BARBARA KRAHÉ

SEXUAL AGGRESSION IN ADOLESCENCE:
RISKY SEXUAL SCRIPTS AND SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

Definition of sexual aggression and prevalence in adolescence

In the development of sexuality in adolescence, two tasks are of prime importance. First, adolescents need to develop the ability to engage in sexual relationships in a self-determined way and reject unwanted sexual advances. Second, they have to learn to respect their partners’ right to sexual self-determination and refrain from any behaviors that might put pressure on another person to engage in sexual activities. A growing body of evidence shows, however, that the use of coercive strategies to pursue one’s sexual interests is widespread in the critical period of adolescence and may have a lasting negative impact on sexual development. The present chapter discusses risk factors linked to an increased probability of engaging in, or experiencing, unwanted sexual contact. In particular, it examines the role of sexual scripts as cognitive representations of sexual relations that serve as guidelines for sexual behavior.

The term sexual aggression denotes a range of sexual activities, such as sexual intercourse, oral sex, kissing and sexual touch, imposed on other persons without their consent, through the use of different coercive strategies, such as verbal pressure, threat or use of physical force, or exploiting the other’s inability to resist (Krahé & Berger, 2013). Sexual aggression can be analyzed both from the perpetrators’ and the victims’ perspective. The research presented in this chapter focuses on sexual aggression in heterosexual victim-perpetrator constellations. However, it is important to acknowledge that as shown by a growing body of evidence, sexual aggression is also a problem in same-sex encounters (see Krahé, 2013, for a summary). A comprehensive review of the available studies on sexual aggression among young people aged 12 to 25 in 27 countries of the European Union has shown that both the perpetration of and victimization by sexual aggression

*Barbara Krahé – Professor of Psychology, Department of Psychology, University of Potsdam, Germany.
are widespread problems among young people in Europe (Krahé, Tomaszewska, Kuyper, & Vanwesenbeeck, 2014). Rates of female victimization since the age of legal consent were above 50% in some countries (Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden), and male victimization rates of similar magnitude were found in Spain and the Netherlands. Perpetration rates above 50% were found for men in Greece and Spain, and - although the number of studies was small overall - female perpetration rates in the region of 40% were found in the Netherlands and Spain. Studies examining one-year prevalence rates also revealed that victimization and perpetration rates are substantial across Europe, despite wide variations within and between countries. For Poland, the data from the Baltic Sea Regional Study on Adolescents’ Sexuality showed that 8.4% of girls and 25.1% of boys at the age of 18 reported having been forced into sexual intercourse, and 21.7% of the boys compared to 4.2% of the girls reported having forced another person to have sexual intercourse (Izdebski, 2007, 2012). Including less severe forms of sexual coercion, such as verbal pressure without the use or threat of force, Doroszewicz and Forbes (2008) found far higher rates of lifetime victimization (38.6% of men; 57% of women) as well as perpetration (41.6% of men; 39% of women) in their sample of Polish college students. Overall, the existing evidence clearly shows that sexual aggression is a problem that affects young people’s sexual health and well-being to a considerable extent. Therefore, understanding the antecedents and processes that are linked to sexual aggression and victimization is a crucial task to inform evidence-based intervention efforts. The remaining sections of this chapter will focus on one particular construct, namely sexual scripts, in the attempt to explain how cognitive representations of consensual sexual encounters may relate to the likelihood of experiencing or committing sexual aggression.

**Sexual scripts**

*Sexual scripts* are conceptualized as cognitive representations of prototypical sequences of events in sexual interactions (Metts & Spitzberg, 1996; Simon & Gagnon, 1986). They contain an individual’s generalized knowledge, abstracted from direct or vicarious experience with specific sexual encounters, about the typical elements and events of a sexual interaction, including expectations about the behaviors of the partner and normative beliefs about the appropriateness of specific sexual behaviors. Sexual scripts are embedded in cultural norms about sexuality and reflect consensually shared gender stereotypes and gender-typed behavioral expectations (Krahé, 2000).
The core assumption underlying our research on the role of sexual scripts in understanding sexual aggression is that young people's scripts for consensual sexual interactions are linked to the odds of engaging in sexual aggression or experiencing sexual victimization through their impact on behavior in specific sexual interactions. We propose that if scripts for consensual sexual interactions contain, as characteristic features, representations of behaviors that have been shown to be linked to sexual aggression and victimization, this should make it more likely that the person will show sexual aggression or experience sexual victimization. For example, if drinking alcohol when having sex is part of an individual's script for consensual sexual interactions, the person is likely to drink alcohol in situations where he or she has sex. As alcohol use has been linked to an increased risk of sexual victimization as well as perpetration, the person who enacts the sexual script in which drinking is an integral part is thought to be more likely to be victimized or become a perpetrator of sexual aggression.

*Risk elements* are defined as those features of sexual encounters that have been shown empirically to be associated with a higher likelihood of sexual aggression and victimization (see Krahé, 2013, for a summary). Based on a large body of literature on risk factors of sexual aggression and victimization, our program of research has focused on three categories of behavioral risk factors and their representation in adolescents' sexual scripts: (1) engaging in noncommittal sexual relationships with casual partners; (2) drinking alcohol in the context of sexual encounters; and (3) using ambiguous communication strategies in the negotiation of sexual intimacy.

*Noncommittal sexual relationships.* Being ready to engage in casual sex with many partners has been associated with a higher probability of sexual aggression and victimization because it increases the number of opportunities for perpetration. In brief, in casual relationships there is less time to develop effective communication patterns for negotiating sexual interests, increasing the probability of misunderstandings that may lead to sexual aggression (Dines, 2010). Sexually aggressive men were found to be more sexually active than non-perpetrators (Abbey & Jacques-Tiura, 2011) and to show a greater preference for impersonal sex with varying partners (Swartout, 2013). A study by Flack et al. (2007) found that 78% of unwanted sexual experiences took place in casual sexual encounters.

*Ambiguous communication of sexual intentions.* Sending out ambiguous messages about sexual intentions in the form of saying "no" but meaning "yes" or saying "yes" but meaning "no" has been found to be associated with an increased likelihood of men’s sexual aggression (Krahé, Scheinberger-Olwig, & Kolpin, 2000) and women’s sexual victimization (Shotland & Hun-
Thus, if the use of ambiguous communication strategies is a part of adolescents’ sexual scripts, this could enhance their vulnerability to sexual aggression and victimization. Furthermore, the research by Loh Gidycz, Lobo, and Luthra (2005) has found that men’s perception that a female partner had said "no" when meaning "yes" was linked to sexual aggression. If they use ambiguous communication strategies themselves, perpetrators may perceive what their partners communicate as ambivalent and may misinterpret resistance cues by women.

Finally, the consumption of alcohol in the context of sexual interactions has been widely established as a risk factor for sexual aggression and victimization alike (Abbey et al., 2004). As a risk factor for perpetration, alcohol disinhibits aggressive behavior and contributes to the misperception of sexual intents of a partner. As a vulnerability factor for sexual victimization, alcohol use may signal sexual availability, impair risk perception, and decrease the ability to physically resist unwanted sexual advances. As Morr and Mongeau (2004) showed, alcohol is linked to sexual intimacy in generalized representations of dating encounters. Their participants thought that sexual intimacy would be more likely if alcohol was available on a date.

The three studies presented in the following sections addressed the role of these risk factors in adolescents’ scripts for consensual sexual interactions and related them to the problem of sexual aggression. Study 1 examined how the extent to which the risk factors are part of sexual scripts changes as adolescents become sexually active and how they are linked to sexual behavior and the acceptance of sexual aggression over time. Study 2 used a prospective design to link risky sexual scripts to sexual behavior as well as to reports of sexual aggression and victimization. Finally, Study 3 examined the links between the use of pornography and risky scripts, and investigated the mediating role of sexual scripts between pornography use and the normative acceptance of sexual aggression.

Study 1: Sexual scripts, sexual behavior and the normative acceptance of sexual aggression

Sexual scripts are generalized cognitive representations about the characteristic elements of sexual encounters. Scripts may be held about young people’s behavior as a group, generalizing about both situations and persons (general scripts), and about the individual’s own behavior, generalizing about situations, but not about persons (individual scripts). As competent members of their culture, young people may be aware of the general sexual script of their age group without necessarily seeing it as a guideline for their
own behavior. By contrast, the individual script is an abstract representation of the individual’s personal norms and beliefs about sexual interactions that should shape sexual behavior. The impact of actual sexual experience should also be stronger on the individual than on the general script.

**Method** In line with these considerations, a study was conducted with N = 283 high school students in Germany (163 female) who were in 10th or 11th grade and participated in two assessments at the beginning and the end of the school year (time interval: nine months). At the first assessment, the mean age was 15.7 years.

At both assessments, participants completed measures of the general and individual scripts for a first sexual intercourse with a new partner. This situation was selected because the unpredictability of the first intercourse with a new partner should promote the reliance on generalized sexual scripts as guidelines of behavior (see Krahé, Bieneck, & Scheinberger-Olwig, 2007a). The instructions for the script measures are presented in Box 1.

Parallel versions were designed for boys and girls that described the interactions from the perspective of a member of their own sex. For each script, a list of characteristic features was provided, referring to the situational background (events leading up to the sexual interaction), the sexual interaction itself, risk elements in the context of the sexual interaction, and evaluation and outlook following the sexual interaction. For the present analysis, only the risk elements of the scripts will be considered. A full analysis of the scripts as a whole including all categories is reported by Krahé, Bieneck, and Scheinberger-Olwig (2007b).

**Risk elements** were operationalized through five features identified in previous research as increasing the risk of sexual aggression or victimization. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which the following features were characteristic of each of the two scripts.

1. **Length of previous acquaintanceship** (e.g., Had they (you) met, just the two of them (you), before that evening?)
2. **Alcohol consumption** by the boy and by the girl (e.g., How likely is it that alcohol is consumed by the girl/boy?)
3. **Drug consumption** by the boy and by the girl (e.g., How likely is it that drugs are taken by the girl/boy?)
4. **Degree of intoxication** by the boy and the girl (e.g., How drunk/stoned is the boy/girl)
5. **Ambiguous communication of sexual intentions** (e.g., How likely is it that the girl first says "no" even though she also wants to have sex with him?). A detailed description of this measure is presented in Krahé et al. (2007a).
Box 1. Instructions for the measures of general and individual sexual scripts (from Krahé et al., 2007b)

(1) **General script:** ratings of the characteristic features of a first consensual sexual intercourse with a new partner as assumed for the age group as a whole. The instruction for this script read as follows:
Please imagine the following situation and describe the typical elements and events in such an encounter, not in terms of how you think they will happen to you, but in terms of how you think they will happen to most young people in general.

**A girl and a boy spend the evening together. In the course of the evening, they have sexual intercourse for the first time.**

Please do not think of a particular situation but imagine how such situations typically happen for most young people.

(2) **Individual script:** ratings of the characteristic features of a first consensual sexual intercourse with a new partner as perceived for the respondent himself or herself. The instruction for this script read as follows:

In this part of the questionnaire, we want you to imagine a situation that concerns you personally.

**You spend the evening with a boy (a girl). In the course of the evening, you have sexual intercourse for the first time.**

Please imagine this situation and describe how it might take place. You are not asked to describe one particular situation you have experienced in the past. Rather, we would like to know what you think a situation like this would normally look like.

*The normative acceptance* of the risk elements of sexual scripts was measured by a 10-item scale. The items referred to (a) engagement in sexual contact with a partner the person does not know well (e.g., It is ok for a girl to have sex with a boy on their first night out); (b) alcohol consumption during a sexual encounter (e.g., Drinking alcohol when meeting a girl and having sex with her is part of the game); and (c) ambiguous communication of sexual intentions in the form of saying "no" when meaning "yes" and saying "yes" when meaning "no" (see Krahé et al., 2007a).
The acceptance of sexual aggression (i.e., the extent to which participants found it acceptable to use physical aggression to make a partner engage in sexual intercourse) was measured by the following question: "Imagine a boy wants to have sexual intercourse with a girl, but the girl says 'no'. Under what circumstances would you find it understandable that the boy uses or threatens to use physical force (e.g., hurt her, hold her down) to make her have sex with him?" The question was followed by 14 potential justifications for using (or threatening to use) physical aggression to force a girl into sexual intercourse (e.g., when the boy is too aroused to stop himself; when the girl had sex with him before; when they had been in a relationship for some time) (Krahé, 2007a).

To obtain a behavioral measure reflecting the application of sexual scripts as cognitive representations to actual behavior, participants who had already experienced their first sexual intercourse were asked to report how often they had shown the behaviors represented in the scripts in the context of a sexual interaction. Specifically, they were asked to indicate how often (1) they had drunk alcohol in situations where they had slept with a girl/boy; (2) the partner had drunk alcohol; (3) they had said "no" to a sexual offer when, in fact, meaning "yes"; and (4) they had said "yes" without any real desire for sex. In addition, they were asked to indicate how many sexual partners with and without a steady relationship they had had and to rate how long they had known their partners before their first sexual intercourse. Altogether, these seven questions formed an index of risk elements in sexual behavior. At T2, the same questions were asked again for the period since T1 (i.e., in the last nine months). The number of participants with coital experience at T2 was n = 128. This group included n = 41 participants who had their first sexual intercourse in the period between T1 and T2 (referred to as "novices") and n = 87 participants who had already been sexually experienced at T1 (referred to as "experienced"). The remaining participants were inexperienced at both T1 and T2.

Results and discussion The risk scores in the general and individual scripts were significantly correlated (r = .51 at T1 and r = .55 at T2). However, the correlations were far from perfect, indicating that they reflect different representations of sexual interactions. The normative acceptance of the risk factors increased over time among those participants who became sexually active in the period between T1 and T2 (novices), whereas it remained at stable high and low levels among the experienced and inexperienced youths respectively. Figure 1 shows the pattern of change.

Comparing the risk scores in participants’ general and individual scripts, it was found that risk scores were higher at both points in time
in the scripts attributed to the peer group in general than in the individual scripts (general scripts: $M = 2.59$; individual scripts: $M = 2.12$ on a scale from 1 to 5), suggesting that individual scripts are less risk-prone. As expected and shown in Figure 2, risk features at T1 in the individual scripts predicted risk scores in actual behavior at T2, mediated by the extent to which the risk factors were normatively accepted. Risk features in the general scripts were unrelated to risk behavior at T2.

The direct path from T1 individual script scores to T2 risky behavior was reduced to nonsignificance when the normative acceptance of the risk factors was included as a mediator (Sobel $z = 2.81$, $p < .01$). Finally, Study 1 was designed to provide a first test of the proposed link between risk factors in the sexual scripts for consensual sexual interactions and the acceptance of sexual aggression, as shown in Figure 3.

In line with our predictions, more risky sexual scripts at T1 predicted higher acceptance of sexual aggression at T2. The link was partially mediated by the normative acceptance of the risky script elements, as indicated...
In combination, the findings from Study 1 have shown that adolescents hold related, but distinctive sexual scripts about the first intercourse with a new partner for themselves and the peer group in general. Individual scripts, but not general scripts, varied as a function of sexual experience. The findings were consistent with a cross-sectional study conducted with adolescents in Poland (Krahé & Tomaszewska-Jedrysiak, 2011). Furthermore, risk scores were higher among experienced than among inexperienced participants at T1, and those who had their first sexual intercourse in the period between T1 and T2 showed a significant increase in the normative acceptance of the risky script elements. For participants who were sexually experienced at T2, risky scripts measured at T1 significantly predicted risky behavior nine months later, and this link was mediated by a higher normative acceptance of the risk factors. Finally, we found that the more the risk elements of sexual aggression were contained in the individual sexual scripts at T1, the more acceptable participants rated the use of sexual aggression to be at T2, with the path being partly mediated by the normative endorsement of the risk factors in the sexual scripts.

Study 2: Sexual scripts as prospective predictors of sexual aggression and victimization

The main purpose of this study was to further explore the role of sexual scripts for consensual interactions in predicting sexual aggression and victimization. To this end, a new study was conducted with an older sample of adolescents that included a higher proportion of sexually experienced participants, which again used a prospective design covering two data points. The central hypothesis was that the extent to which sexual scripts for consensual interactions contain risk factors for sexual aggression and
victimization, such as alcohol use, sex with casual partners and ambiguous communication of sexual interests, would be prospectively linked to reports of sexual aggression by men and sexual victimization by women.

Method
A total of N = 232 students (132 female) who were in 12th and 13th grade of high school took part in two assessments at the start (T1) and the end (T2) of the school year with a nine-month interval. The mean age was 19 years, and 81.4% of participants had coital experience at T1.

The same instruments as in Study 1 were used to measure risk elements in sexual scripts, their normative acceptance, risky sexual behavior and normative acceptance of sexual aggression. As a new measure, a German adaptation of the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Koss & Oros, 1982) was used to measure female victimization and male perpetration of sexual aggression. This measure, which contained parallel items for perpetration and victimization, combined three coercive strategies (verbal pressure, exploiting the victim’s incapacitated state, threat or use of physical force) with three victim-perpetrator relationships (current or former partner, friend/acquaintance, stranger) and three types of sexual acts (sexual touch, attempted and completed intercourse). A total of 31.7% of female participants reported the experience of at least one form of sexual victimization, a total of 14% of male participants reported having shown at least one form of sexual aggression.

Results and discussion
The first part of the data analysis sought to replicate the findings from Study 1. Consistent with the results for the younger sample, it was found that the normative acceptance of risk elements of sexual aggression in individuals’ sexual scripts predicted behavioral risk-taking as well as the acceptance of force in relationships. They also supported the conceptual distinction between individual and general sexual scripts by showing that individual but not general scripts were linked to sexual behavior.

In the main part of the data analysis, the risk elements in individuals’ sexual scripts were linked to men’s engagement in sexually aggressive behavior as well as women’s experience of sexual victimization. Men who reported sexual aggression at T2 had incorporated the risk factors of sexual aggression in their individual scripts at T1 to a higher extent: the mean risk score in sexual scripts for perpetrators of sexual aggression was M = 2.50, compared to M = 2.15 in the non-perpetrator group, p < .05. A parallel difference was found for women. Women in the victim group had a higher mean risk score in their individual scripts at T1, M = 2.07, compared to non-victimized women, M = 1.97, p < .05. However, no significant
paths were found from behavioral risk scores or the normative acceptance of risk elements at T1 to sexual aggression and victimization at T2, which indicates that the path from T1 sexual scripts to T2 sexual aggression and victimization was not mediated by these two variables. Future research is needed to investigate the psychological processes leading from risky sexual scripts to higher odds of sexual aggression and victimization.

Study 3: The role of pornography in informing sexual scripts

As noted above, sexual scripts are acquired in the process of socialization through direct experience as well as vicarious reinforcement. Pornographic media represent one potential source of influence that may shape sexual scripts (Bowleg, Burkholder, Noar, Teti, Malebranche, & Tschann, 2013). They portray casual sexual interactions often involving alcohol use and showing an initially reluctant woman giving in to a man’s continuous pressure (Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, & Liberman, 2010; Cowan, Lee, & Snyder, 1988). Thus, pornography use may inform risky sexual scripts, which in turn predict the acceptance of sexual aggression, as shown in Studies 1 and 2. In a cross-sectional study, we examined the links between both general and violent pornography use with risk scores in adolescents’ sexual scripts and their acceptance of sexual aggression (see Krahé, 2011, for a detailed description).

Method A sample of N = 197 high school students in 8th to 10th grade (100 girls) with a mean age of 14.9 years participated in this study. They completed a self-report questionnaire that assessed (a) general pornography use (e.g., Have you ever seen people engage in sexual intercourse on TV, in films, on a mobile phone) and (b) use of violent pornography (e.g., Have you ever seen films in which women were forced to engage in sexual acts?). Responses were made on a five-point scale (1 = never, 5 = very often). In addition, risk scores in individual sexual scripts and the acceptance of sexual aggression were measured using the same instruments as in Studies 1 and 2.

Results and discussion Almost all participants (98.5%) reported having seen pornographic media contents at least once, and 45.3% reported having seen depictions of sexual violence. The mean frequency scores on the five-point scale were M = 2.54 for overall pornography use and M = 1.74 for violent pornography use. A significant positive correlation of r = .19 (p < .01) was found between violent pornography use and acceptance of sexual aggression, whereas the correlation for pornography use in general was nonsignificant. Both general and violent pornography use were correlated
with the risk scores in participants’ sexual scripts, with a stronger link for general pornography use ($r = .54; p < .001$) than for violent pornography use ($r = .17, p < .05$). Replicating the findings of the two previous studies, a significant positive correlation was found between risky sexual scripts and the acceptance of sexual aggression ($r = .23, p < .001$).

In addition to the direct link of violent pornography use with the acceptance of sexual aggression, we examined the role of risky sexual scripts as a potential mediator. As shown in Figure 4, and in line with our predictions, the direct path from violent pornography use to acceptance of sexual aggression ($b = .19$) was significantly reduced ($ß = .15; \text{Sobel } z = 1.74, p < .05, \text{one-tailed}$) when risk scores in sexual scripts were included in the analysis.

![Figure 4. Risk scores in sexual scripts as mediators between violent pornography use and acceptance of sexual aggression (based on Krahé, 2011)](image)

Although the cross-sectional nature of the study precludes any inferences about a causal influence, the data provides first evidence that violent pornography use is linked to sexual scripts and to the acceptance of sexual aggression. It is important to note that the link was specific to the use of violent pornography and not found for our measure of general pornography use. This finding is in line with other research on the link between violence in the media and aggression, which has also found that the impact is critically dependent on the violent content of media depictions, not media use as such (e.g., Krahé, Busching, & Möller, 2012).

**Conclusion and outlook**

The present series of studies has examined the sexual scripts that adolescents have for consensual sexual encounters and the extent to which they contain characteristic features that have been linked to the problem of sexual aggression. We showed that the more scripts for the first sexual intercourse
with a new partner included aspects such as drinking alcohol, using ambiguous strategies for communicating sexual intentions in the form of saying "no" but meaning "yes" or, alternatively, saying "yes" despite meaning "no" and being willing to engage in sex with a casual partner, the higher the risk of experiencing sexual victimization, engaging in sexual aggression, and accepting the use of aggression to pursue sexual intentions. Two longitudinal studies covering an interval of nine months demonstrated that risky sexual scripts prospectively predicted corresponding risky sexual behavior, the acceptance of the use of force to pursue sexual interests, and sexual aggression as well as victimization. There was also clear evidence that it is a person's individual script in the form of cognitive representations of sexual encounters for him/herself that guides behavior, not a person’s knowledge of general sexual scripts attributed to the age group as a whole. In combination with the finding that sexual scripts become more risky as adolescents take up sexual activity, this evidence highlights the importance of addressing sexual scripts as part of sexual health education and sexual violence prevention efforts. Moreover, the link between the use of violent pornography and the acceptance of sexual aggression was found to be mediated by sexual scripts, which - if confirmed by future longitudinal studies - also assigns a critical role to sexual scripts as targets for systematic interventions. Recent studies have developed interventions designed to change sexual scripts in the context of HIV prevention and reported encouraging results (Dworkin, Beckford, & Ehrhardt, 2007). It is time for similar efforts directed at changing sexual scripts to prevent sexual aggression in the critical developmental period of adolescence.

References


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Barbara Krahé

Agresja seksualna w wieku dorastania:
ryzykowne skrypty seksualne i zachowania seksualne

Słowa kluczowe: agresja seksualna, młodzież, skrypty seksualne, aktywność seksualna, wiktymizacja, pornografia.

Wiek dorastania jest krytycznym okresem, w którym kształtują się wzory zachowań seksualnych oraz norm związanych z seksualnością. Rozwój skryptów seksualnych odgrywa ważną rolę w tym procesie. Niniejsza praca skupia się na tych elementach w skryptach związanych z ugodowymi interakcjami seksualnymi, które odnoszą się do wzmożonego ryzyka seksualnej agresji oraz wiktymizacji (takie jak spożycie alkoholu, przypadkowy seks, niejednoznaczna komunikacja). Badanie 1 prezentuje wyniki wzdłużne pokazujące, że ryzykowne czynniki agresji seksualnej stają się bardziej widoczne w skryptach młodzieży, jako że wtedy właśnie zaczyna być ona aktywna seksualnie, oraz że elementy ryzyka skryptów seksualnych są wpisane w zachowanie seksualne. Badanie 2 pokazuje, że elementy ryzyka w skryptach seksualnych przepowiadają prawdopodobieństwo seksualnej agresji i wiktymizacji dziewięć miesięcy później. Natomiast Badanie 3 dowodzi, że korzystanie przez młodzież z ciężkiej pornografii jest związane z większą akceptacją agresji seksualnej, która pojawia się za pośrednictwem większego znaczenia elementów ryzyka agresji seksualnej w ich skryptach.