$ [.05, .18]. Acceptance of objectification did not mediate the relations among reality TV, rape myth acceptance, and sexual deception; relations among sitcoms, rape myth acceptance, and sexual deception; or relations among drama programs, rape myth acceptance, and sexual deception. Thus, our hypothesis was partially supported. Overall, our mediated model accounted for 31.1% of the variance in acceptance of objectification, 17.2% of the variance in rape myth acceptance, and 33.1% of the variance in sexual deception.

Alternative Models

To provide evidence that acceptance of objectification mediates the relations among media use, rape myth acceptance, and sexual deception, we compared the fit of our proposed model with two alternative models. In alternative model one, we tested whether acceptance of objectification was related to media use, which in turn was related to rape myth acceptance and sexual deception, $\chi^2(89) = 321.03$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .09 with 90% CI [.08, .11], CFI = .82, SRMR = .12, AIC = 6,581.86, R^2 for acceptance of objectification = .17, R^2 for rape myth acceptance = .09, R^2 for sexual deception = .21. This model did not provide an acceptable fit to the data.

In alternative model two, we tested a model with direct pathways from the media variables to acceptance of objectification, rape myth acceptance, and sexual deception, $\chi^2(66) = 148.47$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .07 with 90% CI [.05, .08], CFI = .93, SRMR = .05, AIC = 2,968.40, R^2 for acceptance of objectification = .31, R^2 for rape myth acceptance = .06, R^2 for sexual deception = .27. Although the direct model provided a nearly equivalent fit as our proposed model, our proposed model explained a greater proportion of the variance in acceptance of objectification, rape myth acceptance, and sexual deception. Therefore, we concluded that our proposed model provided a better fit to the data than the alternative models.

Discussion

Our results indicate that consumption of reality TV, sports programming, and pornography is each associated with greater acceptance of objectification of women (Hypothesis 1), which in turn is associated with greater rape myth acceptance and more frequent acts of sexual deception among undergraduate men (Hypothesis 2). Objectification of women mediated the relations between sports programming consumption and indicators of sexual violence (i.e., rape myth acceptance and sexual deception), and among pornography consumption and sexual violence. We did not

find evidence of mediation for the relations among other TV genres (reality TV, drama programs, and sitcoms) and sexual violence (Hypothesis 3).

Despite evidence that media consumption, and especially use of sexually explicit media, is related to sexually aggressive behaviors and attitudes accepting of sexual violence, relatively little work has explored the mechanisms that explain why this relation exists (Rodenhizer & Edwards, 2017). Our results support theorizing by Gervais and Egan (2017) that objectification contributes to sexual violence indirectly by changing cultural norms about how women should be treated. On the basis of our results, we suggest that media, which frequently objectify women, may indirectly influence men's attitudes toward and perpetration of sexual violence by depicting women as sexual objects, devoid of agency and feeling. This study also adds to the mounting literature that indicates the many ways in which objectification is detrimental to women. Researchers have shown that objectification is related to myriad consequences for women, including lower cognitive functioning, poorer physical performance, more disordered eating, and higher rates of depression (American Psychological Association Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007); we add to that list by demonstrating that objectification of women in the media and by men is related to sexual violence against women.

Limitations

Before noting the implications of our study, we acknowledge limitations that future research should try to address. First, our findings are limited by a relatively homogenous sample. A majority of our participants were White, and all were enrolled at an undergraduate institution and identified as heterosexual or bisexual. Future studies should examine the model proposed in this study among minority youth while taking care to include TV programs popular among minority youth. We should also consider links between media use, acceptance of objectification, and sexual violence among gay and queer-identified men by using valid measures of acceptance of objectification of men and acceptance of rape myths about men (e.g., men cannot be raped because they always want sex; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1992). Second, we cannot draw conclusions about causality from our data. Media use may cause men to be more accepting of objectification and sexual violence, just as men who are more accepting of sexual violence and objectification of women may choose media content that reaffirms their beliefs. Longitudinal studies are needed to examine the possibility of a model with a feedback loop between media use and acceptance of objectification of women. Third, the pattern of missing data from men without sexual experience limits the generalizability of our findings. We suspect these men may have felt that the study was not relevant to them. However, it is important to assess the beliefs of men before they become sexually active. Encouraging young men to challenge objectification and rape myths may be particularly effective at reducing sexual violence among men once they become sexually active. Fourth, our TV genre variables did not capture all of the programs within that genre, but only a subset. Finally, the relatively low levels of rape myth acceptance and sexual deception suggest the possibility of social desirability bias.

Research Implications

Our study replicates a similar study of media consumption and attitudes toward sexual violence conducted by Wright and Tokunaga (2016). Similar to Wright and Tokunaga (2016), we found that acceptance of objectification of women mediated the relation between pornography consumption and rape myth acceptance. Unlike Wright and Tokunaga (2016), we did not find that objectification of women mediated the relation between reality TV consumption and rape myth acceptance. The measures used to assess reality TV may explain the discrepant findings. Wright and Tokunaga (2016) used a one-item measure of reality TV consumption frequency, whereas we asked participants to indicate how often they viewed 15 specific reality TV programs. Our list of 15 program is uniform, whereas Wright and Tokunaga's one-item measure of frequency does not allow us to know which programs participants are thinking of when they answer the question. Some participants may be thinking of highly objectifying programs (e.g., *Jersey Shore*), whereas other may be thinking of nonobjectifying programs (e.g., *House Hunters*).

We also expanded on Wright and Tokunaga's (2016) study in three important ways. First, we added additional TV genres to the proposed model, including sports programming, drama programs, and sitcoms. We found that objectification of women mediated the relations among sports programming and rape myth acceptance and sexual deception. Sports programming typically does not depict explicit acts of sexual violence, but previous researchers have found that sports programs do tend to depict objectifying images of women, for example, by featuring sexualized women (e.g., cheerleaders) in the background or on the sidelines (Duncan, Messner, Willms, & Wilson, 2005). Moreover, successful female athletes are often portrayed in sexualized poses (e.g., in *Sports Illustrated Swimsuit Edition*) rather than portrayed playing the sport for which they are known (Daniels, 2009; Messner, Duncan, & Cooky, 2003). Our results suggest that viewing sports programming, which is common among young men (Harper et al., 2014), is associated with greater objectification of women and, in turn, greater acceptance of rape myths and perpetration of sexual deception. Adding sports programming to the model as an additional genre further suggests that media content need not depict sexual violence explicitly to be related to sexual violence. Future research on media effects should consider genres that display both explicit and implicit depictions of the outcome of interest.

Neither drama program nor sitcom consumption was related to objectification of women. The differential findings across genres highlight the importance of considering TV genre when researching associations among TV viewing and attitudes and behaviors. Drama programs may contain fewer messages about objectification. In a content analysis of primetime TV, Kim and colleagues (2007) found that compared with sitcoms, drama programs contained fewer references to women as sexual objects. Some drama programs, such as *Law & Order: SVU*, depict sexual violence but may actually reduce acceptance of sexual violence because their content challenges commonly held rape myths (Cuklanz & Moorti, 2006). For example, in a survey of 313 college students, those that watched *Law & Order* reported lower rape myth acceptance than those who did not watch the program (Hust, Marett, Lei, Ren, & Ran, 2015). Although Kim and colleagues (2007) found that messages about women as sex objects were common in sitcoms,

the landscape of sitcoms has changed in recent years. The most popular sitcoms viewed in our sample included *Bob's Burgers* and *Community*, both of which have been identified as feminist TV programs (McCall, 2014; Schein, 2013) and therefore may contain less objectification of women.

Second, we expanded on the Wright and Tokunaga's (2016) study by using more comprehensive and reliable measures of acceptance of objectification of women and rape myth acceptance. By finding similar relations with more reliable measures, our results lend further support to the proposed model in which objectification of women is related to greater rape myth acceptance. Finally, we expanded on the Wright and Tokunaga's (2016) study by including sexual deception as a behavioral measure of sexual violence. Adding a behavioral measure of sexual violence adds support to the proposed model by suggesting that objectification of women is related not only to attitudes about sexual violence but also to behaviors indicative of sexual violence. Although sexual deception behaviors do not necessarily meet the definition of sexual assault, they do challenge the notion of consensual sexual activity. Is sexual activity consensual if one party lied about who they are or how they feel? Some legal scholars (Rubinfeld, 2012) argue that sexual activity by deception should be considered assault, just as other criminal acts by deception (e.g., pretending to be a utility worker to break into a house) are considered crimes. Moreover, legal definitions of sexual assault sometimes include inability to consent to sex due to incapacitation from alcohol or drugs (Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2007); therefore, the deception technique of giving drugs or alcohol to someone to have sex with them could be considered assault under the law.

Clinical and Policy Implications

On the basis of the results of our study, we conclude that the objectification of women may serve as a mechanism that links some TV genres (reality TV and sports programming) and pornography to sexual violence against women. Media literacy programs may be an important step in combatting acceptance of rape myths and sexual violence. Specifically, media literacy programs for men should challenge the idea that women exist for men's sexual pleasure to disrupt the link between media consumption and sexual violence. Challenging objectification of women may be especially important for those who have viewed pornography. For many emerging adults, pornography is their first form of sex education, as the average age of first viewing for men is 13 years old (Bischmann et al., 2017). Comprehensive sex education programs that include media literacy, especially related to pornography, are likely an important step in preventing sexual violence among young men.

References

- American Psychological Association Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls. (2007). *Report of the APA task force on the sexualization of girls*. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/pi/women/programs/girls/report-full.pdf>
- Anderson, J. C., & Gerbing, D. W. (1988). Structural equation modeling in practice: A review and recommended two-step approach. *Psychological Bulletin*, 103, 411–423. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.103.3.411>
- Aubrey, J. S., Hopper, K. M., & Mbure, W. G. (2011). Check that body! The effects of sexually objectifying music videos on college men's sexual beliefs. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 55, 360–379. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2011.597469>
- Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 1–26. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.52.1.1>
- Bernard, P., Loughnan, S., Marchal, C., Godart, A., & Klein, O. (2015). The exonerating effect of sexual objectification: Sexual objectification decreases rapist blame in a stranger rape context. *Sex Roles*, 72, 499–508. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0482-0>
- Bischmann, A. A., Richardson, C., Diener O'Leary, J., Gullickson, M., Davidson, M. M., & Gervais, S. J. (2017). *Age and experience of first exposure to pornography: Relations to masculine norms*. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.
- Bridges, A. J., Wosnitzer, R., Scharrer, E., Sun, C., & Liberman, R. (2010). Aggression and sexual behavior in best-selling pornography videos: A content analysis update. *Violence Against Women*, 16, 1065–1085. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077801210382866>
- Burgess, M. C. R., & Burpo, S. (2012). The effect of music videos on college students' perceptions of rape. *College Student Journal*, 46, 748–763.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 217–230. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217>
- Cuklanz, L. M., & Moorti, S. (2006). Television's "new" feminism: Prime-time representations of women and victimization. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 23, 302–321. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07393180600933121>
- Daniels, E. A. (2009). Sex objects, athletes, and sexy athletes: How media representations of women athletes can impact adolescent girls and college women. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 24, 399–422. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0743558409336748>
- Dill, K. E., Brown, B. P., & Collins, M. A. (2008). Effects of exposure to sex-stereotyped video game characters on tolerance of sexual harassment. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44, 1402–1408. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.06.002>
- Duncan, M. C., Messner, M. A., Willms, N., & Wilson, W. (2005). *Gender in televised sports: New and highlights shows, 1989–2004*. Retrieved from <http://library.la84.org/9arr/ResearchReports/tv2004.pdf>
- Ferris, A. L., Smith, S. W., Greenberg, B. S., & Smith, S. L. (2007). The content of reality dating shows and viewer perceptions of dating. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 490–510. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00354.x>
- Flynn, M. A., Park, S.-Y., Morin, D. T., & Stana, A. (2015). Anything but real: Body idealization and objectification of MTV docusoap characters. *Sex Roles*, 72, 173–182. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0464-2>
- Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T.-A. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21, 173–206. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00108.x>
- Frisby, C. M., & Aubrey, J. S. (2012). Race and genre in the use of sexual objectification in female artists' music videos. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 23, 66–87. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2012.641880>
- Fritz, N., & Paul, B. (2017). From orgasms to spanking: A content analysis of the agentic and objectifying sexual scripts in feminist, for women, and mainstream pornography. *Sex Roles*, 77, 639–652. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0759-6>
- Galdi, S., Maass, A., & Cadinu, M. (2014). Objectifying media: Their effect on gender role norms and sexual harassment of women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38, 398–413. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684313515185>
- Gerbner, G., & Gross, L. (1976). Living with television: The violence profile. *Journal of Communication*, 26, 172–199. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1976.tb01397.x>

- Gervais, S. J., DiLillo, D., & McChargue, D. (2014). Understanding the link between men's alcohol use and sexual violence perpetration: The mediating role of sexual objectification. *Psychology of Violence, 3*, 1–14.
- Gervais, S. J., & Eagan, S. (2017). Sexual objectification: The common thread connecting myriad forms of sexual violence against women. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 87*, 226–232. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/ort0000257>
- Hald, G. M., Malamuth, N. M., & Yuen, C. (2010). Pornography and attitudes supporting violence against women: Revisiting the relationship in nonexperimental studies. *Aggressive Behavior, 36*, 14–20. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ab.20328>
- Harper, C., Dunne, F., Pratten, C., Westover, I., Speight, B., & Banoub, S. (2014). *The global sports media consumption report: 2014 U.S. overview*. Retrieved from http://sportsvideo.org/main/files/2014/06/2014-Know-the-Fan-Study_US.pdf
- Heflick, N. A., & Goldenberg, J. L. (2009). Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*, 598–601. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.02.008>
- Hust, S. J., & Lei, M. (2008). Sexual objectification, sports programming and music television. *Media Report to Women, 36*, 16.
- Hust, S. J., Lei, M., Ren, C., Chang, H., McNab, A. L., Marett, E. G., & Willoughby, J. F. (2013). The effects of sports media exposure on college students' rape myth beliefs and intentions to intervene in a sexual assault. *Mass Communication and Society, 16*, 762–786. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2013.816737>
- Hust, S. J., Marett, E. G., Lei, M., Ren, C., & Ran, W. (2015). Law & Order, CSI, and NCIS: The association between exposure to crime drama franchises, rape myth acceptance, and sexual consent negotiation among college students. *Journal of Health Communication, 20*, 1369–1381. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10810730.2015.1018615>
- Hust, S. J., Rodgers, K. B., Ebreo, S., & Stefani, W. (2016). Rape myth acceptance, efficacy, and heterosexual scripts in men's magazines. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886260516653752>
- Kaestle, C. E., Halpern, C. T., & Brown, J. D. (2007). Music videos, pro wrestling, and acceptance of date rape among middle school males and females: An exploratory analysis. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 40*, 185–187. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2006.08.010>
- Kahlor, L., & Eastin, M. S. (2011). Television's role in the culture of violence toward women: A study of television viewing and the cultivation of rape myth acceptance in the united states. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 55*, 215–231. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2011.566085>
- Kahlor, L., & Morrison, D. (2007). Television viewing and rape myth acceptance among college women. *Sex Roles, 56*, 729–739. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9232-2>
- Kim, J. L., Sorsoli, C. L., Collins, K., Zylbergold, B. A., Schooler, D., & Tolman, D. L. (2007). From sex to sexuality: Exposing the heterosexual script on primetime network television. *Journal of Sex Research, 44*, 145–157. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224490701263660>
- Kistler, M. E., & Lee, M. J. (2009). Does exposure to sexual hip-hop music videos influence the sexual attitudes of college students? *Mass Communication and Society, 13*, 67–86. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15205430902865336>
- Klaassen, M. J., & Peter, J. (2015). Gender (in)equality in internet pornography: A content analysis of popular pornographic internet videos. *Journal of Sex Research, 52*, 721–735. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2014.976781>
- Krebs, C. P., Lindquist, C. H., Warner, T. D., Fisher, B. S., & Martin, S. L. (2007). *The campus sexual assault (CSA) study*. Washington, DC. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d14/tables/dt14_105.20.asp
- Lanis, K., & Covell, K. (1995). Images of women in advertisements: Effects on attitudes related to sexual aggression. *Sex Roles, 32*, 639–649. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF01544216>
- Lei, M., Hust, S. J., Ran, W., Ren, C., & Marett, E. G. (2013). Watching soap operas negatively associated with sexual consent negotiation intentions. *Media Report to Women, 41*, 6.
- Little, T. D., Cunningham, W. A., Shahar, G., & Widaman, K. F. (2002). To parcel or not to parcel: Exploring the question, weighing the merits. *Structural Equation Modeling, 9*, 151–173. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15328007SEM0902_1
- Loughnan, S., Haslam, N., Murnane, T., Vaes, J., Reynolds, C., & Suitner, C. (2010). Objectification leads to depersonalization: The denial of mind and moral concern to objectified others. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 40*, 709–717.
- Loughnan, S., Pina, A., Vasquez, E. A., & Puvia, E. (2013). Sexual objectification increases rape victim blame and decreases perceived suffering. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37*, 455–461. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684313485718>
- Marelich, W. D., Lundquist, J., Painter, K., & Mechanic, M. B. (2008). Sexual deception as a social-exchange process: Development of a behavior-based sexual deception scale. *Journal of Sex Research, 45*, 27–35. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224490701596176>
- McCall, A. (2014, August 23). *Feminism in a run-down taffy factory: The women of 'Bob's Burgers'*. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/sections/monkeysee/2014/08/23/342397137/feminism-in-a-run-down-taffy-factory-the-women-of-bobs-burgers>
- Messineo, M. J. (2008). Does advertising on black entertainment television portray more positive gender representations compared to broadcast networks? *Sex Roles, 59*, 752–764. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9470-y>
- Messner, M. A., Duncan, M. C., & Cooky, C. (2003). Silence, sports bras, and wrestling porn: Women in televised sports news and highlights shows. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 27*, 38–51.
- Milburn, M. A., Mather, R., & Conrad, S. D. (2000). The effects of viewing r-rated movie scenes that objectify women on perceptions of date rape. *Sex Roles, 43*, 645–664. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1007152507914>
- Morse, T. (2007). *The Sexual Objectification Scale: Continued development and psychometric evaluation*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (1998–2015). *Mplus user's guide* (7th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Author.
- Peter, J., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2009). Adolescents' exposure to sexually explicit internet material and notions of women as sex objects: Assessing causality and underlying processes. *Journal of Communication, 59*, 407–433. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2009.01422.x>
- Rodenhizer, K. A. E., & Edwards, K. M. (2017). The impacts of sexual media exposure on adolescent and emerging adults' dating and sexual violence attitudes and behaviors: A critical review of the literature. *Trauma, Violence and Abuse*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1524838017717745>
- Romero-Sánchez, M., Megías, J. L., & Krahé, B. (2012). The role of alcohol and victim sexual interest in Spanish students' perceptions of sexual assault. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 27*, 2230–2258. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886260511432149>
- Rubenfeld, J. (2012). The riddle of rape-by-deception and the myth of sexual autonomy. *The Yale Law Journal, 122*, 1372–1443.
- Rudman, L. A., & Mescher, K. (2012). Of animals and objects: Men's implicit dehumanization of women and likelihood of sexual aggression. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 38*, 734–746. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167212436401>
- Schein, Z. (2013, February 7). *Rejoicing for the return of Community, NBC's subversive feminist sitcom*. Retrieved from <https://www.bitchmedia.org/post/season-premiere-nbc-community-the-subversive-feminist-sitcom>

- Shrum, L. J. (1996). Psychological processes underlying cultivation effects: Further tests of construct accessibility. *Human Communication Research*, 22, 482–509. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.1996.tb00376.x>
- Smith, S. L., Choueiti, M., Prescott, A., & Pieper, K. (2012). *Gender roles and occupations: A look at character attributes and job-related aspiration in film and television*. Retrieved from <https://seejane.org/wp-content/uploads/key-findings-gender-roles-2013.pdf>
- Struckman-Johnson, C., & Struckman-Johnson, D. (1992). Acceptance of male rape myths among college men and women. *Sex Roles*, 27, 85–100. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00290011>
- Tyler, K. A., Hoyt, D. R., & Whitbeck, L. B. (1998). Coercive sexual strategies. *Violence and Victims*, 13, 47–61.
- van Oosten, J. M. F., Peter, J., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2015). The influence of sexual music videos on adolescents' misogynistic beliefs. *Communication Research*, 42, 986–1008. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093650214565893>
- Ward, L. M. (2002). Does television exposure affect emerging adults' attitudes and assumptions about sexual relationships? Correlational and experimental confirmation. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 31, 1–15. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1014068031532>
- Ward, L. M. (2016). Media and sexualization: State of empirical research, 1995–2015. *Journal of Sex Research*, 53, 560–577. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1142496>
- Ward, L. M., Seabrook, R. C., Manago, A., & Reed, L. (2016). Contributions of diverse media to self-sexualization among undergraduate women and men. *Sex Roles*, 74, 12–23. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0548-z>
- Ward, L. M., Vandebosch, L., & Eggermont, S. (2015). The impact of men's magazines on adolescent boys' objectification and courtship beliefs. *Journal of Adolescence*, 39, 49–58. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2014.12.004>
- Wright, P. J. (2011). Mass media effects on youth sexual behavior: Assessing the claim for causality. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 35, 343–385. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2011.11679121>
- Wright, P. J., & Tokunaga, R. S. (2016). Men's objectifying media consumption, objectification of women, and attitudes supportive of violence against women. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 45, 955–964. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0644-8>
- Wright, P. J., Tokunaga, R. S., & Kraus, A. (2016). A meta-analysis of pornography consumption and actual acts of sexual aggression in general population studies. *Journal of Communication*, 66, 183–205. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12201>

Received October 2, 2017

Revision received February 27, 2018

Accepted March 28, 2018 ■