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The Effect Of Sexually Objectifying Media And Social Threat On Sexual Coercion

Carissa Ann Malevich

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THE EFFECT OF SEXUALLY OBJECTIFYING MEDIA AND SOCIAL THREAT ON SEXUAL COERCION

by

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Carissa Ann Malevich
September 19, 2017
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ABSTRACT

Sexual aggression researchers have struggled to find a specific profile of individuals likely to become sexually aggressive (Abbey, 2005). As most of the research has focused on internal personal characteristics, some researchers have called for more research into external or situational factors that may increase the likelihood for men to become sexual perpetrators (Farris, Viken & Treat, 2010). Thus, the current investigation sought to explore the impact of two promising external factors, sexually objectifying media and social threat, on sexual coercion proclivity. Sexual coercion is a much lesser studied form of sexual aggression but is very common and often normalized in U.S. culture (Testa & Derman, 1999). Additionally, narcissism was explored as an impacting factor because narcissists have been shown to compensate with increased aggression upon social threat (Stucke & Sporer, 2002; Konrath et al., 2006). Participants included 299 heterosexual men ages 18 – 35 years who were recruited over Amazon Mechanical Turk and exposed to sexually objectifying music videos and a social threat condition, Cyberball, before answering questions about their likelihood to engage in sexual coercion. It was found that these external factors did not increase sexual coercion proclivity. Men higher in narcissistic characteristics showed higher sexual coercion proclivity, but there was minimal support suggesting that narcissists respond in a compensatory manner to social threat with increased sexual coercion. Recommendations
for future research include studying both proximal and distal factors and designing more ecological studies to truly understand the complex nature of sexual coercion.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In a recent study, researchers found that about 1 in 3 men would force a woman into sexual intercourse if no one would know about it and there would be no consequences for their actions (Edwards, Bradshaw & Hinsz, 2014). Although this statistic may be shocking to some, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) conducted a nationwide survey which determined that 43.3 percent of women will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime (Black et. al, 2011). Further, they found that most of these instances are perpetrated by men who are known to the female victims. In hopes of prevention, researchers have attempted to determine a specific “rapist profile,” but perpetrators often do not fit into one specific category (Abbey, 2005). Indeed, Abbey notes that the most prominent theme of the research in the last twenty years is that seemingly “normal” men are the ones perpetrating these sexual crimes.

One explanation for the failure to produce a consistent profile is there may not be a specific set of personal factors that lead men to become sexually aggressive. Indeed, Farris, Viken and Treat (2010) call for more research into the external factors that may impact the internal processes of eventual perpetrators. Some researchers have focused on the external factors related to the victims (e.g. Farris, Viken, & Treat, 2010) or have studied internal factors which are more applicable to the more extreme perpetrators (e.g. hostility toward women, psychopathy), but not all men who become sexually coercive
fall into these categories and their actions may appear to the casual observer as falling within the “normal” realm of human behavior. Indeed, Testa and Dermen (1999) suggested that sexual coercion has been viewed as less severe and abnormal than rape. Sexual coercion is defined as “the employment of tactics aimed toward engaging in sexual contact with an unwilling person,” and these acts seem to be normalized in our culture (Schatzel-Murphy et al., 2009). The behaviors are so normal they are seen throughout the media as sexual scripts in which men frequently “chase” women to have a sexual encounter (Testa & Dermen, 1999). Thus, the popular media, and sexually objectifying media has been identified as one potential external factor related to sexual aggression (Aubrey, Hopper, & Mbure, 2011).

The media have been shown to communicate numerous sexual messages which result not only in changes in behaviors but also changes in mental processes. For example, it has been found that even non-sexually aggressive men tend to view women as objects who are identified by body parts in contrast to viewing men as unique individuals (Bernard et al, 2012). This process of sexual objectification refers to behaviors and attitudes which treat another individual as merely a means of sexual pleasure and gratification while disregarding their other qualities (APA Taskforce on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007). Objectification Theory explains objectification as a first step toward dehumanizing and later victimizing others (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) further describe the phenomenon of objectification whereby objectifying others leads to de-personalizing them and making it easier to behave inhumanely toward them.
Relatedly, the sexualization of American culture has increased drastically in the last twenty years, particularly for women (Reichert & Carpenter, 2004). Although rates of sexualized images portrayed in the popular media have remained generally the same for men, those of women have skyrocketed (Hatton & Trautner, 2011). Thus, it is reasonable to assume men are surrounded by messages which objectify women daily and these messages can have negative implications for their sexual relationships (w & Hoyt, 2015). These negative implications come at both personal and societal cost for men. On a personal level, Zurbriggen, Ramsey and Jaworski (2011), found men who consume greater amounts of sexually objectifying media tend to objectify their partners to a greater degree than those who do not. Further, they found viewing sexually objectifying media also led to poorer sexual satisfaction and relationship satisfaction. On a societal level, Aubrey, Hopper, and Mbure (2011) found that being exposed to sexually objectifying music videos resulted in greater acceptance of interpersonal violence, hostile sexual attitudes toward women, and “disbelief in the legitimacy of sexual harassment.”

Additionally, Wright and Tokanaga (2016) found that exposure to media which sexually objectifies women, such as men’s magazines, reality television shows, and pornography, predicted increased cognitions regarding women as sex objects and in turn predicted increased attitudes which support violence against women. Furthermore, a meta-analysis of pornography consumption showed that viewing pornography was related to actual instances of sexual aggression, particularly if the pornography had violent themes (Wright, Tokanaga, & Kraus, 2015). Although pornography is popular, it is not as accessible to the general population as advertisements and television shows. Yet
these studies show there is a likely connection between viewing objectifying media and actual sexually aggressive behaviors.

These findings paint a clear picture in which sexually objectifying media leads to increased views of women as sex objects against whom it is easier to hold stronger attitudes of violence. Although attitudes can be indicative of behavior, the specific intentions to engage in aggressive behavior has not yet been shown to be connected to exposure to sexually objectifying media. Thus, although objectification has become widespread in American culture in the past twenty years and nearly all men have been exposed to the influences that make it easier to commit sexual assault, it is unknown what factors may lead men to engage in any type of sexually aggressive behavior (Reichert & Carpenter, 2004).

Like the vast exposure to sexually objectifying media, nearly everyone has been given negative feedback or experienced social rejection at one point in their lives. These experiences which threaten one’s self-esteem are called self-esteem threats and have been defined as “an event that calls into question one’s positive self-regard,” (vanDellen, Campbell, Hoyle, & Bradfield, 2011). One of the most problematic forms of self-esteem threat, an experience which is known as social threat, occurs when negative feedback, rejection or ostracism comes from other people as opposed to failures individuals might discover about themselves, (Leary, Terry, Batts Allen, & Tate, 2009).

vanDellen et al. (2011) described the self-regulatory nature of self-esteem such that people tend to desire positive views of themselves and when a situation arises which threatens this positive view they may consciously or unconsciously attempt to regulate their level of self-esteem. Although the types of responses vary by person, socially
threatening experiences have been shown to increase maladaptive compensatory responses such as through interpersonally conflictual behavior and increased aggression (Vohs & Heatherton, 2003; Stucke & Sporer, 2002). Aggression as a compensatory response is particularly likely for individuals with high self-esteem and narcissistic characteristics (vanDellen, Campbell, Hoyle, & Bradfield, 2011). Indeed, it was posited that “rape is motivated by a man’s belief in his own superiority, which has been challenged or disputed by the woman (or occasionally by someone else)” (Baumeister, Smart & Boden, 1996, p. 17). Additionally, in a review of the literature, Baumeister, Smart and Boden (1996) found that numerous instances of murder and assault have social threat as a significant contributing factor, yet there is a paucity of research which connects any forms of sexual aggression to social threat.

Despite these hypotheses and preliminary findings, sexual aggression research has not yet empirically studied the effect of social threat on sexually aggressive behavior. The connection has been conjectured by some, such as Malamuth et al. (1995) in their Hostile Masculinity model of sexual aggression, in which they explained that using coercive tactics against women may help relieve anxieties an individual might have. Thus, it was recognized that individuals who are experiencing anxiety or temporary threats to their self-esteem may use indirect tactics of sexual coercion (e.g., use of alcohol, manipulation) to obtain their goal of a sexual interaction. However, these conjectures have not been empirically studied to this author’s knowledge. Furthermore, numerous studies focus on the extreme versions of sexual aggression and its predictors. Yet, there is far less research on the normalized tactics which are used to obtain sexual activity. As previously explained, research has shown that both being exposed to sexually
objectifying media and being socially threatened can result in more aggressive attitudes
and/or increases in aggressive behavior. Although both external factors are related to
precursors for sexual aggression, neither has been studied in relation to the likelihood to
behave in sexually coercive ways. Expanding the scope of sexual aggression research by
determining the relation of these factors could help to fill the gaps which have thus far
been unfilled and could lead to greater preventative efforts of sexual assault.

Whereas more severe forms of sexual aggression have been found to be related to
more extreme attitudes and personality characteristics such as hostility toward women
and psychopathy (Edwards & Vogel, 2015; Jones & Olderbak, 2014) there has been little
research on the connections between the more normalized sexual behavior, such as sexual
coercion, and more common characteristics. Therefore, it is proposed that sexual coercion
is related to the factors described above. The hypotheses summarized above are now
specifically noted.

- **Hypothesis 1:** Participants experiencing social threat will have greater proclivity
  for sexual coercion than participants who have not experienced social threat.

- **Hypothesis 2:** Participants exposed to high sexual objectification will have greater
  proclivity for sexual coercion than participants exposed to low sexual
  objectification.

- **Hypothesis 3:** The interaction of sexual objectification and social threat will lead
to the greatest proclivity for sexual coercion.

- **Hypothesis 4:** Narcissism will impact the relationship between social threat and
  coercion. Men who exhibit higher narcissism and experience a social threat will
  exhibit greater endorsement of sexually coercive tactics.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ego Threat

Ego threat is an umbrella term which refers to “an event that calls into question one’s positive self-regard,” (vanDellen, Campbell, Hoyle, & Bradfield, 2011). Although ego threat has been a frequently used construct in research, there have been concerns over the lack of specificity when researchers refer to the concept of ego threat. The word “ego,” which comes from the Latin word for “I,” has come to refer to a person’s self-esteem (Leary, Terry, Batts Allen, & Tate, 2009). Leary and colleagues (2009) explain that although the term now has fewer psychodynamic connotations there are still pieces which harkens back to the original conception of the ego. One such connotation is the discussion of defense mechanisms and the need to compensate for information one finds threatening (Silverman, 1964). However, the current psychological paradigm of cognitive and behavioral-based theories prompted the shift from the concept of the ego to that of self-esteem or self-image (Leary et al., 2009). Thus, for modern research purposes the term ego threat has been used to refer to a situation in which a person’s positive self-esteem is perceived to be endangered such as by negative evaluation, either by others or by the self. Because this description has become the most commonly used to define ego threat it is no surprise the most common way of inducing ego threat is through providing feedback to participants “that called into question the degree to which they were
intelligent, competent, or likeable or possessed other socially desirable attributes,” (Leary et al., 2009).

Common methods of inducing threat involve both direct and indirect processes. For example, a direct threat would involve giving negative feedback about performance on a certain task. However, an indirect method which has been used involves having participants think about or read a possible ego-threatening situation or be exposed to numerous words which could elicit a negative response (e.g. inadequate, failure, etc.) (Leary et al., 2009). More further removed include the threats of a potential ego threat, such as telling participants they will be asked to give a public speech or undergo a job interview. Leary and colleagues (2009) have questioned the validity of using future ego-threatening conditions as an induction of ego threat due in part because certain studies have used the threat of an ego threat as their control condition (i.e. Chalus, 1976; Allen & Sherman, 2011). Thus, it appears the most direct ways to induce ego threat could be the most powerful and could provide the clearest information regarding its impact on people.

Another dimension researchers have used when inducing ego threat is to induce humiliation or embarrassment by decreasing the participants’ public image (i.e. Chalus, 1976; Horton & Sedikides, 2009). Because ego threat has been more modernly defined as a threat to a person’s self-esteem, having a threat that induces more than private self-esteem could be confounding. Indeed, Leary and colleagues (2009) expressed concerns over threats in which others provide feedback to the participants, which they note could be inducing not only self-esteem threat but also social evaluation concerns and concerns about their public image. Thus, although still occasionally studied in terms of self-esteem or ego threat, more recent researchers are beginning to use the term “social threat” for
instances when other’s judgments are the cause of the threatening situation. Thus, social threat is a type of self-esteem threat which involves negative feedback, rejection or ostracism from other people.

Furthermore, Leary et al. (2009) questioned the confounding nature of the loss of control that may add confounding features and results to what is originally conceptualized as a threat to one’s private self-esteem. The researchers caution the lack of specificity of the processes researchers initially plan to induce or threaten can result in misinterpreted findings and confounding conclusions.

Thus, it has been highly recommended researchers begin to specify what they are intending to threaten, rather than vaguely describing the manipulation “ego threat” (Leary et al., 2009). Indeed, the most recent research in threats to one’s self-image have begun to use the term “self-esteem threat” or “social threat” rather than the currently outdated ego threat (vanDellen et al., 2011). Therefore, when reviewing the following literature, the majority refers to the manipulation as ego threat. Additionally, because sexual aggression is a mostly social act it appears social threat would be the most important method of threat induction. Regardless, due to the relative recentness of social threat into the world of research, studies which included the broader terms of ego threat and social threat are outlined to provide context of likely responses to similar threatening situations.

Social Threat

Social threat is rarely defined but becoming more frequently studied within the past ten years. One of the most specific definitions given is still extremely vague in that it states “social threat is the potential harm that is likely to be caused by oneself or to oneself” (Huang, Xu, & Chan, 2011, p. 2). Within the research, social threatening stimuli
included negative emotional facial expressions and negative feedback, being ignored or rejected by others, or being in a situation which could elicit negative evaluation from others (Huang et al., 2011; Schu, 2007; Hartgerink, van Beest, Wicherts, & Williams, 2015, respectively).

Stress from social situations is thought to be one of the largest promoters of aggression (Bertsch, Bohnke, Kruk, Richter, & Naumann, 2011). One of the most common experiences of social stress is being excluded or ignored by others. Indeed, it has been found that most people are excluded or ignored at least once per day (Nezlek, Kowalski, Leary, Blevins & Holgate, 1997). Although common, the experience of being ignored is incredibly painful for humans and is described by William James (1890) in the following:

“If no one turned around when we entered, answered when we spoke, or minded what we did, but if every person we met ‘cut us dead,’ and acted as if we were non-existing things, a kind of rage and impotent despair would ere long well up in us, from which the cruelest bodily torture would be a relief; for these would make us feel that, however bad might be our plight, we had not sunk to such a depth as to be unworthy of attention at all” (p. 293-294).

One of the most common ways social threat has been manipulated is with the online computer game “Cyberball” (Williams, Cheung & Choi, 2000). This game manipulates the inclusion or exclusion of a participant within a ball-tossing game. Although the manipulation is relatively brief, the effect it has had on participants has been strong. Certainly, being ostracized has been shown to have far-reaching effects on people. Intrapersonally, these short experiences with exclusion have led to lower mood
(Lustenberger & Jagacinski, 2010). As is described further below, lowered mood or self-views is the key factor to describe an ego threat. Additionally, this lowered mood most often leads to reactions which would alleviate such a negative feeling. Thus, it would make sense numerous maladaptive behaviors have been shown to be related to social exclusion. For example, exclusion has been found to result in greater interpersonal aggression (van Beest, Carter-Sowell, van Dijk & Williams, 2012; Chen, DeWall, Poon, & Chen, 2012).

Part of this aggression could be due to the interpretation of the social exclusion as a hostile and aggressive act. For example, children who were socially threatened by social exclusion attributed more hostile intentions for the exclusion particularly when the children were lonely (Qualter et al., 2013). Thus, although the social situation was ambiguous the children, like many adults, tended to classify the situation as a social threat. Qualter et al. (2013) noted, because of the hostile attribution, the children would likely react in ways which would be interpersonally difficult and which could cause for further exclusion in the future.

Although most of the reactions described above have been the result of the Cyberball exclusion manipulation, these same affects have been shown in real life case studies. For example, being ostracized has been linked to serious revenge and aggression in the case of numerous school shootings (Leary, Kowalski, Smith & Phillips, 2003). As has been described, this type of social threat is very powerful and related to numerous types of aggression. Yet, despite a wealth of research on responses to ego threat in general and more recent research on social threat, research on sexually aggressive responses is rare. Indeed, the very recent Pickett et al. (2016) provided some
of the first evidence of support for sexual aggression as a reactive response to socially threatening feedback, such as exclusion or rejection. They found that male participants responded more aggressively after being given negative feedback from a female confederate. Additionally, these men had a greater history of sexual aggression than men who did not respond aggressively. Thus, this provides preliminary support aggression, particularly sexual aggression, could be a reaction used to regulate one’s self esteem or mood level.

Due to the popularity of social media, there is a much greater chance for social threat to occur than ever before. Even if a person is seemingly “alone” they have access to many virtual others with whom they can network in real-time or at delayed times throughout the day. This access leads to a greater likelihood for both social threats as well as maladaptive responses to these threats to occur. This situation has been demonstrated when Chen (2015) studied social threat through social media using the concept of “saving face.” Chen notes saving face is a phenomenon (like a compensatory strategy which is described further below) in which the goal is to increase one’s mood or level of self-esteem after a social threat has occurred. Participants in the study who were either rejected or criticized over social media were more likely than those in a neutral condition to have negative affect and respond with retaliatory aggression toward others via social media. Thus, Chen concluded despite interacting with mere strangers and having very short and minor investment in the group via social media, a very brief social threat condition resulted in a negative emotional experience for the participant and increased retaliatory aggression toward others.
Although the research that exists highlights the importance of social threat in relation to aggression, there is a relative paucity of research on the responses to social threat due the recent specification of social threat as separate from ego threat. Thus, much of the literature on reactions to social threat are combined with those of ego threat and the slightly more specific self-esteem threat. To more fully understand the potential for aggressive reactive responses, the range of possible reactions is reviewed in detail below.

**Self-Regulatory Reactions**

vanDellen et al. (2011) described the self-regulatory nature of self-esteem such that people tend to desire positive views of themselves and when a situation arises which threatens this positive view they may consciously or unconsciously attempt to regulate their level of self-esteem. The goal of self-regulating is to either reduce or remove the discrepancy between desired self-views and reality (Carver & Scheir, 1990). Self-regulation can occur in numerous ways spanning the spectrum from denial to direct aggression.

Just as threats can be categorized into direct and indirect methods, similarly reactions to ego threat have been categorized based on the extent to which the threat is dealt with directly. These direct and indirect reactions have been described in different ways by different researchers. For example, Muris, Vanzuuren, Merckelbach, Stoffels and Kindt (1994) describe two different coping styles related to threatening situations: monitoring and blunting. They describe that monitoring is a more direct form of reacting to an ego threat such that it involves gathering information about the threat. Blunting occurs when an individual avoids threat-related information. Thus, this is a clear
dichotomy of direct versus indirect methods of responding to a threatening situation. Although there has been some support that individuals respond to threats in this dichotomous manner under low-tension conditions (Muris et al., 1994), more recent research has found a greater diversity of reactions to ego threat.

In their review of self-esteem threat, vanDellen and colleagues (2011) solely reviewed the range of reactions caused by direct threats, rather than the previously described problematic prospective or indirect self-esteem threats. They determined reactions to self-esteem largely come in three categories: breaking, resisting, and compensating. This range of reactions is relatively consistent to the earlier description of Eriksen (1951) when he described reactions ranging from denial and repression. These reactions led to avoidance of the ego-threatening stimuli for individuals who allow themselves to recognize the ego threat but then participate in numerous strategies, such as rationalizing, to discount the ego-threatening information. Erikson (1951) explains “in one case the emphasis is on the denial of the external reality while in the other case the denial is in terms of how this reality applies to the individual,” (p. 230). Similarly, resisting, breaking, and compensating responses exist on a continuum of reacting directly or indirectly to ego threats. These reactions and empirical examples of them are outlined below.

**Resisting Reactions**

On one end of the spectrum is resisting. This is the response involved when one resists or avoids threatening information about the self. These responses can be either passive or active in nature (vanDellen et al., 2011). In his study related to ego threat and memory, Eriksen (1951) found that some participants who utilized the denial response to
ego threat displayed poorer memory of the ego-threatening stimuli. Thus, the response to ego threat can go as far as affecting cognitive processes such as memory for ego-threatening situations. If a person is unable to remember situations which make them feel as though they failed or which make them feel otherwise negatively, then the person’s self-esteem level would be maintained not only temporarily but in the long-term as well.

The repression of memories because of ego threat was later called into question by Holmes & Schallow (1969) who proposed the interference of anxious thoughts post-memory task could be causing the lack of sustained memory rather than repressive processes. They tested groups three times on an incidental learning task paired with either an ego-threatening stimulus, a novel non-threatening stimulus, or no stimulus. The researchers found that performance decreased after the ego-threatening condition but participants performed otherwise equally on the other tasks. The threatening condition did not result in forgetting of words related to the threat. Thus, it was determined the interference of thoughts post-threat had resulted in the lack of memory for words rather than repression of those words. Regardless of the mental procedures involved with an ego threat it is clear ego-threatening conditions interfere with performance and can impact behavior. Yet, this study shows the anxious thoughts coming from being ego-threatened result in unintentional cognitive interference rather than unconscious repression.

Further research on the resisting response has been done by Heatherton and Baumeister (1991) and was termed the escape theory. This theory was a specific application of resisting behavior after an ego threat in that it describes the process of stress-induced eating. They state upon threatening information and negative emotional
states, individuals tend to “emotionally eat” to distract themselves and compensate for their negative mood. This theory has gained support through studies which show both initially restrained and emotional eaters increase their intake of food significantly in response to an ego threat (Wallis & Hetherington, 2004). Just as other responses have shown, although this method may relieve negative emotional states temporarily, it is a maladaptive solution for a longer-term problem.

The maladaptive nature of avoidance is shown in the Kingsep and Page (2010) study on thought suppression in individuals with social phobia. They found that these individuals are actively engaging in suppression of socially threatening information as a way to reduce or prevent distress. This avoidance was maladaptive due to the reduced ability to cope with socially threatening situations in the future. Therefore, although the suppression is viewed by socially anxious individuals as a coping strategy, it is likely helping to maintain their condition.

In a romantic or sexual interaction, avoiding could be experienced in a few ways. For example, if a person is constantly under the assumption of a social threat, such as a person who might have social anxiety concerns, it is likely the person would avoid such a high-risk interaction entirely. However, if the social threat is a rare or temporary experience the typical avoidance response might be to internally discount the threat, such as a rejection, or to make excuses for being rejected (e.g., she’s not my type, it’s because I have been drinking). Although avoidance is typically thought of as unhealthy, in this type of situation, it is likely one of the healthier responses because there is a reduced harm to the self-concept as well as others.
However, there are other types of resisting which could lead toward harm to others. Baumeister, Wotman, & Stillwell (1993) found that individuals who are met with unrequited love and are rejected later admit there were many signs from their rejecter they were not romantically interested in them. The researchers explain the individuals who are rejected are so greatly preoccupied with their own wants and desires that it shields the person from being aware of what the object of their affection might be experiencing. Thus, the resistance to see the truth could lead some individuals to become sexually aggressive without realizing they are doing so, such as by making continued advances without seeing the signs of rejection. Depending on the range of resisting responses the reaction could either be adaptive or maladaptive, as is the case with breaking reactions discussed next.

**Breaking Reactions**

Breaking is the response which occurs when an individual accepts responsibility for their negative feedback by acknowledging the validity of the measure and lowering their self-expectations (vanDellen et al., 2011). They determined this reaction typically leads to less aggression but more negative self-states such as decreased mood. In a romantic or sexual interaction, breaking would likely involve accepting the negative feedback or rejection as truth and would likely lead to the internal response of “I’m not good enough” or similar self-deprecating thoughts. Thus, it seems breaking allows the person to be the truest to reality but also allows the person to experience negative mood and thoughts related to low self-worth. Indeed, it has been found that depressed individuals typically respond in a breaking fashion to self-esteem threats (Nezlek, Kowalski, Leary, Blevins, & Holgate, 1997). Furthermore, per self-verification theory by
Swann (1983) individuals who are depressed look for negative evaluation because it would confirm their already held self-views.

Another breaking response has been identified when noting individuals who are lonely tend to have a cognitive bias toward social threats such that they pay more attention to socially threatening information (Bangee, Harris, Bridges, Rotenberg, & Qualter, 2014). Thus, individuals with low self-esteem or in consistently low mood would be the least likely to act in an aggressive or compensatory manner because they are already expecting such negative feedback. Therefore, although breaking does not involve harm to others, it seems a great deal of harm to oneself can come from a pattern of breaking responses to self-esteem threats making it adaptive in some ways and maladaptive in others.

**Compensatory Reactions**

Finally, compensating strategies are attempts at changing one’s thoughts regarding the threatening situation (vanDellen et al., 2011). Compensatory strategies, if used in maladaptive ways, may be the most problematic and common of researched reactions. After a person experiences an ego threat, a common experience is for the person to use some sort of defense, or compensatory strategy, to reduce such negative feelings (Bond, Ruaro, & Wingrove, 2006). Additionally, Bond et al. (2006) explains the defensive response to an ego threat can be helpful and even protective of mental health, but responses to ego threat can also be maladaptive and result in unwanted behaviors such as acts of aggression.

For example, one example of a compensatory strategy used to safe-guard one’s self-esteem involves criticizing the task the individual failed (Horton & Sedikides, 2009).
This is a more moderately-aggressive response which is commonly used to self-regulate one’s self-esteem. For example, in a romantic or sexual interaction a man could temper his feelings of rejection through thoughts which denigrate the rejecter (e.g., “what a prude” or “she’s a snob”). Although, it may be helpful at alleviating discomfort within a person, it could come with other costs such as causing conflict within relationships or reducing the amount with which one learns from the experience.

One strategy that has been used most notably by athletes is self-handicapping, which is a “proactive strategy that individuals use to obtain a protective excuse for failure and/or to enhance credit for success in a performance situation,” (Finez, Berjot, Rosnet, & Cleveland, 2011). Finez and colleagues (2011) manipulated ego threat conditions and the self-handicapping tendencies in athletes. They determined the compensatory strategy used by their athlete participants was utilized whether they were going to receive feedback or not, indicating formal evaluation is not necessary for ego-threatened management strategies to occur. Further, they note it is important to consider both dispositional and situational factors involved in ego-management strategies such as self-handicapping.

Self-handicapping, while not specifically studied in dating or romantic relationships, has been shown to be a strategy which is used in social interactions as well. For example, shyness has been found to be a self-handicapping strategy in social situations (Snyder, Smith, Augelli, Ingram, & Hogan, 1985). Interestingly, this pattern has been shown for men but not women speaking to the felt need for men to compensate using self-handicapping strategies more than women. Additionally, Rhodewalt, Tragakis and Finnerty (2006) found that fragility of self-esteem measured using a narcissism scale
led to the greatest amount of self-handicapping in a performance task. However, they found that men more than women responded in self-handicapping ways and the level of self-esteem fragility resulted in the highest degree of this compensatory response. Although compensatory responses are not always violent, it seems men tend to use certain strategies of compensating more than women. It is likely, then, that like other forms of aggression including sexual aggression, men are the most likely to utilize compensatory responses in response to self-esteem threat.

One compensation strategy that is not particularly outwardly aggressive but which could lead to aggression involves changes in cognitive processing. To determine the cognitive processes involved when a person is threatened Allen and Sherman (2011) studied the out-group biases of fifty-seven non-Black participants. Two cognitive processes have been posited which could explain reactions to ego threat: the motivation-activation account which states ego threat activates negative thoughts about members of out-groups to maintain levels of self-esteem, and the second position which proposes the motivation to bolster self-esteem after an ego threat supersedes the motivation to inhibit negative responses to members of an out-group (Fein & Spencer, 1997; Sinclair & Kunda, 1999). To test these theories against each other, all participants were given difficult test items. The ego-threatened participants were given feedback on the number of correct items they answered, which on average was less than 2, but were told the average person answers 9 correctly. The control condition was told they would be given their scores at the end of the study. Then, all participants completed an implicit association test related to race. Results determined the data were compatible with the motivation-activation model and incompatible with the inhibition model.
Although this study examined the activation of negative attitudes toward the out-group based on race, it could be easily translated into sex as well. Heterosexual men are likely to consider women an “out-group” and, therefore, these cognitive processes could likely occur in relation to attitudes toward women. Thus, based on the data it could be posited that ego-threatened men would have activated negative attitudes towards out-groups, such as women. For example, hostility toward women has found to be a common factor contributing toward sexual aggression, particularly rape (DeGue, DiLillo, & Scalora, 2010).

Researchers have posited situations which are fraught with uncertainty and threaten one’s self-esteem are likely to lead to maladaptive responses (Alexander, Humensky, Guerrero, Park, & Loewenstein, 2010). Further, if an individual undergoes ego threat they are more likely to engage in activities to strengthen and protect their self-image (Kernis, 2003; Ferriday, Vartanian, & Mandel, 2011). These activities are often thought of as compensatory strategies in which the ego-threatened individuals attempt to reinforce their self-esteem by exaggerating their efforts in some important area (Holmes, 1971).

Although one might expect for the presence of an audience to increase the aggressive response of an ego-threatened individual, it has been found that the presence of an audience did not have a significant impact in a general sample (Ferriday et al., 2011). Thus, whether there was a public or private threat to one’s ego, the response was still the same in a general sample. Translating this situation into sexual aggression, it would seem “rape culture” standards, as is described in the following section on sexual objectification, may be internalized in men and despite the nature of the ego-threat, the
aggressive response might still be the same. One caveat to this would be these researchers found that narcissists who received negative feedback only responded aggressively when they were in a public setting. This study highlights the importance of measuring and controlling for narcissistic characteristics and how it might interact with other variables.

Uncertainty was also described as an ego-threatening situation in a study by Rios, Wheeler, and Miller (2012) in which they studied the impact of implicit self-esteem and self-uncertainty on expressing minority and majority opinions. Through a series of four studies and numerous variations of measurement and manipulation they found that manipulating self-uncertainty in participants with low implicit self-esteem led to greater expression of minority, or less popular, opinions. The authors explain individuals with low implicit self-esteem often express the minority opinion in hopes of feeling unique and special. Thus, expressing the minority opinion was discussed as a compensatory and defensive reaction to having their self-esteem threatened through self-uncertainty.

These numerous reactions are attempts at reinforcing and/or protecting one’s positive self-views. However, vanDellen et al. (2011) noted that although these compensatory reactions may alleviate negative feelings related with the discrepancy in information about the self they may not be useful in the long-term. The researchers gave the example of blaming external factors for their failure on some task. This response does not allow the person to take responsibility and potentially gain skills, leading them to be at greater risk for negative feedback or evaluation in the future. Thus, although compensatory strategies may be helpful in the short term they are likely unhelpful to long-term rewards. Additionally, the reactions vanDellan and colleagues considered
were mostly in the normative or healthy range of responses. Responses can become even more problematic when they are maladaptive or even aggressive in nature. Again, even though the maladaptive response may be helpful at alleviating negative feelings in the individual temporarily, the long-term effects to the self and others are much more dangerous.

This long-term tendency for violence was explained by Louise von Borries et al. (2012) when studying the aggressive responses of psychopaths. Although avoidance of socially threatening information has previously been described as maladaptive, absolutely no avoidance of threatening information is problematic as well. For example, the researchers found that while non-psychopathic individuals tended to seek happy faces and avoid angry ones, this was not the case for their psychopathic participants who showed the reverse effect. It was explained that although psychopaths tend to premeditate their aggression, it is likely the lack of avoidance for socially threatening cues might activate their aggression. Therefore, it appears psychopathic individuals are prepared to compensate for an ego threat at any given time and compensation through aggression is their first line of defense to social threats. Therefore, it is important to note the maladaptive nature of all self-regulatory reactions if used in excessive ways.

For example, in dating situations when an individual is either socially rejected or put in a situation where their self-esteem is threatened, behaving in a sexually coercive or aggressive way can temporarily relieve the person’s negative feelings. However, in the long-term, the person is not going to be able to manage their negative responses in a healthy way and could lead to a pattern of aggressive or unhealthy responses toward others, as was described in the response pattern of psychopaths (Louise von Borries et al.,
Thus, in these scenarios not only is the maladaptive response harmful to the individual being threatened but to others with whom the person may come into contact. Yet, as was seen in the varying responses to self-esteem threatening situations individuals will vary on their level of reaction. Resisting reactions through avoiding social threats could be similarly maladaptive to the individual and a dating partner if the individual is not willing to recognize rejection attempts.

Because individuals could respond in a variety of ways to threatening stimuli, it is important to understand the factors which might impact one’s reaction pattern or preference. One factor that has impacted the likelihood of reacting in maladaptive ways to ego threat is the level of self-esteem. Therefore, this variable is explored next.

**Level of Self-Esteem.** As early as the 1950s and 60s, the level of self-esteem was an important factor when determining the nature of responses to ego or self-esteem threat (Silverman, 1964). All levels of self-esteem seem to control our behavior in some way or another. For example, Kernis (2003) noted “even individuals with optimal self-esteem will look to the social environment for self-definition and consequently display externally contingent and unstable self-esteem,” (p. 83). Thus, for men who have been ego-threatened, a likely possibility is they may look to the social environment for reassurance of their self-worth. Per Vohs and Heatherton (2003) this would be the most likely response for men with low to moderate self-esteem. Further, often for a man this self-worth is reliant on the extent of their sexual prowess. Although men do have a choice whether to rely on external factors, such as sexual interest, to reinforce their self-esteem, Kernis (2003) believes that often individuals do not know they have a choice and “blindly accept the contingencies imposed on them by others,” (p. 84). As reviewed in the
following section on rape culture, these contingencies for men typically would be that a man is not a “real man” unless they are sexually active and can coerce women into sexual activity.

Although it has originally been conceptualized that high self-esteem is the ultimate goal it may not always be the most desirable in relation to responding to ego threats. In their review of 103 studies involving ego threat, vanDellen et al (2011) found that the level of self-esteem impacted the nature of the responses to ego threat. They determined individuals with high self-esteem tended to react most strongly in a compensatory fashion compared with low self-esteem. Although they found that individuals with low self-esteem often responded in a compensatory manner as well, these responses were less pronounced than those with high self-esteem. This finding could be explained in individuals with high self-esteem protect their self-image through such strategies and thus compensating could be viewed as a healthy response.

For example, Vohs and Heatherton (2001) found that people with high self-esteem and those with low self-esteem think of themselves in different ways because of ego threat. People with high self-esteem have more positive self-views, and when faced with criticism, tend to focus on their abilities instead of their flaws. In contrast, people with low self-esteem have more negative self-views and upon criticism become reliant on external factors, such as the reassurance of others, to bolster or safe-guard their self-esteem. Thus, it appears the level of self-esteem changes the way in which participants compensated in an ego-threatening situation (internal vs. external) but the need for compensation was the same.
In an extension of Baumeister’s work, Stucke and Sporer (2002) studied the combination of level of self-esteem with stability of self-esteem, which they termed self-concept clarity, on reaction to ego threat. Upon examination, they found that individuals with a very high level of self-esteem and low self-concept clarity experienced the most anger and aggression in response to ego threat. Additionally, they concluded these individuals tended to express their anger toward the task from which they received the ego threat rather than directing it either internally or projecting it toward an unrelated source. Typical responses included becoming verbally aggressive and derogating the source of the ego threat (Stucke & Sporer, 2002). These responses were attempts at regaining one’s sense of self-esteem by lowering the status and importance of the source of the threat. In contrast, individuals with low self-esteem seem to direct their negative emotions inward reporting more feelings of depression than anger. Thus, the researchers concluded individuals at both ends of the self-esteem spectrum experience negative emotions because of ego threat, but the primary difference results in the direction of expressing such negative emotion (internally or externally).

Although people with high self-esteem tend to respond to threatening situations with numerous healthy responses, there are other tendencies which may not be in the person’s best interest. For example, Vohs and Heatherton (2003) summarized their research which found that both males and females with high self-esteem respond to ego threat in interpersonally difficult ways, such as by being antagonistic and uncooperative. Similarly, Baumeister, Smart, and Boden (1996) determined high self-esteem individuals tend to respond aggressively when presented with an ego threat. It has been explained this is a likely reaction because individuals with high self-esteem would have more to
lose and thus feel a greater loss in self-esteem compared to those with low self-esteem (Stucke & Sporer, 2002). Further, it has been postulated the “major cause of violence is high self-esteem combined with an ego threat” (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996, p. 8). Thus, it is important to measure self-esteem in relation to the responses to self-esteem threat. Based on these findings, individuals with high self-esteem would be most likely to respond to self-esteem threat in an aggressive, and potentially sexually aggressive, manner compared with individuals with low self-esteem.

Another maladaptive response to ego threat related to high self-esteem is the tendency to make inflated predictions about one’s future behavior (Baumeister, Heatherton and Tice, 1993). This increase in self-efficacy about future performance is helpful to reduce anxiety about said performance but it could also lead to disappointment when the individuals do not attain their predicted goal. Additionally, this increase in self-esteem has led to individuals becoming more involved in risk-taking behavior due their increased, and occasionally unwarranted, self-confidence that they would succeed (Baumeister, Tice & Hutton, 1989). This has been shown both when the cost of such risks is very low, such as losing a few dollars, as well as very high. For example, Smith, Norrell, and Saint (1996) found that cadets in a military training program with high self-esteem were more likely to make risky grenade tosses which could potentially kill themselves and their comrades. Further, not only did they attempt riskier grenade tosses but they had significantly decreased accuracy compared to the cadets with low self-esteem. Thus, not only does it appear high self-esteem can be maladaptive and set up individuals for failure but it could lead to increased harm to self and others in the process.

In relation to sexual aggression, researchers found that men would force a woman into
sex if they would not get caught (Edwards, Bradshaw & Hinsz, 2014). Thus, as described by Baumeister et al. (1996) only individuals with high self-esteem would have the “requisite confidence” necessary to take such a chance (p. 8). This paints a picture of individuals whose confidence toward attaining a certain goal is exaggerated and unfounded leading to interpersonally aggressive responses should the task result in a self-esteem threat.

Not only does inflated self-esteem lead to occasional risky behaviors but it can lead to a series of risky behaviors after the initial unexpected failure. Zhang and Baumeister (2006) found that individuals who felt the need to regain their self-esteem after an ego threat tended to make a series of risky bets that led to their entrapment, or significant loss of money. Further, they found that individuals were willing to make these numerous risky decisions to eventually boost their self-esteem. However, instead of boosting their self-esteem they found that people simply lost a large proportion of their money. Thus, not only were the individuals’ behavior costly, but it was self-defeating as well. As was described by Crocker and Park (2004) the pursuit of self-esteem leads to some of the costliest and destructive behavior in all human kind. To paint a clearer picture of the individual who may respond in the most maladaptive ways, Vohs and Heatherton (2003) studied the combined impact of level of self-esteem and gender on likability in a naturalistic setting. The researchers argued most of the data on responses to ego threat have been done in laboratory settings with acquaintances or strangers. Thus, they examined interpersonal reactions of incoming students to their friends’ interpersonal behavior because of ego threat. They determined both men and women with a moderate level of self-esteem increased in likability as a result of ego threat. Further, although
women with high and low levels of self-esteem were liked equally after ego threat, men with high self-esteem had significantly decreased likability because of ego threat. Thus, the only level and gender combination to significantly decrease in their likability were ego-threatened men with high self-esteem. Specifically, these men had decreased likability due to increases in rudeness, arrogance, and unfriendliness. This finding speaks to the increased compensatory responses to self-esteem threat, particularly aggressive compensatory responses, from men with high self-esteem, reinforcing the importance of studying men and monitoring their level of self-esteem in relation to the aggressive responses.

Besides level of self-esteem, some researchers have also considered the nature of high self-esteem in response to ego threat. For example, Lambird & Mann (2006) studied the effects of different subtypes of self-esteem on the self-regulation process by replicating and extending the work of Baumeister et al. (1993). They compared the differences between defensive self-esteem and both implicit and explicit self-esteem in relation to participants’ self-regulatory reactions and found that explicit self-esteem alone is not helpful in predicting the nature of reaction to ego threat. It is necessary to measure the numerous representations of self-esteem within a person to determine whether participants will successfully self-regulate their reactions. In particular, they found that high self-esteem combined with either defensive self-esteem or low implicit self-esteem lead to failure to self-regulate. Thus, the researchers argued previous null findings in relation to self-esteem could be explained through the lack of specification in studying self-esteem. Further, they determined that how a person wishes to express their self-
esteem is not as helpful, either in research or in practice, to explain how they respond in ego-threatening situations.

The previously described research outlined both the effect of level and nature of self-esteem on response to threat. Researchers have described the nature of self-esteem as unstable, (Baumeister, Boden, & Smart, 1996) fragile (Alexander, Humensky, Guerrero, Park, & Loewenstein, 2010) unclear, (Stucke & Sporer, 2002) and defensive (Lambird & Mann, 2006). As described below, these terms are also used to describe narcissistic characteristics. Thus, it is possible the research on self-esteem and self-esteem threat using these terms was at least partially indirectly measuring key aspects of narcissism. Further, as was briefly described above, narcissism is an important variable to specify and measure when studying both social threat and the maladaptive reactions to it. Because of this potential for confounding and overlapping information, narcissistic characteristics are specifically outlined below.

**Narcissistic Characteristics**

Although not specifically stated in the previous research, the difference between individuals with high self-esteem and those with narcissistic characteristics could be key in determining the aggressive responses of individuals who respond in a compensatory manner. By definition, narcissism is an unstable and self-inflated view of oneself (Stucke & Sporer, 2002). Additionally, other narcissistic characteristics such as being self-focused and not empathic to others’ needs and feelings (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001) as well as striving for self-preservation and having a sense of entitlement (Muller, 2014) are likely to result in maladaptive behavior. Further, it has been shown that male adolescents who scored high on narcissistic characteristics showed exaggerated neural responses in
the social pain network of the brain after experiencing exclusion (Cascio, Konrath, & Falk, 2013). Thus, not only do individuals high in narcissism have a great concern for self-preservation and lower empathy for others, but they tend to show very strong reactions to social threat. It would be logical, then, that these individuals would have the most aggressive compensatory reactions to ego threat. Therefore, examining the impact of narcissistic characteristics would be very relevant and important when studying maladaptive reactions to self-esteem threat. Indeed, the strong reaction narcissists have in response to self-esteem threat has become so well-known many researchers in recent articles have described this connection as common knowledge. Therefore, because there is such a strong connection between the two it would seem problematic not to measure and control for such a variable. Further, the potential connection narcissistic traits have with both sexual aggression and self-esteem threat poise the presence of these traits to matter in both contexts.

Before describing the research which makes narcissistic traits so relevant to the other major variables are described, it is important to first understand the lens from which it is used and measured. There is a tendency for people to think of extreme examples when they hear the term narcissism, often thinking of narcissistic personality disorder or other severe forms of behavior. Zeigler-Hill, Green, Arnau, Sisemore and Myers (2011) note there has been difficulty in studying, measuring, and describing narcissism due to the competing conceptualizations of narcissism as both a clinical disorder as well as a “normally distributed personality feature” (p. 96). Indeed, Rhodewalt and Morf (2005) noted narcissism is most recently conceptualized on a spectrum of individual difference in characteristics. These difficulties have led to widespread misconception both amongst
researchers and in the public as to what narcissism is and means. Thus, for clarity, the
lens through which narcissism is viewed throughout this dissertation is through the social
psychology view there are certain narcissistic characteristics in many people. Still,
confusion can occur because Cramer (2011) noted there are more than 50 different labels
for varying types of narcissism, but most can either be classified as adaptive or
maladaptive. Even these labels can be confusing because certain characteristics of
narcissism can be adaptive in some contexts and maladaptive in others.

For example, Muller (2014) purports we are all narcissists in some way; we just
may have different forms of said narcissism. To explain this spectrum, Muller (2014)
described numerous forms of narcissism ranging from healthy to unhealthy personality
characteristics and patterns of behavior. First, he described healthy narcissists as those
who reject the way the world is for the way they would like it to be. These individuals are
still somewhat self-absorbed in that they put their goals before others’ feelings. However,
they can accept criticism from others as well as their own shortcomings without
disastrous outcomes.

Secondly, pathological narcissists hold characteristics such as a grandiose self-
image, exaggerated competitiveness, and sensitivity to criticism. Muller (2014) explains
pathological narcissists do not love themselves too much but too little and thus they seek
to constantly be validated by others. This is contrasted from Muller’s third
conceptualization of narcissism, narcissistic personality disorder, which is more
longstanding and causes significant dysfunction in social relationships and emotional
wellbeing. These individuals strive to get their needs met without concern for the harm to
others.
As mentioned, previously, there is an ever-increasing number of conceptualizations of narcissism and it is not within the realm of this dissertation to describe them all. However, it is important to know these conceptualizations vary in degree of functionality and interpersonal difficulty and thus measuring the characteristics in terms of a range is highly important. Although mostly negative characteristics have been noted up until this point, Muller (2014) noted there are also positive characteristics of individuals with narcissism, such as being attractive, sociable, and able to form relationships quickly. These qualities help the individual function and get psychological needs met, although sometimes only temporarily. Indeed, these qualities can turn negative very quickly if others do not either affirm or validate the narcissist’s own self-view and instead meet them with criticism or some other form of self-esteem threat.

Indeed, narcissists are very protective of their self-esteem. It has been found that individuals high in narcissism most consistently have higher self-esteem than those low in narcissism (Sedikides, Rudich, Gregg, Kumashiro, & Rusbult, 2004). Thus, it would be reasonable to assume narcissistic characteristics would be an influential factor when examining reactions to types of self-esteem threat. Additionally, Morf and Rhodewalt, (2001) noted individuals high in narcissism are most motivated to protect or regain their high self-view. Because of this high motivation, it is more likely for these individuals to respond in a variety of ways, including maladaptive ways, to ensure their positive self-view.

Because narcissism was shown to be important in how individuals respond to self-esteem threat, Bushman, Baumeister, Ryu, Begeer and West (2009) dug deeper into their previous line of research on level of self-esteem and reactions to ego threat. They
extended their research to specifically include both level of self-esteem and narcissistic personality characteristics. In a series of studies, they found, in contrast to previous studies, that the level of self-esteem did not independently affect aggression. However, individuals with a high level of self-esteem combined with narcissistic traits responded most aggressively upon ego threat. Further, it was found that narcissistic tendencies were not the sole factor related to aggression as narcissistic individuals with low self-esteem did not respond aggressively at all. The researchers concluded low self-esteem eradicated the effect of narcissism on aggression. Based on these studies, it is likely the previously studied self-concept stability and clarity truly were measuring aspects of unidentified narcissism. Depending on how the researchers measured “aggression,” normalized but still aggressive responses could have resulted in being classified as non-aggressive. Additionally, mental compensatory strategies such as derogating the target could have occurred but not specifically measured.

Although there has been some discussion of the impact of level of self-esteem and narcissistic characteristics in the sexual aggression research, this has primarily focused on pathological narcissism (Abbey, 2005). Even though narcissists with high self-esteem have been found to be the most outwardly aggressive (Bushman et al., 2009), it could be lower levels of narcissism or self-esteem could correlate with lower levels of aggression. Translating this information into the sexual aggression research, it could be that high levels of narcissism indeed are related to high levels of sexual aggression. However, what has not been studied is less extreme combinations of these factors in relation to less extreme versions of sexual aggression, such as sexual coercion.
Coercion often is framed as a way to persuade and manipulate a person into some form of agreement similar to an unequal negotiation. Similarly Park, Ferrero, Colvin, & Carney (2013) sought to study the extent to which individuals with narcissistic tendencies succeeded at both the interpersonal and economic gain aspects of a negotiation. They hypothesized narcissistic people would be more likely to benefit economically in a negotiation but would suffer in terms of interpersonal ratings. The researchers measured business students’ level of narcissistic personality characteristics and had them complete a negotiation simulation with another business student. After the simulation, measures of empathic accuracy and trust for the simulation partner were obtained. The results of the study confirmed the hypotheses that those higher in narcissism tended to be more successful economically but were not trusted by their counterparts and tended to have less empathic accuracy related to their partner. Previous research related to negotiation purported narcissistic individuals would struggle with negotiation due to inability to empathize and connect with another person (Elfenbein et al., 2007). This study explained having too much empathy could actually hurt in a negotiation situation whereas the self-focused and low empathy characteristics of narcissism would set up a person for greater gain in negotiation situations. Additionally, aspects of negotiation can be translated into numerous fields in social psychology and this study is likely to prompt numerous future studies. For example, although Park et al. (2013) discuss the importance of the findings related to the business world, when the results are translated into a romantic social situation there could be numerous comparisons made related to negotiations of sexual contact or consent. Individuals with narcissistic tendencies would be more likely to
negotiate sexual contact, but in a coercive or exploitative way rather than for longer term romantic involvement.

Indeed, Foster, Shenesey, and Goff (2009) noted narcissistic individuals tend to be successful at short-term sexual relationships and note they tend to “play games” (Campbell, Foster & Finkel, 2002). Narcissists feel so successful in these short relationships that they tend not to have doubts about a current dating partner’s affections (Foster & Campbell, 2005). Nor do they have concerns about a potential dating partner’s interest level (Rhodewalt & Eddings, 2002). Yet is this lack of concern based in reality or simply part of the individual’s self-protective nature? This pattern of behavior could easily fit into the resisting set of reactions to potential self-esteem threat and it is very likely at some point a narcissist’s potential romantic partner may not be interested. Yet, these dynamics could be problematic for both individuals. For example, because the narcissist does not concern himself with the lack of interest from a potential partner, it is likely there might be a misperception of sexual interest, which is further discussed within the sexual coercion literature. Additionally, should the potential romantic partner reject the narcissist and therefore threaten his self-esteem, the narcissist could likely respond in an aggressive manner, resulting in either verbal, physical, or sexual aggression.

Similarly, Nicholls and Stukas (2011) suggested narcissistic individuals are more likely to derogate their romantic partners when they feel threatened by their partner’s success rather than changing their internal perspectives regarding their goals, such as by reducing the importance of certain goals so the threat is less painful. This speaks to the strength of the motivation to maintain self-esteem for narcissistic individuals such that they would rather attempt to make external changes, such as by hurting another person,
than altering their internal self-views. Indeed, they found that “if a friend poses a threat
to their self-view, a narcissistic individual seems poised to behave in ways that may
damage the friendship in question” (Nicholls & Stukas, 2011, p. 209).

Additionally, Campbell and Campbell (2009) noted individuals high in trait
narcissism have a large amount of benefits in emerging relationships such as likability,
positive self-view, and dating success. These benefits outweigh the costs at this stage of
relationship formation as the few costs mentioned are overconfident decision making and
poor private performance. In contrast with more enduring relationships, individuals high
in trait narcissism tend to have much more costs than benefits. Such costs include
difficulty learning from feedback, addiction to rush, and reduced likability. Thus, it
appears narcissists are set up to succeed more in the initial dating stages than in long-term
relationships. This would also seem to suggest the charisma which individuals high in
narcissism possess could make it easier to coerce their dating partners into greater sexual
contact than they might initially prefer. Indeed, Campbell and Campbell (2009) noted
potential costs to those involved with narcissists are aggression after threat and sexual
assault.

In a rare empirical study connecting narcissism, ego threat, and sexual aggression
Bushman and colleagues (2003) found that individuals high in narcissism became
sexually aggressive after their partner denied them of a previously promised sexual
encounter. Although this seems to clearly connect these three concepts, it does not
explain what might happen if the situation was fraught with greater uncertainty as to the
intentions of the sexual partner. Reasonably so, one study is unable to answer all
questions that might factor into each of these concepts. Thus, having a situation that is slightly subtler might allow for greater real-world application.

Succinctly stated by Jones and Olderbak (2014), “narcissistic aggression is driven by ego threat” (p. 1053). Further, as described above, narcissistic characteristics may play a major factor in responding not only aggressively, but sexually aggressively in response to an ego threat. Indeed, Jones and Olderbak (2014) continued to state narcissists would be more likely to favor sexual coercion over more forceful tactics due to their inflated self-esteem which would lead them to believe very little coaxing would be needed.

**Sexual Objectification**

As previously mentioned, another common experience likely to affect sexual coercion proclivity is sexual objectification. Sexual objectification refers to behaviors and attitudes that treat an individual as merely a means of sexual pleasure and gratification while disregarding their other qualities (APA Taskforce on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007). Some researchers have questioned whether it is just human nature for people to view others as objects regardless of gender. To test this idea, Bernard, Gervais, Allen, Campomizzi, and Klein (2012) presented 78 men and women participants with images of sexualized male and female photos. Of the 24 male photos and 24 female photos, 12 were inverted (turned upside down). After each picture was presented, the participants were presented with two pictures and asked to choose which one they had previously seen. Participants recognized upright males to a greater extent than inverted males. However, females were recognized equally regardless of position. This finding suggests females are viewed in terms of their body parts, while males are seen as unique
individuals, specifically with their face being the main identifying characteristic. Taken a step further, these data suggest females are seen as objects and males as individuals. Thus, according to Objectification Theory, it is not human nature to objectify, otherwise it would be done equally to both genders (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). The theory posits people are socialized to objectify through many sources, but one of the most powerful being that of the popular media. This socialization process and its implications is discussed in detail below.

**Sexual Objectification in the Media**

According to a 2014 report, the average American adult now spends approximately 11 hours of their day with electronic media (Nielsen Company, 2014). Additionally, advertisements have infiltrated nearly every form of electronic media including social media, videos, games, and websites of all kinds. This level of exposure combined with the increasingly prevalent sexually objectifying images of women or female body parts can socialize both women and men into viewing women’s bodies as objects. In truth, both men and women have been used as sexual objects in advertising and other forms of media. Yet, although rates of sexualized images portrayed in the popular media have remained generally the same for men, those of women have skyrocketed (Hatton and Trautner, 2011).

Sexually objectifying messages are clearly infiltrating all forms of media. Nevertheless, what effect do these messages have on its consumers? As previously discussed, Fredrickson & Roberts’ (1997) Objectification theory describes negative effects to both women and men such that both begin to view women as objects. In fact, it has been found that exposure to sexually objectifying media in as early as adolescence
results in viewing females as sex objects (Peter & Valkenburg, 2007). Objectification theory states that objectification is the first step toward dehumanizing and later victimizing others. Indeed, Rudman & Mescher (2012) found that men who unconsciously associated women with animals and thus dehumanized them were more likely to rape and sexually harass them. Further, Hall, West, and McIntyre (2011) suggest fragmenting women’s bodies, by showing just parts such as breasts apart from the rest of the body, as opposed to detailed faces of men more typically shown, makes it is easier for people to view women as objects instead of actual people. Fragmenting, which is a common practice in advertising, also makes it easier to dehumanize and victimize women (Orban, 2008).

The vast majority of research has focused on the negative effects of sexualized media on girls and women, such as depression and disordered eating (e.g., Collins et al., 2007; Becker, 2004). Although still scant, there is beginning to be more research focusing on how sexual objectification in the media has effected men. For example, recent research has found that men’s magazines seem to be communicating sexually aggressive messages. When researchers told male participants the derogatory quotes they were reading came from a men’s magazine instead of from their true source of convicted rapists, the men reportedly expressed great identification with the statements (Horvath et al., 2012). Further, in a separate study, neither men nor women could tell the difference between quotes from popular men’s magazines and those of convicted rapists (Horvath et al., 2012). Admittedly, it would be extremely difficult to tell the difference between the following statements:
“I think girls are like plastic... if you warm them up you can do anything you want with them.” – Men’s Magazine

“You'll find most girls will be reluctant about going to bed with somebody...But you can usually seduce them, and they'll do it willingly “

– Convicted Rapist

Not only is it difficult to decipher the source of messages from popular men’s magazines compared with sex offenders, these messages seem to be more than just contributing to confusion. For example, Aubrey, Hopper, and Mbure (2011) found that being exposed to sexually objectifying music videos for even a brief amount of time resulted in greater acceptance of interpersonal violence, hostile sexual attitudes toward women, and disbelief in the legitimacy of sexual harassment. These attitudes were shown only in men who were exposed to a sexually objectifying music video as compared to a video of an equally popular female artist in which she was not sexually objectified. Therefore, these sexually objectifying messages, even when presented briefly, appear to result in attitudes which promote sexual aggression.

Yet, general attitudes toward women and violence could be unrelated to actual violence. To determine actual intentions to negotiate sexual decisions, Hust et al. (2014) studied consent negotiation in men. They found that men who read popular men’s magazines are more likely not to ask for sexual consent or adhere to their partner’s consent decisions. Because the presence of consent is one of the primary determining factors in ruling whether a sexual act is considered sexual assault, these findings are extremely important.
Further, although most studies have not been able to show a causal relationship between the exposure to messages which portray rape as acceptable and the intentions to commit sexual assault there is one notable exception. Edwards and Vogel (2015) determined even short term (less than one minute) exposure to rape acceptance norms in combination with overperception of sexual interest, which is discussed later, can cause men to have increased intentions to commit sexual assault. Because similar messages which normalize sexual coercion and aggression are common in the United States, it seems many men are exposed to at least one factor which would make them more likely to later become sexually aggressive.

Although more severely sexually objectifying, pornography consumption has become more easily accessible with the advance of technology and the internet. One would expect more severe consequences from more concentrated sexually objectifying messages which are prevalent in pornography. In fact, a meta-analysis of pornography consumption showed viewing pornography was related to actual instances of sexual aggression, particularly if the pornography had violent themes (Wright, Tokunaga & Kraus, 2015). Thus, this very recent study has been able to make the connection between sexually objectifying media consumption and real sexual assaults as opposed to attitudes or precursors to sexual assault. However, this dissertation attempts to validate the precursors, such as sexually objectifying media, as important factors in relation to sexually aggression.

Although there has been an increased amount of research on the effects of sexually objectifying media in relation to men’s propensity for violence or sexual aggression, there has been far fewer studies which explore the negative impacts to men
within themselves and their personal relationships. Exceptionally, Ramsey and Hoyt (2015) purport based on Objectification Theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), men who objectify women to a greater degree suffer several negative consequences. One such negative consequence is poorer sexual satisfaction and relationship satisfaction (Zurbriggen, Ramsey & Jaworski, 2011). Yet, these purported negative consequences are not limited to themselves but often to the women with whom they are in a relationship. Ramsey and Hoyt (2015) found that sexual coercion is common among intimate relationships and is often mediated by the degree of sexual objectification. Specifically, they found that there was a strong correlation between sexual coercion within the intimate relationship and the amount the male partner objectified the female partner (Ramsey and Hoyt, 2015). Even though this was in part accounted for by an overlap in political affiliation, there is at least partial support for the relationship between objectification and sexual coercion in intimate relationships.

Per the above research, objectification and the idea that it is acceptable to coerce a woman into sexual activity seem to be common in the media. As preliminary evidence is showing, these messages are often associated with increased sexual aggression in men. Besides the mere exposure effect, other reasons for utilizing a sexually objectifying perspective have been explored as described next.

**Objectification as a Compensatory Strategy**

Gruenfeld, Inesi, Magee and Galinsky (2008) note objectification is an expression of power whereby those who objectify, often men, regard the target as less powerful and separate out their qualities which are useful to themselves. In sexual objectification, this is done when men view women only as attractive based on her sexual appeal. This study
was based in the power-approach theory which posits people with high social power move toward their goals and those with low social power avoid and inhibit their goals. The authors found that individuals with high power viewed their subordinates in terms of their instrumentality (a form of objectification) whereas the individuals with low power did not view others in terms of this factor. Thus, while this research focuses on how individuals with high social power approach others in line with their goal, it did not directly study how individuals with low social power view others or approach their goals. While supporters of power-approach theory would explain those with low social power avoid and inhibit their goals, it could be argued those with low social power may only directly avoid their goals (e.g. asking someone on a date or to engage in sexual intercourse). However, individuals with low social power may still move in goal-directed ways, only in a more passive and indirect fashion such as by using sexual objectification.

In support of this assumption, Landau et al. (2012) explain there is some evidence objectification is in fact a compensatory strategy. The researchers work from the framework of Subjectivity Uncertainty Theory (Puget, 2010), which posits objectification can be used as a compensatory strategy when individuals feel subjective uncertainty. The term subjective uncertainty is fairly unknown but is the name for the feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty which results from not knowing what others are thinking and judging about you in interpersonal interaction. It is important to be mindful that the concept of subjective uncertainty sounds very similar a social threat in that both result in similar lowered sense of self-esteem and uneasiness. Subjectivity Uncertainty Theory (SUT) explains the state occurs specifically when we must “think of ourselves with others while considering that others are thinking about us and making judgments about
us. Thus, this uncertainty about how we are being perceived by others leads to an anxious mental state,” (Puget, 2007, p. 7). Landau et al. (2012) explained because this anxious state of subjective uncertainty is particularly uncomfortable, men may use strategies, such as objectification to feel they have power over a seemingly uncontrollable situation. Furthermore, these authors argue that in contrast with previous views which suggest hostile attitudes toward women lead men toward objectification, men may tend to objectify women more when they desire positive interactions with them. They purport because they desire positive interactions but have uncertainty about how they will be perceived, they are likely to use objectification to compensate for their own uncertainty and lack of self-efficacy.

Specifically, the researchers argue by objectifying women, men can alleviate their psychological distress by denying women of their human existence and ability to make subjective judgments. By taking away women’s ability to make negative judgments, a man would be less likely to become anxious and more likely to feel they have control over the interaction. Even though this hypothesis can be explained intuitively, Landau et al. (2012) wanted to determine if it would garner empirical support. Therefore, participants were primed with either certainty or uncertainty in relating to women and then were asked to answer several questions related to objectification and the desire for positive relationships with women. They found that men who desired to have positive interactions with women tended to objectify women to a greater degree only after they were primed with uncertainty, a form of social threat. The researchers concluded when men are uncertain about their interactions with women and to some extent their power over women, they tend to use objectification to compensate for the negative feeling of
subjective uncertainty. Further, the desire for a positive relationship with women is a key factor due to a great amount of research which posits men’s hostile attitudes toward women result in sexual aggression (Malamuth et al., 1995). This research suggests although there may not be negative attitudes toward women there is still the possibility for objectification and possibly aggression. Indeed, the authors concluded by speculating how subjective uncertainty could impact future aggression against women and suggest research in this area is needed.

Based on Landau’s previously discussed study, (See Landau, 2012), Keefer, Landau, Sullivan and Rothschild (2014) attempted to determine what the effect of subjective uncertainty would be on objectification in real relationships rather than simply hypothesized others. The authors stated this SUT position “complements (rather than replaces) Gruenfeld’s theory that power increases objectification by explaining how objectification can compensate for lack of power,” (4). To test the hypothesis that individuals would objectify their partners, researcher primed participants with either subjective uncertainty by having them write about two uncertainties they have in relation to relating to their partner, or non-subjective uncertainty by having them write about two uncertainties they have with everyday problems. They were then asked numerous questions about their partner related to objectification. Through various manipulations, researchers found that subjective, but not non-subjective uncertainty, led to under-acknowledging of complex characteristics of their partner, and thus greater objectification. In a later study within the same article, Keefer et al. (2014) also parsed out only subjective uncertainty and not negative feelings (discussed as “negative certainties”) about their partner were associated with greater objectivity. In concluding,
the authors state the relationship between SUT and desire to maintain social connections would be a good base from which to research other motivators of objectification. Indeed, the specification of subjective uncertainty versus negative feelings toward others seems to explain even more prominently the impact of the social threat. They describe that negative feelings toward others does not result in objectification but negative feelings about the self does. This finding supports the view that social threat would result in objectification as a compensatory strategy more so than holding negative views about women.

As stated, the unique aspect of Landau’s (2012) and Keefer et al.’s (2014) work is the researchers connect objectification with the very normal characteristic of desiring positive interactions with women and the very common experience of feeling uncertain about those interactions (subjective uncertainty). Although initially it may not seem as though subjective uncertainty and lack of power are related, when looking qualitatively at the emotional state which is rendered by these experiences they begin to look very similar. Especially in men, it appears the state of subjective uncertainty leads to feelings of powerlessness and lack of self-efficacy in interacting with others. When feeling as though one does not have the capacity to interact with women and be perceived positively, surely feelings of powerlessness are involved. Indeed, when interacting with women, men who experience subjective uncertainty may feel as though they are the evaluative subordinate in the interaction, waiting on a woman’s decision to either judge him positively or negatively. Thus, both concepts are qualitatively similar and seem to fit under the umbrella of social threat conditions. When thinking about power in romantic or mating interactions, evolutionary theory might suggest in such interactions, the women
would also have power over the male in granting access to sexual activity. Thus, although sex has been shown to be cognitively related to power (Chapleau & Oswald, 2010; Kunstman & Maner, 2011), it seems a temporary loss of power through social threat could lead to compensatory strategies in order regain some sense of power. Framed as a compensatory strategy for feeling socially threatened, objectification may only be temporarily contributing to men’s well-being and certainly does not bode well for targets of such potential dehumanization. Indeed, Landau et al. (2012) note subjective uncertainty’s relationship to objectification signals a call for research into its impact on the potential for sexual aggression as well. Thus, research on sexual coercion, an important but understudied type of sexual aggression, is discussed next.

**Sexual Coercion**

Sexual coercion, as defined by DeGue, DiLillo, & Scalora (2010), refers to a class of inappropriate male behaviors in which nonphysical tactics (e.g., verbal pressure, lying, deceit, and continual arguments) are used to obtain sexual contact with an unwilling adult female (p. 673). DeGue and colleagues note this definition is used by numerous researchers within the sexual aggression field (e.g., Abbey et al., 2001, Calhoun et al., 1997, Koss et al., 1985). However, they note although there is a fairly consistent definition of sexual coercion, the way in which it has been studied has not always been so consistent. Sexual coercion as a class of behaviors has gone mostly unclassified until recently and historically has been grouped in with the general category of behaviors referred to as “sexual aggression.”

As previously discussed, the sexual aggression research has primarily focused on physical tactics to force women into sexual activity. However, Degue, DeLillo and
Scalora (2010) sought to determine the characteristics differentiating men who have utilized nonphysical sexual coercion tactics from those who become sexually aggressive. They found that one of the key characteristics differentiating the two was the endorsement of hostility toward women in that only those who are sexually aggressive endorsed these negative attitudes toward women. The authors posited a sexually aggressive individual disregards the thoughts and feelings of women or intentionally perpetrate to harm women. In contrast, sexually coercive individuals do not have the same disregard or negative intentions toward women. Thus, it seems hostility toward women is one characteristic that may take one across the threshold from using sexually coercive tactics to becoming sexually aggressive. Furthermore, the researchers also found that sexual coercers had more empathy and concern for others than did sexual aggressors (Degue, DeLillo & Scalora, 2010). Therefore, sexual coercers may not fit the typical profile of a perpetrator in the sexual aggression research and instead may be influenced more by external factors such as being exposed to sexually objectifying media (Aubrey, Hopper, & Mbure, 2011) or media which endorses rape myths (Edwards & Vogel, 2015).

In previous sexual aggression research, the construct of rape proclivity has been used to identify individuals who have a propensity to commit rape. Thomas & Gorzalka (2011) identified within the sexual coercion literature, the terms sexual coercion proclivity (SCP) should be used instead. They describe SCP as the propensity to persuade someone into sexual activity against their will. They operationalized SCP in terms of participant responses to the following scales: Hostility Toward Women (HTW; Check et al., 1985), Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA; Burt, 1980), the Sexual Experiences Survey, (SES; Koss & Oros, 1982), and the Likelihood of Raping Scale (LR; Malamuth,
They found that scores on these scales which are indicative of sexually coercive attitudes and behaviors were more likely to be related to sexually coercive behaviors in an analogue laboratory experiment. However, based on the scales utilized, it does not appear what was measured was strictly sexual coercion proclivity uncontaminated by rape proclivity. The scales could have measured overall sexual aggression proclivity but it does not appear, based on the scales utilized, sexual coercion was separated enough from other measures of sexual aggression. Further, as previously discussed DeGue et al., (2010) found that hostility toward women was a major construct involved in physically sexual aggressors and not found in those who solely sexually coerce. Therefore, although it is an important first step to theorize what constructs could be involved in SCP, it appears this study did not strictly measure sexual coercion.

Further, Fischer (1996) found that college-age men tend to use verbal coercion and deception more frequently than use of threat or force to obtain sexual contact. Examples of the most common means of verbal coercion included declarations of caring or commitment or explaining the sexual contact is not casual sex or a one-night stand. He found that these forms of deception most often occurred at parties or within the man or woman’s home. The characteristics of sexually coercive behaviors demonstrate very strongly how normative the behaviors can seem to both victim and perpetrator. The factors which predicted likelihood to become sexually coercive included greater degree of sexual experience, greater hostility, and excessive alcohol use. These findings show both external and internal factors contribute to sexually coercive behaviors.

**Theories of Sexual Aggression**
The ways in which men approach sexual activity and relationships with women have been explained through varying theories including those with evolutionary basis and spanning across the spectrum to those with a sociological grounding. To highlight and test these different perspectives, Goetz and Shackelford (2009) sought to test the hypotheses of the evolutionary against the feminist and social psychology theories for why men use sexual coercion in their intimate relationships.

Supporters of the evolutionary theory of sexual aggression would purport when worried about their partner’s infidelity, men tend to sexually coerce their partners to reduce the chances of their sperm having to compete with another mate’s sperm to pass along their genetics. In contrast, they note, the supporters of feminist theory would explain men are socialized into dominating and controlling their female partners due to the portrayal in society that this behavior is masculine. Goetz and Shackelford (2009) purport neither of these explanations may fully explain the phenomenon of sexual coercion in intimate relationships. Further, they suggest both explain the behavior, simply at different levels. For example, the feminist theory explanation gives a modern and contextual explanation for what is happening. However, the evolutionary perspective gives an overarching explanation for the phenomenon and explains the bases for why society developed toward socializing men into such domineering roles.

Upon testing these theories in relation to intimate partner coercion they determined coercion was predicted both by women’s infidelity and men’s previous controlling behavior in other realms (e.g., limiting money, social life). Therefore, sexual coercion was not entirely related to either infidelity, as expected from the evolutionary theory, nor domineering behaviors, as expected from the feminist theory. Thus, Goetz
and Shackelford (2009) interpreted this data to be explanatory for both theories simultaneously at different levels, as was expected.

Another study which tested the assumptions of different theories was conducted by Chiroro et al. (2004) and looked at the biological bases for why men choose to commit rape and contrasts it with the feminist viewpoint that rape is about power rather than sexual arousal and intercourse. The authors acknowledge rape myth acceptance, which is the acceptance of popular views in which rape is normalized, is positively related to rape proclivity, or intentions to commit rape, and thus the purpose of this study was to determine the motivational factors behind the relationship between these two constructs. The study involved participants being given a scenario and asked how likely the participants would act similarly to the man in the scenario and commit rape through coercive acts, though the words “rape” or “coercion” were not specifically used. The participants were then asked to what degree they would enjoy the sexual intercourse and enjoy the dominance (“getting your way”) involved in the interaction. Upon analysis, rape myth acceptance was correlated with both expected enjoyment of sexual arousal and dominance, but only enjoyment of dominance was also correlated with rape proclivity. Thus, the authors concluded these findings were in support of the feminist “rape as an expression of power” theory rather than the theory in which rape is used for sexual gratification. Therefore, although sexual arousal and gratification may be an important factor in relation to the attitudes toward rape and coercion it appears rape and especially sexual coercion is related more to the feeling of power received.

In a more specific test of the effect of power on rape proclivity, Chapleau and Oswald (2010) first developed an Explicit Sex-Power measure to determine the extent to
which participants consciously associated the act of sex with power. The researchers also utilized an implicit association task to determine whether the association between sex and power would lead to greater rape myth acceptance as well as rape proclivity. This was exactly the case: men who had an implicit sex-power association were more likely to have greater rape myth acceptance and greater rape proclivity. Further, the implicit and explicit measures of the sex-power association were uncorrelated. The finding that men implicitly associate the two but do not explicitly do so is consistent with other research in dual process theory. Finally, the authors suggest even though rape is not often portrayed explicitly in the media, the sex-power association often is and is therefore translated as a typical sexual script for many individuals.

Similarly, Schatzel-Murphy et al. (2009) sought to compare the predictors of sexual coercion in men and women, including the relation of sexual dominance. They argue women to nearly the same degree tend to sexually coerce men, yet they are not likely to use the same tactics as men. It was determined for men, but not for women, sexual dominance, which was defined as “deriving sexual pleasure from dominating someone in a sexual situation” and sociosexuality, defined as “one’s willingness to engage in uncommitted sexual relationships or casual sex” were significant predictors of sexually coercive behavior. The only significant predictor for women was sexual compulsion which was defined as “inability to control sexual urges”. This finding seems to be contrary to the evolutionary perspective about sexual coercion and assaultive tendencies in that only for women was the biological force of sexual urges a factor in sexually coercive behaviors.
Gruenfeld and colleagues (2008) note objectification is an expression of power whereby those who objectify, often men, regard the target as less powerful and separate out their qualities that are useful to themselves. In sexual objectification, this is done when men view women only as attractive based on her sexual appeal. This study was based in the power-approach theory which posits people with high social power move toward their goals and those with low social power avoid and inhibit their goals. The authors found that individuals with high power viewed their subordinates in terms of their instrumentality (a form of objectification) whereas the individuals with low power did not view others in terms of their utility. Thus, this research focuses on how individuals with high social power approach others in line with their goal but it did not directly study how individuals with low social power view others or approach their goals. Although supporters of power-approach theory would explain those with low social power avoid and inhibit their goals, it could be argued those with low social power may only directly avoid their goals (e.g. asking someone on a date or to engage in sexual intercourse). However, individuals with low social power may still move in goal-directed ways, only in a more passive and indirect fashion such as by using sexual objectification or tactics of sexual coercion (e.g., use of alcohol, manipulation).

**Overperception of Sexual Interest**

Overperception of sexual interest, a component of sexual coercion, is the process of perceiving ambiguous, often friendly behaviors, as a signal of sexual interest when they were not given with the intent of sexual interest (Edwards and Vogel, 2015). This process is referred to as the overperception of sexual interest (OSI) due the assumption that sexual interest is more greatly perceived than was projected by some target. The
concept is based on Abbey’s (1982) work in which male-female pairs engaging in a discussion were watched through one-way mirror by another man and woman. The observing men and women then gave an estimation of the targets’ sexual interest, and rated the targets’ behaviors for how much sexual interest was shown. These ratings were then compared with the targets’ own self ratings. She found that the men in the study consistently perceived more sexual interest in the targets than did the women, yet this was true only for the women targets (Abbey, 1982). This groundbreaking work has led to a vast amount of research into the differences in perceptions of sexual interest not only between men and women but also between sexually-aggressive men and non-sexually aggressive men. In particular, OSI helps explain the likelihood for sexual coercion in that individuals may not be aware they are being coercive. As explained by Baumeister, Wotman, & Stillwell (1993), individuals who are met with unrequited love and are rejected later admit there were many signs from their rejecter indicating they were not romantically interested in them. The researchers describe the experience of the rejected such that they are preoccupied with their own wants and desires so much it shields the person from being aware of what the object of their affection might be experiencing. One quote from a participant described this phenomenon: “There were certainly enough cues as to her lack of attraction, but I was too preoccupied to notice,” (Baumeister et al., 1993, p. 392). Although these preoccupations for some people may not lead to unwanted advances, for others their own blinding desires may allow them to believe the object of their affection is interested, or at least is not protesting. Thus, sexual coercion can occur with the least of intentions to do so. Indeed, it has been found that men more than women rely on nonverbal indicators to determine if they have obtained consent for sexual
indicators (Jozkowski, Peterson, Sanders, Dennis, & Reece, 2014). This can be particularly problematic when considering men tend to overperceive the level of sexual interest in their romantic partners.

Up until the time of Abbey’s (1987) study, laboratory research is the only type of research done in sexual aggression. Because of this, she conducted a qualitative study on the naturally occurring events that happen to male and female college students. She asked these students about their most recent encounter of sexual misperception and about their feelings and reactions to the encounter. Both men and women experience these encounters as the one who is misperceived, but when their behaviors were misperceived women tended to react more negatively to these circumstances than did men who reacted more indifferently. Further, when later sexual activity did occur because of these misperceptions, women were more likely than man to feel forced. The reason for the difference of reactions were not explored, yet those who were misperceived noted once correcting the person who misperceived, the three most common reactions were to keep trying, to react with anger, or to be understanding. These reactions are very similar to the ways in which individuals respond to a social threat, which were discussed previously, as correcting misperceived sexual interest would likely be perceived as a form of rejection. Based on these reactions, is reasonable women would feel forced if when correcting the men, they responded with anger or coercion. Specifically, it is likely the women would feel forced into further sexual activity to reduce negative relational ramifications.

Abbey’s (1987) research helped qualitatively explain some of the phenomena occurring within the realm of sexual aggression, with insights into possible motivations for sexual coercion. Since its conception, many researchers have used Abbey’s construct
of misperceiving sexual interest to fill in the gaps in the research on sexual aggression. OSI is conjectured to be related to greater likelihood of sexual aggression, yet no research had supported this idea or determined what the implications for this phenomenon might be. Because of this gap, Bondurant and Donat (1999) sought to determine whether sexual aggression was associated with perceptions of sexual interest. They found that males who were considered sexually aggressive by self-reporting sexually aggressive behaviors perceived greater sexual interest in a target woman’s romantic as well as ambiguous behaviors than did other participants. Thus, Bondurant and Donat (1999) purported it was the interpretations of such behaviors, rather than the behaviors themselves, which lead to sexual overperception and possible sexually aggressive behavior. Further, the sexually aggressive participants were more likely to endorse affective rather than cognitive aspects of rape supportive attitudes. This finding determined that although men may know the facts surrounding rape they may not feel the same way about that information as their non-aggressive peers. Overall, this study provided support for the differences in mental processes between men who are sexually aggressive and those who are not.

Bouffard and Miller (2014) looked to the biological bases of behavior and examined whether sexual arousal in combination with OSI was associated with the intent to engage in sexual coercion. They determined that self-reported level of arousal and perception of sexual interest of the female in the scenario were both significantly related to greater likelihood of using sexual coercion. Proponents of the evolutionary perspective might conclude sexual arousal would lead men to greater perceive the sexual interest of females so there would be a greater chance for mating to occur. Further, it
would be much costlier to males to assume women are not interested in sexual intercourse than to assume that women are interested, because this would lead to a missed mating opportunity. Thus, there would be a greater likelihood of rape or sexual coercion. This perspective might explain to some degree the biological bases for men’s behavior, but it is important to note this is not an excuse for men to rape or use sexual coercion to engage in sexual activity. Additionally, many researchers of sexual aggression would argue sexual aggression is not about sexual arousal or biological motives at all, or at least not entirely.

In contrast to the evolutionary perspective, others have sought to determine situational factors that enhance the likelihood for this phenomenon to occur. Because of the belief that the concepts of sex and power are tied together cognitively, Kunstman and Maner (2011) sought to determine the level to which perceptions of sexual interest were perceived accurately among positions of power. The researchers purported more specifically “activating one concept activates the other” and it would be likely that when personal power was activated it would likely lead to greater interpretations of sexual interest from others (Kunstman & Maner, 2011). Their hypothesis was supported as they determined participants in positions of power tended to overperceive sexual interest from their subordinates whereas those in the equal power condition did not have this bias. This concept and the relationship between sex and power is a very important one, yet there are few studies looking specifically at the lack of power or rather the sudden loss of perceived power as was described in relation to social threat. It could be the sudden loss of power in some realm might activate the concept of sex and lead to compensatory
responses to regain such power through sexual activity, whether forced, coerced or otherwise.

Finally, it is important to look at OSI through the lens of narcissistic characteristics as they have previously been discussed. Narcissistic characteristics have been found to result in overperception of one’s abilities in certain areas (Baumeister, Tice, & Hutton, 1989). This overperception can result in sometimes very risky actions (Smith, Norrell, & Saint, 1996). Similarly, OSI has been shown to result in making risky sexual advances despite having no direct signs of sexual interest (Bondurant & Donat, 1999). Thus, it is likely these concepts are at least somewhat related in that individuals with narcissistic characteristics are more likely to over perceive sexual interest in others and engage in risky behaviors that may lead to rejection or sexual aggression. However, these concepts have not been previously linked and thus there is no current information which can tie these two lines of research together. Although OSI is beyond the scope of the proposed research, it will be important for future research to determine the link between these constructs to increase the amount of information that can be gained both in the narcissism as well as the sexual aggression research. Studying the link between the social threat and sexual coercion would be an important initial step toward reaching this goal.

**Current Study**

This dissertation sought to study how two external factors (social threat and exposure to sexually objectifying media) interacted to determine proclivity towards sexual coercion. Compensatory responses to social threat have been thought of as the most maladaptive as they often lead to aggression (Chen, 2015). As has been previously
noted, one of the most well-validated means of inducing social threat is through the use of Cyberball, an online ball-toss game that invokes social exclusion (Williams, Cheung & Choi, 2000). Thus, in the present study social threat was manipulated by randomly assigning the participants to either the inclusion or exclusion condition in Cyberball. Additionally, aggressive responses are particularly likely for individuals with narcissistic characteristics (Konrath, Bushman, & Campbell, 2006). Although narcissism has been frequently studied in relation to sexual aggression (e.g., Abbey, 2005; Jones & Olderbak, 2014) social threatening conditions have not yet been studied in relation to proclivity for sexual aggression in any form. Thus, because of the high probability that narcissism may impact reactions to social threat, narcissism was measured and controlled for using the most widely used measure of narcissism is the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI-16; Gregg & Sedikides, 2010).

Further, one form of social threat has been shown to cause heightened sexual objectification leading to the conceptualization of sexual objectification as a compensatory reaction (Landau et al., 2012). Not only has sexually objectifying media caused an increase in sexually objectifying others, it has been shown to be related to more violent attitudes as well as actual events of sexual violence (Aubrey et al., 2011; Wright, Tokunaga, & Kraus, 2015, respectively). Yet, it is important to note objectification resulted as a compensatory strategy for men who desired positive interactions with women (Landau et al., 2012), which could mean it is not always necessary for men to hold negative attitudes toward women to perform certain sexually aggressive acts. Indeed, sexual coercion has been differentiated from more severe sexual aggression in that hostility toward women is not present in sexual coercers (Degue & DiLillo, 2004).
Thus, due to previous research support suggesting that sexually objectifying media could cause increased sexual coercion, sexually objectifying media in the form of music videos was used to manipulate sexual objectification in this study. Participants were either shown a video which has been rated to be high or low in sexual objectification. This methodology has been previously validated by Aubrey, Hopper and Mbure (2011) when they found that displaying highly objectifying music videos to men led to greater acceptance of interpersonal violence.

Finally, Abbey (1987) found that when corrected and thus threatened, individuals who over-perceive sexual interest often respond with anger or sexual coercion tactics. Thus, it is reasonable to hypothesize that men who are socially threatened through other means would respond in sexually coercive ways. Finally, in combination with these external factors, narcissist characteristics might allow for the requisite, and likely inflated, confidence needed to become sexually coercive. Examining these personal characteristics in combination with the proposed external factors is important. Therefore, sexual coercion was studied using the most direct and widely-used measure of sexual coercion which is the Tactics to Obtain Sex Scale (TOSS; Camilleri, Quinsey, & Tapscott, 2011).

In sum, the external factors studied (e.g., sexual objectification and social threat) both fall in the "normal" span of situations experienced by men. Further, narcissistic characteristics are also thought to be more common and normal than once believed (Muller, 2014). Even sexual coercion, though illegal and inappropriate, has been thought to be among the more "normal" behaviors along the sexual aggression spectrum (Testa & Dermen, 1999). Indeed, sexual coercion tactics displayed throughout the media have
become normalized in our culture in that it is appropriate to “chase” women to access sexual activity (Testa & Dermen, 1999). Thus, the current study seeks to determine the effect of the powerful but very prevalent variables of sexual objectification and social threat on proclivity for sexual coercion. Additionally, level of narcissistic characteristics was studied for its impact on the relationship between social threat and sexual coercion.

The hypotheses summarized above are now specifically noted.

● *Hypothesis 1:* Participants in the social threat condition will have greater proclivity for sexual coercion than participants in the control condition.

● *Hypothesis 2:* Participants in the high sexual objectification condition will have greater proclivity for sexual coercion than participants in the low sexual objectification condition.

● *Hypothesis 3:* The interaction of sexual objectification and social threat will lead to the greatest proclivity for sexual coercion.

● *Hypothesis 4:* Narcissism will impact the relationship between social threat and coercion. Men who exhibit higher narcissism and experience a social threat will exhibit greater endorsement of sexually coercive tactics.
CHAPTER II

METHOD

Research Design

The present study design is a 2 (Sexual Objectification: High vs. Low) x 2 (Social Threat: Threat vs. Control) factorial design with the dependent variable of intentions for sexual coercion. Based on presented hypotheses, narcissism was explored for its impact on the relationship between social threat and sexual coercion.

Participants

Selection

Participants included in this study were non-cohabiting, heterosexual men ages 18-35, who have had previous consensual sexual intercourse and who self-selected to be in this study through Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT). Data gathered through AMT has been shown to be of greater quality than university student data on many factors, such as reliability and validity of the data as well as diversity of the participants in terms of age, region and degree of life experience (Buhrmester et al., 2011; Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010; Rand, 2012). Further, as was previously noted, men commit the great majority of sex-related crimes and therefore are the most important to be studied in relation to these behaviors (Black et al., 2011). Additionally, cohabiting has been found to differentially affect responses such that those cohabiting tend to score lower in general on the Tactics to Obtain Sex Scale (Camilleri, Quinsey & Tapscott, 2009). Thus, for consistent results and comparable responding on this scale, only men who were not
cohabiting with a romantic partner could participate in the study. This study was originally conceptualized to be analyzed using an analysis of variance with one covariate. Power analysis for this type of test was computed using the software G*Power 3.1.9.2. A post hoc power analysis was calculated for a one-tailed test, a sample size of 299, and an effect size of $f = .09$ (as calculated in the Results section) indicating a small effect size. Post hoc power calculations indicated that observed power was .34 for this analysis. This suggests that the present study displayed relatively low power.

A total of 1,489 participants attempted to take the survey. Potential participants were prevented from completing the study if they did not meet study criteria and were immediately taken to the debriefing page. In addition to not meeting main study criteria for demographics, other participants were screened out due to failing to complete the survey or failing the majority of the attention checks. Additionally, potential participants who attempted to take the survey multiple times were also excluded from the study. Proportionally, 794 (67%) were excluded due to not meeting study criteria including 435 (55%) of those due to gender, 235 (30%) due to cohabiting with a romantic partner, 73 (9%) due to not having consensual intercourse, 45 (6%) due to sexual orientation, and 6 (less than 1%) due to age. Other participants (127, 9% overall) were excluded due to survey taking behaviors such as multiple attempts at taking the survey (58, 46% of the behaviors) and failing attention checks (69, 54% of the behaviors). Finally, 257 participants (17% overall) simply did not finish the survey. Of these, 178 (69%) stopped the survey after the demographics questions, 66 (26%) stopped after the manipulations, and 13 (5%) stopped during the manipulation check questions. These numbers show that the majority were excluded due to not meeting criteria and not due to reactions to the
manipulations or survey behaviors which demonstrated intentional attempts at manipulating the survey to receive compensation. This observation lessens the likelihood that most participants screened out of the survey were high in manipulative or narcissistic characteristics which could have skewed results of this study; however, it is still a possibility.

After these quality assurance checks, a total of 311 participants were initially approved based on fully completing the study based on meeting the criteria and passing most of the attention checks. Twelve participants were excluded from analysis due to failing two or more attention checks or being greater than three standard deviations higher than the mean for time of completion of the study. After these exclusions, a total of 299 participants were included in the data analysis.

**Demographics**

Participants ranged in age from 18-35 with a mean age of 26.43 (SD = 3.05). Most participants identified as Caucasian/White (74.6%) followed by Hispanic or Latino (10.7%), Black or African American (7.0%), Asian American or Pacific Islander (5.4%), Native American or American Indian (1.7%), and Other (0.7%). This composition of race is generally representative of the United States population with the majority (62%) being Caucasian, 17% Hispanic, 13% African American, 5% Asian, and 1% American Indian (US Census Bureau, 2014). The relationship status of most participants was ‘Single’ (83.9 %), followed by ‘In a Committed Relationship’ (14.4%) and ‘Separated or Divorced’ (1.7%). The majority of participants lived alone (70.2%) or lived with a friend or family member (25.1%), and 4.7% stated they lived with someone other than a friend or family member (but not a significant other).
Participants had a range of religious beliefs, with the majority stating they were Christian (39.1%), Atheist (20.1%), Agnostic (17.7%) or Nonreligious Secular (12.0%). Similarly, participants ranged in their level of education with the majority holding a Bachelor’s degree (40.9%), completing some college (23.2%) or completing high school (10.7%). Annual income was spread across the spectrum from under $10,000 (6.4%) to $150,000 or more (1.7%) with a slight majority earning $20,000-$29,000 (19.1%). See Table 1 for the entire list of religious beliefs, education and income levels represented.

Table 1. Participant Demographics.

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<table>
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<td>27</td>
<td>9.0</td>
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<td>$20,000 - $29,000</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000 - $39,000</td>
<td>52</td>
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Manipulations

Sexual Objectification Exposure

Exposure to sexually objectifying media was manipulated using music videos from a previous study which found that sexually objectifying music videos contributed to
adversarial sexual beliefs (Aubrey, Hopper, & Mbure, 2011). The previous study piloted numerous popular music videos using the following method. The criteria for selection included 1) having a high amount of body exposure, 2) featuring multiple close-up shots of sexual body parts, and 3) the artist danced and moved in a sexualized way directly in front of a male audience (Aubrey, Hopper & Mbure, 2011). Seven music videos that best fit the studies selection criteria were selected for pilot-testing. In a pilot study, participants rated the sexual objectification in the video, physical attractiveness of the artist, and their liking of the video. The goal of the pre-test was to select music videos that showed high sexual objectification but did not differ significantly on the physical attractiveness of the artist or liking of the video. Videos were rated on an 11-point scale for sexual objectification (0 = not at all sexually objectifying to 10 = extremely sexually objectifying). Liking and attractiveness was rated on a 4-point scale (1 = not at all, 4 = a lot).

Based on Aubrey, Hopper, and Mbure’s (2011) pilot testing, two of Fergie’s music videos were chosen to be used which vary in sexual objectification. “Fergalicious” was used for high sexually objectifying condition and “Glamorous” was used in the low sexually objectifying condition (Fergie, 2006a,b). The “Fergalicious” music video received a mean rating of 7.79 with a standard deviation of 1.87. The video “Glamorous” was chosen by the original researchers due to the artist being fully clothed throughout the video and not engaging in sexualized dance. Aubrey, Hopper, and Mbure (2011) did not report the mean or standard deviation of the sexual objectification ratings for “Glamorous.” Therefore, to ensure there were true differences in ratings and due to concerns about the videos being outdated, a pilot study was conducted in the summer of
2016 re-analyzing the videos. Using the same rating procedure as was done in the Aubrey, Hopper, and Mbure (2011) study, 61 participants recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk were asked to rate the videos related to their level of sexual objectification. It was found that despite the age of the videos, the effects remained similar. Participants rated “Fergalicious” significantly more highly sexually objectifying ($M = 14.27$, $SD = 3.18$) than they did “Glamorous” ($M = 10.74$, $SD = 3.86$), $t(59) = -3.80$, $p < .01$. Further, participants’ ratings of the artist’s sexual attractiveness in “Fergalicious” ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.35$) did not differ from those of “Glamorous” ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.31$), $t(59) = -1.22$, $p > .05$. Therefore, the videos were determined to be a valid manipulation of level of sexual objectification for use in the present study.

**Social Threat**

Social threat was induced using the online computer game “Cyberball” which manipulates the degree of inclusion or exclusion in a ball-tossing game (Williams, Cheung & Choi, 2000). Ferriday et al. (2011) found that the nature of the situation (i.e. public vs. private) did not have a significant impact on the aggressive response caused by a self-esteem threat in a general population. Thus, utilizing a social threat condition via the internet is not counter indicated. Cyberball is a widely-used manipulation in which the participant believes they are playing a ball-tossing game with 2 other pretend players. In the inclusion condition, players are all tossed the ball an equal amount. In the exclusion condition, the participant is tossed the ball equally two times but then excluded from the ball-tossing for the remainder of the game. A recent meta-analysis stated there have been 200 published papers using the Cyberball manipulation with a total of 19,500 participants playing the game up until that point showing the manipulation has a good
effect size (d > 1.4) and is reliable (Hartgerink, van Beest, Wicherts, & Williams, 2015) in inducing social threat. Additionally, the meta-analysis demonstrated that Cyberball consistently produced strong self-reported internal psychological effects, such as low mood and anger. Further, studies have shown that being excluded via Cyberball has been related to increased interpersonal aggressive via hot sauce and sound blast allocation (Hartgerink et al., 2015). Thus, numerous studies have shown it to be valid at producing both internal states related to social threat as well as interpersonal aggression.

After the manipulation, which takes approximately 5 minutes, the participants answered brief manipulation check questions such as “What percentage of the throws did you receive?” and “To what extent did you feel included?” These scores were used to determine if the manipulation demonstrated the desired effect of inclusion or exclusion with the participants.

**Measures**

**Demographics Questionnaire**

To determine if participants were appropriate for this study all potential participants began by completing a demographics questionnaire. If after the questionnaire the participant did not meet criteria for the study on any of the demographic items they were taken directly to the debriefing page. Demographic items related to political affiliation and religious membership were used to determine if there are any confounding relationships that need to be controlled for within the study. See Appendix B for full demographics questionnaire.
Narcissistic Personality Inventory – 16

Narcissistic characteristics are most often and most recently operationalized as the score on a continuum of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory-16 (NPI-16; Gregg & Sedikides, 2010). Therefore, narcissistic characteristics were measured using the NPI-16, a shortened measure of the original 40 item measure of narcissistic characteristics by Raskin and Terry (1988). The NPI-16 is a common and widely used 16 item measure in which a statement within a set of paired statements is chosen regarding which most closely represents oneself (NPI-16; Ames, Rose, & Anderson, 2006). Higher scores on the scale relate to higher levels of narcissism. The NPI-16 demonstrated internal consistency of alpha = .72 in the original study (Ames, Rose & Anderson, 2006). In the present study, the NPI-16 demonstrated an internal consistency of alpha = .81. Further, the mean score of the NPI-16 was 4.91 (SD = 3.74) in the present study. Validity of this measure was determined in several studies with young men and women similar to the age range used for the present study. The NPI-16 was predictive of high and inflated ratings of one’s own power, attractiveness and importance (Ames, Rose, & Anderson, 2006). See Appendix C to review the items included on the scale.

Tactics to Obtain Sex Scale

The Tactics to Obtain Sex Scale (TOSS) is a 31-item scale which measures the self-reported likelihood of individuals to coerce others into sexual activity (TOSS; Camilleri, Quinsey & Tapscott, 2009). The scale consists of two subscales which consist of items that are sexually coercive (COERCE) and items which are sexually coaxing (COAX). COAX subscale items are more subtle forms of coercion (e.g., “massage,” “rub her legs with your legs”) whereas COERCE involves more malevolent forms of coercion.
(e.g., “threaten to harm,” “threaten to leave”). Camilleri, Quinsey, & Tapscott (2009) suggested using the full scale if researchers want to identify all possible tactics that individuals would use to engage an unwilling or reluctant person in sexual activity. The combined version is reported to measure all sexually coercive tactics. Thus, the entire scale was used for this study. The responses to the items range from 1, “definitely not” to 5, “definitely”. Higher scores on the TOSS relate to higher intentions to engage in coercive behavior. See Appendix D for full scale.

Reliability estimates for the full TOSS have ranged from $\alpha = .90$ to .91 with similar results for each of the subscales, $\alpha = .87$ to .89 for the COERCE and $\alpha = .92$ and .93 for the COAX. This measure was previously normed on heterosexual individuals in a romantic relationship. Therefore, the instructions were modified slightly from having the participant answer the items in relation to “your partner” to answering them in relation to “a woman.” The estimates of internal consistency of the scale and subscales in the present study were found to be the following: full TOSS, $\alpha = .96$; COAX, $\alpha = .96$; and COERCE, $\alpha = .96$. Mean scores for the full TOSS scale were $M = 59.48$ ($SD = 30.47$), COAX, $M = 12.96$ ($SD = 17.52$), and COERCE, $M = 46.52$ ($SD = 20.05$). Criterion validity was demonstrated in that the TOSS was found to be positively related to greater experiences of sexually coercive behaviors with one’s partner within the past month and year (Camilleri, Quinsey, & Tapscott, 2009). Sexual coercion as measured by the TOSS was found to be unrelated to nonsexual violence against a partner. Participants used for norming the scale included student and community students who were heterosexual and sexually active. Therefore, individuals meeting these criteria were selected for the present study.
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale is an 11-item dichotomous measure of socially desirable attitudes (MC-SDS; Crowne & Marlow, 1960, shortened version by Reynolds, 1982). This scale assesses the degree to which participants desire to be viewed in a favorable way and was used to determine participants’ bias in reporting. Internal consistency estimate for the Marlowe-Crowne in the present study was $\alpha = .75$, ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 2.79$). Validity of the MC-SDS was demonstrated using the randomized response technique such that participants were more likely to endorse more desirable responses than undesirable responses (Crino et al., 1985). See Appendix D to review items on the full scale.

Manipulation Checks

**Sexual Objectification.** The level of sexual objectification participants experienced was measured in two ways. First, participants were asked to rate the female in the video on a scale from 1 (Disagree) to 5 (Agree) on four characteristics: Playful, In Control, Doll-like, and Powerful. It was expected that participants who were shown the highly sexually objectifying video would be more likely to rate the woman in the video as playful and doll-like rather than in control or powerful.

The second manipulation check was similar to the methods used both in the original Aubrey, Hopper, and Mbure (2011) study as well as in the pilot study for this manipulation. Participants were asked to rate the video on three qualities that make up the definition of sexual objectification on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree). These qualities included if the artist in the video: danced in a sexualized way in front of men, displayed multiple close-up visuals of her sexual body parts, and displayed
a high degree of body exposure. Finally, they were simply asked if they believed the video to be sexually objectifying by using the same rating scale. It was expected that participants in the High Sexual Objectification condition would rate the video as more highly objectifying on this scale than those in the Low Sexual Objectification condition. Manipulation checks for sexual objectification performed as expected and participants rated the highly objectification condition as significantly more objectifying than the low objectification condition. See results section for detailed analysis of these manipulation checks.

**Social Threat.** The level of social threat a participant experienced was also measured. Participants were asked to indicate the degree to which they felt included, excluded, able to participate, and ignored, rated on a scale from 1 (Disagree) to 5 (Agree). It was expected that participants who were in the exclusion condition would acknowledge they felt more excluded than those in the inclusion condition. Manipulation checks for social threat performed as expected and participants rated that they felt more excluded in the social threat condition than they did in the inclusion condition. See results section for detailed analysis of this manipulation check.

**Procedure**

Participants were solicited through Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT). Participants were recruited using the study title “Media Imagery and Sexual Attraction.” Participants were notified they would only be paid if they completed the entire survey in a diligent manner. After selecting the survey, participants were directed to the online survey link where they reviewed the informed consent form and were asked for agreement prior to continuing with the remainder of the survey. Next, they completed the
demographics questionnaire (See Appendix B for items). After completing the demographics questionnaire, if a participant indicated a response that disqualified them from the study, they were taken directly to the debriefing page and not paid for their participation. All qualified participants continued to complete the NPI-16, RSES and MC-SDS to identify characteristics about themselves. Throughout the study, brief attention checks which asked the participant to select “Strongly agree” or “Strongly Disagree” were used to ensure the participants were not randomly responding.

The manipulations of sexual objectification and social threat that followed were counterbalanced to ensure the order of manipulation did not disproportionately affect later responses. Participants were randomly assigned to either the high or low sexual objectification condition and to either the social threat (exclusion) or neutral (inclusion) condition in Cyberball. Immediately following the counterbalanced manipulations, all participants completed the Tactics to Obtain Sex Scale (TOSS) (Camilleri, Quinsey & Tapscott, 2009) and manipulation check questions for both the sexual objectification and social threat manipulations were completed. Following completion, participants were debriefed using a standard debriefing protocol and were invited to contact the researcher regarding any questions they may have had. Participants were thanked for their participation and provided resources to contact should they have any adverse effects from completing the study.
CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to analysis, following data collection and entry, the data set was examined for accuracy of data entry as well as to identify any missing data. Participants who did not fully complete the study or who failed two or more attention checks were removed. Finally, participants who were more than two standard deviations outside of the mean completion time for the survey were excluded resulting in 299 participants in the following analyses out of 311 completed surveys.

Assumption Testing

All major variables were reviewed for normality using histograms. The distribution of narcissism showed narcissism \((M = 4.91, SD = 3.74)\) was moderately positively skewed, with a larger number of participants reporting low narcissism than high narcissism. To reduce the skewness, both a square root and logarithm transformation were conducted and compared. It was determined that the square root transformation allowed for the greatest amount of normality. Therefore, the square root transformation of narcissism was used for all the following analyses. All other major variables were normally distributed. All other variables had skewness and kurtosis amplitudes within the -1.00 to 1.00 range.
Additionally, all major variables were reviewed for outliers. Histograms and boxplots indicated that scores on the combined Tactics to Obtain Sex Scale (Camilleri et al., 2011) were approximately normally distributed within each group with a total of 6 outliers. Because outliers were not extreme these scores were retained in the analyses. Finally, scatter plots were used to determine the assumption of homoscedasticity was met for all major variables. All major variables analyzed were linear and otherwise met this assumption.

Demographic variables were explored to determine their impact on the main analyses. Religious involvement was found to be significantly positively correlated with sexual coercion proclivity, \( r(297) = -0.24, p < .001 \). Thus, high religious involvement tended to correspond to higher sexual coercion proclivity. Age and annual income demonstrated no significant relationship with sexual coercion proclivity, \( p > .05 \). There was no significant relationship amongst religious affiliation or current relationship status on the sexual coercion proclivity. Additionally, an independent samples \( t \)-test comparing high and low religious involvement was conducted to determine if sexual coercion proclivity scores differed depending on religious involvement. Using a midpoint split, participants were divided into high or low religious involvement. It was found that those who indicated high religious involvement (\( M = 68.21, SD = 31.74 \)) had significantly higher sexual coercion proclivity than those with low religious involvement (\( M = 54.61, SD = 28.70 \)), \( r(297) = -3.78, p < .001 \).

Further, multiple correlations were run to ensure there would be no major impact of multicollinearity among the major variables. It has been postulated that correlations among predictor variables above .70 may be suggestive of multicollinearity (Tabachnick
As the strongest relationship was correlated at the .60 level, it appears all the major variables measured are distinct constructs and no issues of multicollinearity appear to be present. Further analyses of multicollinearity are listed next to each relevant analysis. See Table 2 for the full table of correlations.

Table 2. Correlations among Major Variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sexual Coercion Proclivity</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Narcissism</td>
<td>.26*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Social Desirability</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Correlation is significant at the .01 level

Finally, preliminary analyses showed that the combined TOSS was the most powerful measure of sexual coercion when compared with either the COAX and COERCE subscale. Thus, the full TOSS scale was used for the following analyses.

**Manipulation Checks**

Manipulation checks were conducted to ensure the independent variables of sexual objectification and social threat truly had an impact on participants depending on their assigned condition. The extent of objectification, measured by the ratings of music videos, was compared using an independent samples t-test based on condition (high or low sexual objectification). It was found that participants in high objectification condition ($M = 14.98$, $SD = 2.18$) rated the artist with more sexually objective qualities than those in the low objectification condition ($M = 12.50$, $SD = 2.24$), $t(266) = 9.11$, $p < .001$. Further, participants in the high objectification rated the nature of the video as more...
significantly more objectifying ($M = 26.77, SD = 3.41$) compared with those in the low objectification condition ($M = 22.79, SD = 4.53$), $t(266) = 8.12$, $p < .001$.

When looking at the manipulation effects for social threat, it was found that participants in the exclusion condition ($M = 18.10, SD = 2.70$) felt significantly more excluded than those in the inclusion condition as measured by self-reported levels of feelings of inclusion or exclusion ($M = 7.46, SD = 3.48$), $t(266) = -28.06$, $p < .001$.

Finally, the social desirability was found to be unrelated to sexual coercion or narcissism by correlation (see Table 2). This lack of relationship shows social desirability did not appear to influence participant responding on measures of sexual coercion. Social desirability was only used to determine the quality of the data and was not used in further data analysis.

**Main Analyses**

To evaluate hypotheses 1-3, a $2$ (social threat exclusion vs. inclusion) x $2$ (high vs. low sexually objectifying media) ANOVA was run to determine the relationship between the variables on sexual coercion proclivity via the full TOSS scale.

**Hypothesis One**

For the first hypothesis, it was expected that participants in the social threat group would have significantly higher sexual coercion proclivity than participants in the non-threat group. The Levene test showed a nonsignificant difference between the variances making them acceptable for further analysis. The analysis showed there was no significant difference between those who experienced social threat ($M = 61.22, SD = 2.53$) compared to those who experienced no threat ($M = 57.74, SD = 2.53$) on sexual
coercion proclivity, $F(1, 295) = 0.97, p > .05$; $\eta^2 = .003$, observed power = 0.17. Therefore, the first hypothesis was not supported.

**Hypothesis Two**

The second hypothesis stated that that participants in the high sexual objectification condition would have higher sexual coercion proclivity than those in the low sexual objectification condition. There was no significant difference between those who experienced high sexual objectification ($M = 59.32$, $SD = 2.53$) compared with those who experienced low sexual objectification ($M = 59.65$, $SD = 2.48$) on sexual coercion proclivity, $F(1, 295) = 0.01, p > .05$; $\eta^2 = .00$, observed power = 0.05. Therefore, the second hypothesis was not supported.

**Hypothesis Three**

The third hypothesis stated that there would be an interaction between social threat and sexual objectification such that those who experienced both social threat and highly sexually objectifying media would have the highest sexual coercion proclivity. It was found that there was no significant interaction between social threat and objectification on sexual coercion proclivity. $F(1, 295) = 0.08, p > .05$; $\eta^2 = .00$, observed power = 0.06. See Table 3 for group means. Therefore, the third hypothesis was not supported.

Table 3. Hypothesis Three *ANOVA* Group Means.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Threat</th>
<th>Objectification</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>53.39</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>58.09</td>
<td>3.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Threat</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>61.90</td>
<td>3.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>60.55</td>
<td>3.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypothesis Four

The fourth hypothesis stated that narcissism would impact the relationship between social threat and sexual coercion. Specifically, it was hypothesized that men who exhibited higher narcissism and experienced social threat would exhibit greater endorsement of sexually coercive intentions. To test this hypothesis, a hierarchical multiple regression with the social threat condition dummy coded was conducted. It was expected to find a significant interaction between narcissism and social threat, such that men who score higher on narcissism and were exposed to social threat show the highest proclivity to use sexual coercion. An analysis of standard residuals was conducted, which showed the data contained no outliers (Std. Residual Min = -2.57, Std. Residual Max = 2.50). Typically, tolerance that approaches 0, and a Variable Inflation Factor (VIF) that approaches 10 indicates multicollinearity exists between the independent variables. The factors in this analysis did not appear to indicate multicollinearity (Narcissism = 1.00, VIF = 1.00; Narcissism, Social Threat = .99, VIF = 1.00, Narcissism x Social Threat = .16, VIF = 6.37). Finally, the scatterplot of standardized predicted values showed the data met the assumptions of homogeneity of variance and linearity.

In the first step of the regression, narcissism was put into the equation adjusted $R^2 = .06$, $F (1, 297) = 17.52, p < .001$. As expected, narcissism was a significant predictor of sexual coercion proclivity ($\beta = .24, p = .000$), yet narcissism only accounted for approximately 6% of the variance in sexual coercion proclivity. Social threat was entered into the equation in the second step. This model was also significant, adjusted $R^2 = .06$, $\Delta F (1, 296) = 0.38, p < .001$, although narcissism remained a significant predictor ($\beta = .23, p = .000$). Social threat did not account for any added variance of sexual coercion.
proclivity. The interaction of narcissism and social threat was entered into the equation in the third step. This model was significant, adjusted $R^2 = .07$, $\Delta F (1, 295) = 5.51$, $p < .001$. The combination of narcissism and social threat was shown to be the strongest independent predictor of sexual coercion ($\beta = .33, p < .05$). In this model, narcissism ($\beta = .10, p > .05$) and social threat ($\beta = -.23, p > .05$) were not significant predictors. This model accounted for approximately 7% of variance in sexual coercion proclivity scores. See Table 4 for linear regression information.

Table 4. Hypothesis Four Linear Regression.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>$F$</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15415.70</td>
<td>17.52</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>&lt;.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7874.30</td>
<td>8.93</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>&lt;.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6845.23</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td>&lt;.001*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .001 level.

Additionally, an ANCOVA was conducted to determine if there was an effect of narcissism on the relationship between social threat and objectification on sexual coercion proclivity. The Levene test showed a nonsignificant difference between the variances making them acceptable for further analysis. It was found that there was no significant difference between social threat ($M = 60.44, SD = 2.47$), and no threat ($M = 58.44, SD = 2.42$) on sexual coercion proclivity, $F(1, 294) = 0.34, p > .05; \eta^2 = .001$, observed power = 0.09. There also was no significant difference between high sexual objectification ($M = 58.79, SD = 2.46$) and low sexual objectification ($M = 60.09, SD = 2.42$) on sexual coercion proclivity, $F(1, 294) = 0.14, p > .05; \eta^2 = .00$, observed power = 0.07. There was no interaction of social threat and objectification after controlling for narcissism, $F(1, 294) = 0.35, p > .05; \eta^2 = .001$, observed power = 0.09. However, there
was a significant effect of narcissism on sexual coercion proclivity, $F(1, 294) = 17.11, p > .001; \eta^2 = .06$, observed power = 0.99. Thus, it appears narcissistic characteristics alone accounted for higher levels of sexual coercion proclivity regardless of the external situations to which participants were exposed. Based on these analyses, there was mixed support for the fourth hypothesis. Narcissism demonstrated an effect on sexual coercion proclivity but only partially interacted with social threat to increase the likelihood of sexual coercion proclivity.

Finally, because the previously outlined analyses did not support the proposed hypotheses several ex post facto analyses were conducted. See Appendix I for a full report of these analyses.
CHAPTER IV
DISCUSSION

Although the traditional conceptualization of sexual aggression has focused on internal characteristics of sexual perpetrators, there has been a great deal of research which focuses on the potential impact of external factors such as sexually objectifying media, victim characteristics, and social threat on sexual coercion (Baumeister et al., 1996; Audrey, Hopper, & Mbure, 2011; Wright et al., 2015). Further, there have been frequent calls into the external factors leading to sexually aggressive and sexually coercive behavior (Abbey, Zawacki, & Buck, 2005; DeGue et al., 2010; Farris, Viken & Treat, 2010). Therefore, the goal of the present study was to determine the impact of two external variables that have high potential to be related to sexual coercion: social threat and sexually objectifying media.

The findings of this investigation suggest these external factors may not be as impactful as has been purported. The first three hypotheses proposed that social threat and sexually objectifying media would have both main effects and an interaction resulting in higher likelihood for sexual coercion. These hypotheses were not supported in the present study. Manipulation checks for both social threat and sexual objectification had strong effect sizes which demonstrate that participants reacted significantly different depending on their experimental condition. However, despite the ability for sexual objectifying media and socially threatening situations to alter a person’s affective state
(e.g., feeling meaningless, invisible, etc.), there appears to be no resulting impact on sexual coercion proclivity. Thus, the affective response resulting from these environmental factors seems to be unrelated to sexual coercion proclivity. DeGue et al. (2010) found that when comparing sexual coercers with those who have become physically sexually aggressive, personality characteristics were not able to account for sexual coercion alone. They encouraged the inclusion of external social situations or biological information in future studies. In following this recommendation, the present study focused almost entirely on external and social influences. It is likely the exclusion of a broader range of personality characteristics resulted in only getting a partial picture of the nature of sexual coercion. Consequently, external factors and internal personality factors, when studied in isolation, seem to be necessary but not sufficient factors when studying sexual coercion.

Alternatively, it could be that the affective response to the manipulations may simply not be strong enough to translate into behavioral reactions. This could explain why participants had self-reported differences in affect depending on their condition but did not have a significant difference in their sexual coercion proclivity. The level of affect produced in the manipulations for this study are unlikely to have produced the same level of affect in more “real life” social threat scenarios which may have caused compensatory sexual aggression. To this author’s knowledge, there has not been an established threshold of affective response that would make a behavioral reaction such as sexual coercion proclivity more probable. Research on this affective threshold could be helpful for various behavioral research questions. However, it would be particularly
beneficial to explore affective thresholds and the nature of compensatory reactions within the realm of sexual aggression.

On a related note, it could be that the length of the manipulations was not substantial enough to cause changes in sexual coercion proclivity. For example, it has been found that brief interventions are not effective at preventing sexual assault and instead research has supported longer programs that intervene at multiple levels (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). Relatedly, the present study appears to support the notion that brief stressors or situational factors may not be strong enough to impact men’s likelihood to engage in sexual coercion. One exception to this proposition was if the men already had internal factors, (e.g., narcissism, strong religious beliefs and behaviors) that already put him closer to the threshold for sexual coercion. In these situations, encountering social threat seemingly increased the likelihood for these men to report sexually coercive intentions, though this accounted for a small proportion of the overall variance.

The impact of religious involvement on sexual coercion proclivity in the present study could support the notion that experiences must be of longer duration or intensity to enact broader behavioral change. Although not a major focus of this dissertation, religious involvement appeared to influence sexual coercion proclivity such that participants who had a high degree of religious involvement tended to have higher sexual coercion proclivity. Religious activities involve the changing of beliefs and actions through mental and behavioral practices, some occurring daily or weekly for many years. Thus, it is understandable those purporting a high degree of involvement in these activities would demonstrate similar viewpoints. Yet, most religions espouse a moral
code which promote wellbeing for humankind and disparage followers for harming others. Consequently, the positive relationship between religious involvement and sexual coercion proclivity seems counterintuitive. Indeed, there have been several studies showing that higher religious involvement led to lower sexual violence and crime (Stack & Kanavy, 1983; Brinkerhoff, Grandin, & Lupri, 1992; Yoder & Bovard-Johns, 2017). However, the present study found that both high religious involvement and highly conservative beliefs related to greater sexual coercion proclivity. This combination of findings could point to an underlying patriarchal system that was not measured. Patriarchal beliefs and a related concept, hostile masculinity, have both been shown to be related to greater likelihood for sexual aggression (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002). The present study’s finding of the correlation of negative affect with sexual coercion could point to this more hostile facet of sexual aggression. Thus, sexual coercion may be more like severe forms of sexual aggression than has been hypothesized. Alternatively, it could be that the present sample included men who represented more severe forms of sexual aggression. This information points to the importance of having a more complex model which can account for several factors at multiple levels. These potential factors are discussed next.

**Proximal versus Distal Factors**

The proximity of the studied factors in relation to sexual coercion proclivity could have played a role in the apparent lack of impact. Researchers have proposed that some factors play more direct a role in impacting behavior than others (Ward & Beech, 2006; Miller, 2010). For example, Aubrey, Hopper, and Mbure (2011) found that being exposed to sexually objectifying music videos resulted in greater acceptance of interpersonal
violence, hostile sexual attitudes toward women, and lower perceived belief in sexual harassment. Relatedly, Edwards and Hinsz (2013) found that the attitude of acceptance of sexual violence mediated the relationship between rape perceptions and rape intentions. Thus, they purported that men with higher acceptance of sexual violence perceived fewer rape scenarios as incidents of sexual aggression. They argued this relationship may have resulted in men normalizing and consequently increasing their intentions for rape. Thus, it could be that sexually objectifying music videos and other media do, in fact, lead to increased sexual coercion but have an effect in a more distal manner. Synthesizing the results of the two aforementioned studies, it could be that sexually objectifying music videos result in greater acceptance of violence and lower perceived belief in the legitimacy of sexual harassment or rape. Then, the changes in these attitudes may lead to higher intentions for sexual coercion or other sexual aggression. Similarly, some research suggests that inducing social threat via Cyberball may have a stronger impact on intrapersonal factors (i.e., mood, attitudes) compared to interpersonal factors (i.e., aggression, helping behavior) (Hartgerink et al, 2015). It was suggested that the intrapersonal factors likely moderate the relationship between being excluded and interpersonal behaviors such as aggression. Thus, the exclusion of more proximal factors, such as internal moods, attitudes, and perceptions, may have resulted in the inability to connect these variables in the present study.

It appears a similar phenomenon may have occurred with social threat in this investigation. Despite strong support for exclusion via Cyberball to incite general aggression (see Hartgerink et al., 2015) this relationship did not appear to transfer to intentions for sexual coercion as there was no main effect of social threat found on sexual
coercion proclivity. Thus, it is very possible there are more proximal factors that may be mediating the relationship between threat and sexual aggression than there are between threat and general aggression. Proximal factors, in this case, might be personality characteristics or attitudes such as hostility toward women or a patriarchal worldview which were previously discussed. These findings suggest that sexual coercion is a more complex phenomenon than general aggression and, therefore, is more challenging to study.

In relation to personality characteristics, one of the clearest findings of this study is the effect of narcissistic personality characteristics on sexual coercion measures. Among the variables measured, narcissism showed to be the most powerful and consistent in predicting sexual coercion proclivity. This information supports Baumeister, Catanese, and Wallace’s (2002) hypothesis that narcissism is one of the major causes of sexual coercion. Narcissism has long been thought of as a major factor of numerous antisocial behaviors (Figueredo et al., 2015) and it is well established that narcissism is related to sexual aggression (Abbey, 2005; Jones & Olderbak, 2014). Yet, many researchers have argued narcissism is not the only factor in resultant sexual aggression (Abbey, 2005; DeGue et al., 2010). Indeed, in the present study although narcissism was a consistent factor, it still only accounted for a small percentage of the variance in relation to sexual coercion proclivity. Previous research (e.g. Bushman et al., 2003) purports narcissism should be more powerful in predicting sexual coercion. Yet, if that were the case it would be expected that narcissism would account for a much larger proportion of the variance than what was shown in this study. This inconsistency is likely
behind the drive of many researchers to search for related factors which could better explain narcissism’s relationship to sexual aggression.

Prior research has shown people with narcissistic personality traits are very sensitive to threats of any kind, particularly self-esteem and social threats, and have offered the explanation that narcissists try to compensate for threatening situations by becoming aggressive (Stucke & Sporer, 2002; Konrath et al., 2006). Similarly, Bushman et al. (2009) found that narcissists became more sexually aggressive following an ego threat when taking into account level of self-esteem. Yet in the present study, although narcissism and self-esteem alone resulted in higher sexual coercion, the interaction between these variables did not lead to higher sexual coercion. One finding which did follow the compensatory sexual aggression theory was that the combination of narcissism and social threat was a greater predictor of sexual coercion than narcissism alone. However, this model accounted for a small proportion of the overall variance which suggests, as was previously described, the relationship is more complex than the compensatory strategy theory proposes.

Likewise, recent research has proposed one personality factor alone may not consistently predict sexual coercion. Figueredo et al. (2015) questioned whether narcissism alone or a combination of “Dark Triad” characteristics including narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy would better predict sexual coercion. They found that the combination of these three characteristics, acting as a common factor, was predictive of sexually coercive behavior without influences of the three characteristics individually. Therefore, the seemingly more extreme internal characteristics of Machiavellianism and psychopathy may be related to sexual coercion more than was
originally hypothesized. Indeed, another study on sexual coercion found that dark triad personality characteristics predicted sexual coaxing and that psychopathy predicted sexual coercion in various scenarios (Jones & Olderbak, 2014). These findings could explain the present study’s relationship of narcissism to sexually coercive intentions while also accounting for the lack of predictive power from narcissism alone. Thus, future research would benefit from studying proximal factors in combination, particularly related to the “dark triad” personality characteristics.

Levels of Narcissism

Figueroedo et al. (2015) also explained that a core factor of callousness and manipulative tendencies have become evolutionarily adaptable and therefore more normalized or common in present day. Relatedly, one of the strongest correlations with sexual coercion proclivity in the present investigation was the presence of negative affect. This finding supports Figueredo’s (2015) explanation of general callousness as a core factor related to sexual coercion. Figueredo et al. (2007) further explains this shift in cultural adaptability:

Over the past 300-500 years alone, we switched from small pre-industrial farming towns to post-industrial technological mega-cities, and from semi-arranged patriarchal marriages to speed dating. Psychopaths flourish in mega-cities with speed dating. Given that such psychopath-conducive environments probably did not exist in previous human evolutionary history, psychopathy itself may be a newly emerging adaptation associated with an increasingly complex society. (p. 348).
Thus, as sexual aggression researchers have wondered at the quandary of seemingly “normal” men becoming sexually coercive, it could be our conceptualization of what “normal” looks like may have also changed (Abbey, 2005; Muller, 2014).

Consistent with this theory, research on levels of narcissism throughout the years has shown that scores of participants responding to the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) throughout the years have gradually increased (Twenge et al., 2008; Twenge & Foster, 2010). Indeed, when originally constructing the NPI, Raskin and Terry (1988) reported that the average score for the public was .38 when computed as the mean across items and the average score for celebrities being .45. One meta-analysis of 85 studies using the NPI showed that average scores ranged from .36 in the early 1990s to .52 in 2006 (Twenge et al., 2008). Further, studies on American college students have shown significantly increased scores on the NPI with average college student scores averaging similar levels as celebrities (Twenge & Foster, 2010). The mean score for the NPI-16 (Ames, Rose, & Anderson, 2006) in the present study was .31. Therefore, the level of narcissism represented in this study’s sample may not be representative of the current level of narcissism in the public or college students. This discrepancy could account for some inconsistency in findings related to the interaction between social threat and narcissism as well as the overall low proportion of variance accounted for by narcissism. Thus, it is important to pay attention to differences in level of narcissism in future research.

Toward an Ecological Model

Some researchers of have had similar difficulties when researching sexual violence and sexual violence prevention at a microsystem level such as by identifying
individual or external factors in isolation. Indeed, Abbey (2005) noted after reflecting on 20 years of sexual violence research there are numerous factors which have been identified as predictors of sexual assault perpetration. Yet, there has not been a model accurately representing the numerous interacting variables involved in sexual coercion. The present study attempted to broaden the scope of the research toward a more ecological model by including a combination of individual factors (e.g. narcissism, self-esteem) with microsystem (e.g., social threat) and exosystem (e.g., sexually objectifying media) factors (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Although this study was a step in the direction toward more ecological perspective, others have outlined even more comprehensive conceptualizations of both sexual assault prevention and sexual aggression (Banyard, 2012).

Ward and Beech (2006) made an attempt at the aforementioned ecological model for sexual offending when they outlined the Integrated Theory of Sexual Offending. Within this framework, they discuss causal factors for offending at several levels including genetic, adverse childhood experience, and environmental factors at both proximal and distal levels among others. Since outlining the theory there have been many studies attempting to take a more integrated approach toward sexual offending (e.g. Hines, 2007). Yet, one potential drawback of an integrated theory is that some researchers may fail to consider the different types of sexual offenders and use the same holistic theory for all types. Indeed, Quinn et al. (2004) noted that one popular “myth” concerning sex offenders is that they are one homogenous group with similar motivations. Thus, by using only one comprehensive theory for all offenders under the umbrella of sexual aggression we are likely missing a great amount of specificity and,
therefore, may find mixed messages among the research. It may be that there were several types of sexual aggressors represented in the present sample. However, by only measuring the propensity for one type of behavior (sexual coercion) we may have missed important information related to other types of sexual aggression. Further, we may have measured characteristics that overlap amongst the types of sexual aggressors and only captured a partial picture of the relationship. Research by Degue, Delillo and Scalora (2010) supports this claim when they found that physically sexually aggressive men and sexually coercive men had many shared risk factors (e.g., belief in rape myths, sexual promiscuity) as well as unique risk factors (hostility toward women in aggressors and social potency for coercers). Thus, it is unknown the extent to which men included in the present sample truly represented sexual coercers rather than another type of sexual offender.

**Differing Perspectives: Positive Sexuality**

Further, combining all types of aggressors together also goes against the positive sexuality perspective. Positive sexuality posits that sexuality occurs on a spectrum with a great degree of diversity (Williams, Thomas & Prior, 2015). Yet, it seems until recently, most of the research on sexual offending grouped all acts of “unhealthy” into the same level regardless of behaviors involved (e.g. sexual harassment, molestation, sexual coercion, rape). Alternatively, positive sexuality scholars argue that there should be increased focus on the intersections and interactions between sexuality and sexual violence (Gavey & Senn, 2014). By focusing on the nuances of these behaviors and how they have become mistakenly intertwined, we can more clearly begin identifying parameters for each and address each with greater precision.
Indeed, proponents of positive sexuality might purport that research and legislation focusing on risk factors or negative personality traits may be making the problem worse. Indeed, Williams, Thomas and Prior (2015) argued much of the sex offender research and policy is “moving full speed ahead in the wrong direction” by focusing efforts of research on these risk factors (p. 1). They argue this research leads to increased stigma and dehumanization of sex offenders leading to increased recidivism rates. Furthermore, other positive sexuality proponents purport that the right direction would involve a societal shift of bolstering protective factors within individuals such as by encouraging communication of their needs and discussing sexual consent behaviors (Gavey, 2005). They note that increasing research on changing the way society views sexuality and increasing protective factors would lead to more effective prevention and intervention strategies. As sexual violence research has traditionally focused on “what not to do” in relation to sexual behavior, positive sexuality’s focus on “what to do” would be of great benefit to the sexual violence research. Thus, despite having a similar goal of preventing and intervening in sexual aggression, the perspective a researcher chooses to take greatly impacts which variables are chosen to be studied under the vast umbrella of sexuality and sexual violence behaviors. Therefore, future research is encouraged to keep these considerations and competing theories in mind when designing their studies. More thorough limitations, recommendations, and implications of this study are discussed next.

Limitations

Sexual aggression research is challenging in that the behaviors cannot be directly measured in an ethical way. Self-report methods have been the most widely used in sexual aggression due to their ease of data collection. However, self-reports come with a
wide range of problems including dishonesty, defensiveness, and poor memory recall (Schwarz, 1999). Researchers have long searched for alternative methods to measuring the range of sexually aggressive attitudes and potential for becoming sexually aggressive (Dall’Ara & Maass, 1999; Anderson & Anderson, 2008). However, currently there are very few methods other than self-report that have been used to measure these tendencies. Thus, one potential limitation of this study is the use of self-report measures of sexual coercion proclivity may have resulted in capturing only a partial picture of men who are more likely to become sexually coercive. Research on sexual aggression is likely to be stalled without development of more sophisticated tools for detecting and predicting sexual aggression. Thus, future research to prioritize the development of these measures is called for.

Additionally, although there has been a great deal of research on the utility of Amazon Mechanical Turk (Buhrmester et al., 2011; Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010; Rand, 2012), the present study required active attention and participation from participants for manipulations to be effective. Because the study was conducted online and participants could not be actively monitored to ensure attention. Despite participants being required to pass attention checks, it remains unclear to what extent the manipulations were used to their highest power and effectiveness. Thus, follow-up studies are encouraged which can monitor participants while they experience these brief manipulations of their external environment.

Similarly, the length of the manipulations may not have allowed for a powerful enough effect on sexual coercion proclivity. As has been mentioned, research on sexual assault prevention indicated that short interventions are often not influential enough to
change behavior (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). Thus, longer experiences may also be required to significantly impact negative behavior. Although identifying, manipulating, and utilizing possible predictive experiences that are higher in duration or intensity may be beneficial for future studies, they may not be ethical due to their potential for long-term effects on behavior.

On a related note, although initial calculations of adequate power indicated that power would not be an issue, post hoc calculations indicated that power might have played a role in the lack of significant findings in this dissertation. The post hoc calculation of power was .34 indicating a low power. Thus, it could have been that there simply was not enough power to detect a significant difference resulting in a Type II error. However, statisticians seem to hold conflicting perspectives on the utility of retrospective power analyses with many finding it highly controversial (e.g., Hoenig & Heisey, 2001; Wang, 2010). Therefore, while it is possible that there was not a large enough sample size to detect a true effect, low retrospective power is not a means to identify this with certainty.

As previously noted, the mean level of narcissism in the present sample was lower than many other studies using similar measures of narcissistic personality (e.g., Twenge et al., 2008; Twenge & Foster, 2010). The present sample was likely not representative of the public or young adults in their level of narcissism. Additionally, the majority of participants were low in narcissism, leading to a floor effect on this variable. Thus, the results of this study may have been skewed by an unrepresentative sample. It would be beneficial for future studies to seek a representative level of narcissism among participants to make ensure their conclusions are appropriately generalizable.
Finally, as was frequently noted, one prominent limitation of this study was not considering more proximal factors such as attitudes (e.g., rape myths, patriarchal viewpoints, hypermasculinity) or additional personality factors (e.g., the “dark triad”). The inclusion of these factors and others would allow for a more holistic understanding of the nature of sexual coercion.

Relatedly, due to the online nature of this study some aspects of a typical exclusion and sexual coercion scenario were not able to be replicated. In particular, influences of surrounding peers have been found to impact sexually aggressive behaviors both in positive and negative ways (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Murnen, Wright & Kaluzny, 2002). Thus, another limitation of this study is the inability to replicate, measure, or manipulate peer norms and influences. This potential proximal factor could be an important link between environmental features and behavioral intentions.

Lastly, the online nature of this study also limited the extent to which manipulations would replicate real-life scenarios. To ensure validity of the social threat scenario, a reliable and well-validated online manipulation of exclusion was utilized. This general exclusion manipulation (Cyberball) has been shown to be related to general anger and aggression (Hartgerink et al., 2015). Using this manipulation could have resulted in more generally aggressive rather than sexually aggressive responses, although general aggression was not measured. Using an exclusion or rejection manipulation that targeted sexual interactions and behavior may have resulted in more sexually coercive reactions. Thus, developing validated ways to manipulate these sexual rejection and exclusion scenarios would have improved this study. Based on these limitations, implications for future research and clinical practice are discussed next.
Implications

Despite its limitations, the present study found support for past research on the relationship between narcissism and sexual aggression (e.g., Abbey, 2005; Jones & Olderbak, 2014). There was mixed support for the explanation of sexual coercion as a compensatory strategy of narcissists who have been socially threatened. Although it is clear narcissism is related to sexual coercion, the nature of this relationship and related factors remains unclear. In the present study, a large portion of the participants were low in narcissism which could have led to difficulty drawing more direct conclusions. Therefore, future research is encouraged to select a more homogenous sample of participants high in narcissism to obtain a clearer picture of narcissism’s effect on sexual coercion.

Additionally, one major implication for future research is the need to measure both proximal and distal internal and external factors concurrently when studying sexual coercion. Research has shown only partial explanations when studying internal or external factors alone. Sexual coercion seems to be a complex act involving many interrelated factors. Thus, research focusing on one small part is unlikely to fully capture this complexity. The lack of variance accounted for by even a combination of factors in this study suggests an ecological model of sexual coercion, which accounts may account for multiple levels simultaneously, would be more instructive.

Sexual and intimate partner violence researchers have recently begun to conceptualize and conduct research from an ecological perspective (Banyard, 2012; Smith Slep et al., 2014). However, this research appears to be very early in its development. Sexual coercion perpetration as a unique area of study, therefore, has not
received an ecological conceptualization or application of its own. As has been shown by unanswered questions in the present study, the importance of having a comprehensive model which accounts for variables at multiple levels cannot be overstated.

In such a model, sexual coercion would be a function of both personal and environmental factors. For example, the individual and microsystem level should involve at least measures of affect (particularly negative affect) and personality characteristics, such as those in the “Dark Triad” (Figueredo et al., 2015), attitudes, such as rape myth acceptance (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999), patriarchal belief systems (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002) and past sexual experiences or history of exposure to violence (Koss et al., 2007). At the mesosystem level, the present findings suggest it is important to continue studying level of religiosity and conservative beliefs for any intersections with other variables. Additionally, because there was a small effect of social threat when combined with narcissism, it may be beneficial to continue looking at socially threatening situations when combined with a broader range of characteristics. Other mesosystem level factors that would be important to study include exposure to sexually aggressive peers, highly patriarchal family environment, or intimate relationship factors (Murnen, Wright & Kaluzny, 2002). In contrast with other studies (e.g., Aubrey, Hopper, & Mbure, 2011; Wright & Tokanaga, 2016) sexually objectifying media was not found to be related to sexual coercion. To gain a clearer understanding of the effect of sexually objectifying media in relation to sexual coercion it should be studied in combination with a broader range of factors. Other exosystem level factors could include neighborhood level of violence, poverty level, and the type of climate related to sexual assault at one’s school or workplace (Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012; Holland, Rabelo, & Cortina, 2014).
Finally, microsystem factors could involve the impact of social policies and the broader societal environment (Campbell & Johnson, 1997). International research which could compare sexual coercion behaviors and attitudes across political establishments and cultural norms could accomplish this goal (Muir, Lonsway, & Payne, 1996). Ward and Beech (2006) made a great step in this direction by outlining their Integrated Theory of Sexual Offending. Designing a model that is specific to sexual coercion and, therefore, recognizing that different types of sexual aggressors display different behaviors and different motivations would further extend this goal.

The previously described ecological model would improve future research in several ways. Not only would it be more comprehensive, but it would allow for the ability to see the interplay between both proximal and distal factors in their relation to sexual coercion. As was described previously, by studying more distal factors primarily in the present study there was potentially decreased ability to show an effect on resultant sexual coercion. Thus, it is highly suggested for future research to keep the levels of predictive factors in mind when designing their studies. Designing a study with multiple domains and both proximal and distal factors would allow researchers a better opportunity to identify the clearest and most accurate picture of sexual coercion.

Similarly, practitioners also need to keep the complex nature of sexual coercion in mind when designing interventions. Rather than focusing on one risk factor in isolation, clinicians are encouraged to take a multifaceted approach which targets the multiple layers previously discussed. By focusing on a wide range of risk factors at a variety of levels, clinicians stand the best chance of reducing the proclivity for sexual coercion and other sexual aggression (Barnett & Mann, 2013). Additionally, this study supports
previous research on prevention efforts in that it is unlikely brief experiences are strong enough to impact either the promotion or prevention of sexual coercion (Anderson & Whiston, 2005). Therefore, the scope of intervention in sexual coercion must be simultaneously broad, comprehensive, and intense. Designing these prevention and intervention efforts in a way that is practical and cost-effective is both challenging and of the utmost importance.

**Conclusion**

The present investigation attempted to explore the impact of two external factors (social threat and sexually objectifying media) in combination with an internal personality factor (narcissism) on sexual coercion proclivity. Although narcissism was found to be highly related to sexual coercion proclivity, neither of the external factors were shown to be significantly related to sexual coercion. This result is in contrast to previous research finding sexually objectifying media led to increased acceptance of interpersonal violence (Audrey, Hopper, & Mbure, 2011) and numerous findings of social threat being related to increased aggression (Hartgerink et al., 2015). Sexual coercion may, therefore, involve more complex processes than non-sexual aggression. Future research is encouraged to shift toward a more comprehensive, ecological approach when studying sexual coercion. Sexual coercion is too often normalized (Schatzel-Murphy et al., 2009), understudied (Degue & DiLillo, 2004), and its effects are frequently underreported (Brousseau et al., 2011). A comprehensive approach to studying sexual coercion would give due diligence to such an underrepresented topic.
APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your age __________

2. What is your gender:
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Other

3. Do you consider yourself to be:
   a. Heterosexual or straight
   b. Gay; or
   c. Bisexual
   2. Other __________

3. Which ethnicity do you most closely identify with:
   a. Caucasian/White
   b. Hispanic or Latino
   c. Black or African American
   d. Native American or American Indian
   e. Asian or Pacific Islander
   f. Other

4. What is your relationship status?
   a. Single
   b. In a committed relationship
   c. Married/Partnered
   d. Widowed
   e. Divorced/Separated

5. Which best describes your living situation:
   a. living with romantic partner
   b. living with friend or family member
   c. living with someone other than friend or family member
   d. living alone
6. Have you previously had sexual intercourse with a woman?
   a. Yes
   b. No

7. Which of the following best describes your political orientation?
   a. Very liberal
   b. Somewhat liberal
   c. Moderate
   d. Somewhat conservative
   e. Very Conservative

8. Which of the following best describes your religious or spiritual affiliation?
   a. Nonreligious secular
   b. Agnostic Atheist
   c. Christianity
   d. Judaism
   e. Islam
   f. Buddhism
   g. Hinduism Sikhism
   h. Unitarian Universalism
   i. Wiccan Pagan Druid
   j. Spiritualism
   k. Native American
   l. Baha’i
   m. Not listed

9. How involved are you in your religious or spiritual beliefs and practices?
   a. Very Involved
   b. Somewhat Involved
   c. Somewhat Uninvolved
   d. Very Uninvolved
APPENDIX B

NARCISSISTIC PERSONALITY INVENTORY – 16

Read each pair of statements below and place an X by the one that comes closest to describing your feelings and beliefs about yourself. You may feel that neither statement describes you well, but pick one that comes closest. Please complete all pairs.

1. ___ I really like to be the center of attention.
   ___ It makes me uncomfortable to be the center of attention.

2. ___ I am no better or no worse than most people.
   ___ I think I am a special person.

3. ___ Everybody likes to hear my stories.
   ___ Sometimes I tell good stories.

4. ___ I usually get the respect I deserve.
   ___ I insist upon getting the respect that is due me.

5. ___ I don’t mind following orders.
   ___ I like having authority over people.

6. ___ I’m going to be a great person.
   ___ I hope I’m going to be successful.

7. ___ People sometimes believe what I tell them.
   ___ I can make anybody believe anything I want them to.

8. ___ I expect a great deal from other people.
   ___ I like to do things for other people.

9. ___ I like to be the center of attention.
   ___ I prefer to blend in with the crowd.

10. ___ I am much like everybody else.
    ___ I am an extraordinary person.
11. ___ I always know what I am doing.
    ___ Sometimes I am not sure what I am doing.

12. ___ I don’t like it when I find myself manipulating people.
    ___ I find it easy to manipulate people.

13. ___ Being an authority doesn’t mean that much to me.
    ___ People always seem to recognize my authority.

14. ___ I know that I am good because everybody keeps telling me so.
    ___ When people compliment me I sometimes get embarrassed.

15. ___ I try not to be a show off.
    ___ I am apt to show off if I get the chance.

16. ___ I am more capable than other people.
    ___ There is a lot I can learn from other people.

Note: Responses associated with narcissism shown in bold.
APPENDIX C

TACTICS TO OBTAIN SEX SCALE (TOSS) – MODIFIED FOR USE IN THIS STUDY

Suppose you were with a woman this evening and she did not want to have sex with you. Please rate **HOW LIKELY** you would engage in the following acts to persuade her into having sex. Remember, you may skip questions you are uncomfortable in answering.

Secondly, suppose you were with a woman this evening and she did not want to have sex with you. Please rate **HOW EFFECTIVE** the following acts would be to persuade her into having sex. Remember, you may skip questions you are uncomfortable in answering.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood You Would Use Acts</th>
<th>Definitely Not</th>
<th>Unlikely</th>
<th>Maybe</th>
<th>Probably</th>
<th>Definitely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massage his or her neck</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threaten to leave</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Try to make her feel bad about not having sex</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play with her hair</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggest you may harm her</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offer to buy her something</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lie down near her</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tie her up</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block her retreat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tickle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call her names</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threaten self-harm</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massage feet/thighs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use humor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say you might break her property</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wait until she is sleeping</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempt to blackmail</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caress near/on her genitals</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rub leg with her legs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whisper in her ear</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Softly kiss her ears, neck or face</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question her sexual orientation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Break her property</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say sweet things</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide her with alcohol</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explain that your needs should be met</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take advantage of her if she is already drunk or stoned</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slap or hit</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caress her breasts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically restrain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

REYNOLDS SHORT FORMS OF THE MARLOWE-CROWNE SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE

Short Form A

3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don’t get my way.
13. No matter who I’m talking to, I’m always a good listener.
15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
16. I’m always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone’s feelings.

Note: True/False Items (number corresponding to the full MC scale listed)
APPENDIX E

EX POST FACTO ANALYSIS

SEXUAL CONSENT SCALE - REVISED

Instructions: Please note that the term sexual consent is used extensively throughout the questionnaire. Please use the definition of sexual consent below when answering the questions that follow.

Sexual consent: the freely given verbal or nonverbal communication of a feeling of willingness to engage in sexual activity.

Using the following scale, please indicate the number that best describes how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers, just your opinions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factor 1: Positive Attitude Towards Establishing Consent

1. I feel that sexual consent should always be obtained before the start of any sexual activity.
2. I think it is equally important to obtain sexual consent in all relationships regardless of whether or not they have had sex before.
3. I believe that asking for sexual consent is in my best interest because it reduces any misinterpretations that might arise.
4. I feel that verbally asking for sexual consent should occur before proceeding with any sexual activity.
5. When initiating sexual activity, I believe that one should always assume they do not have sexual consent.
6. I believe that it is just as necessary to obtain consent for genital fondling as it is for sexual intercourse.
7. I think that consent should be asked before any kind of sexual behavior, including kissing or petting.
8. I feel it is the responsibility of both partners to make sure sexual consent is established before sexual activity begins.
Factor 2: (Lack of) Perceived Behavioral Control

1. I would worry that, if other people knew I asked for sexual consent before starting sexual activity, they would think I was weird or strange.
2. I would have difficulty asking for consent because it would spoil the mood.
3. I am worried that my partner might think I'm weird or strange if I asked for sexual consent before starting any sexual activity.
4. I think that verbally asking for sexual consent is awkward.
5. I would have difficulty asking for consent because it doesn't fit with how I like to engage in sexual activity.
6. I believe that verbally asking for sexual consent reduces the pleasure of the encounter.
7. I would have a hard time verbalizing my consent in a sexual encounter because I am too shy.
8. I feel confident that I could ask for consent from a new sexual partner. *
9. I would not want to ask a partner for consent because it would remind me that I am sexually active.

Factor 3: Relationship Length Norms

1. I believe that the need for asking for sexual consent decreases as the lengths of an intimate relationship increases.
2. I think that obtaining sexual consent is more necessary in a casual sexual encounter than in a committed relationship.
3. I think that obtaining sexual consent is more necessary in a new relationship than in a committed relationship.
4. If a couple has a long history of consenting sexual activity with each other, I do not believe that they need to ask for consent during each sexual encounter.
5. I believe that partners are less likely to ask for sexual consent the longer they are in a relationship.

Factor 4: (Pro) Assuming Consent

1. I think it is okay to assume consent and proceed sexually until the partner indicates "no".
2. If a sexual request is made and they partner indicates "no," I feel that it is okay to continue negotiating the request.
3. I think nonverbal behaviors are as effective as verbal communication to indicate sexual consent.
4. Not asking for sexual consent is not really a big deal.
5. In making a sexual advance, I believe that it is okay to assume consent unless you hear a "no".
6. I believe it is enough to ask for consent at the beginning of a sexual encounter.
7. I believe that sexual intercourse is the only sexual activity that requires explicit verbal consent.

Factor 5: Indirect Behavioral Approach

1. Typically, I communicate sexual consent to my partner using nonverbal signals and body language.
2. Typically, I ask for consent by making a sexual advance and waiting for a reaction, so I know whether or not to continue.
3. It is easy to accurately read my current (or most recent) partner's non verbal signals as indicating consent or non-consent to sexual activity.
4. I always verbally ask for consent before I instate a sexual encounter. *
5. I don't have to ask or give my partner sexual consent because my partner knows me well enough.
6. I don't have to ask or give my partner sexual consent because I have a lot of trust in my partner to "do the right thing".

Factor 6: Awareness of Consent

1. I have discussed sexual consent issues with a friend.
2. I have heard sexual consent issues being discussed by other students on campus.
3. I have discussed consent issues with my current (or most recent) partner at times other than during sexual encounters.
4. I have not given much thought to the topic of sexual consent. *

*Indicates that this item needs to be reversed when scoring.
APPENDIX F

EX POST FACTO ANALYSIS

ROSENBERG SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

Instructions: Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
2. At times I think I am no good at all.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
6. I certainly feel useless at times
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Scoring: Items 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 are reverse scored. Give “Strongly Disagree” 1 point, “Disagree” 2 points, “Agree” 3 points, and “Strongly Agree” 4 points. Sum scores for all ten items. Keep scores on a continuous scale. Higher scores indicate higher self-esteem.
APPENDIX G
EX POST FACTO ANALYSIS

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE AFFECT SCHEDULE

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then rate it based on the scale below. **Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now**, that is, at the present moment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Slightly or Not at All</th>
<th>A Little</th>
<th>Moderately</th>
<th>Quite a Bit</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Interested  
2. Distressed  
3. Excited  
4. Upset  
5. Strong  
6. Guilty  
7. Scared  
8. Hostile  
9. Enthusiastic  
10. Proud  
11. Irritable  
12. Alert  
13. Ashamed  
14. Inspired  
15. Nervous  
16. Determined  
17. Attentive  
18. Jittery  
19. Active  
20. Afraid

Scoring Instructions:

**Positive Affect Score:** Add the scores on items 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, and 19. Scores can range from 10 – 50, with higher scores representing higher levels of positive affect.

**Negative Affect Score:** Add the scores on items 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 18, and 20. Scores can range from 10 – 50, with lower scores representing lower levels of negative affect.
APPENDIX H

EX POST FACTO ANALYSIS

CYBERBALL MANIPULATION CHECK SCALES

Instructions: For each question, please click the number that best represents the feelings you were experiencing during the game.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at All</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Extremely</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Needs: Belonging
1. I felt disconnected.
2. I felt rejected.
3. I felt like an outsider.
4. I felt like I belonged to the group. *
5. I felt that other players interacted with me a lot*

Needs: Self-Esteem
1. I felt good about myself. *
2. My self-esteem was high. *
3. I felt liked. *
4. I felt insecure.
5. I felt satisfied. *

Needs: Meaningful Existence
1. I felt invisible.
2. I felt meaningless.
3. I felt non-existent.
4. I felt important. *
5. I felt useful.

Needs: Control
1. I felt powerful.
2. I felt I had control over the course of the game.
3. I felt I was unable to influence the actions of others.
4. I felt the other players decided everything.

*These items were reverse-scored to enable use of a global measure of negative feelings and unmet needs.
APPENDIX I

EX POST FACTO ANALYSES

The following ex post facto analyses were conducted outside of the originally hypothesized analyses to determine if other factors may have accounted for the lack of effect on sexual coercion.

Additional Measures

**Sexual Consent Survey – Revised.** The Sexual Consent Survey – Revised (SCS-R) is a scale comprised of 6 subscales measuring separate factors of sexual consent (Humphreys & Brousseau, 2010). Items were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The five subscales include along with statistics from the present study include Positive Attitudes Toward Establishing Consent, $\alpha = .90$ ($M = 50.66$, $SD = 9.95$), (Lack of) Perceived Behavioral Control, $\alpha = .92$ ($M = 27.67$, $SD = 12.49$), Relationship Length Norms, $\alpha = .88$ ($M = 24.51$, $SD = 7.21$), (Pro) Assuming Consent, $\alpha = .83$ ($M = 23.42$, $SD = 8.13$), Indirect Behavioral Approach, $\alpha = .80$ ($M = 21.65$, $SD = 6.48$), and Awareness of Consent, $\alpha = .79$ ($M = 17.85$, $SD = 5.74$). See Appendix E for the full scale.

**Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.** The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES) is a 10-item measure globally measuring self-worth (Rosenberg, 1965). Items are rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The estimate of
internal consistency for the RSES in the present study was $\alpha = .91$, ($M = 30.91$, $SD = 6.00$). See Appendix G for full scale.

**Positive and Negative Affect Schedule.** The positive and negative affect scale (PANAS) is a 20-item measure measuring affect in the present moment using several words related to either positive (e.g., inspired) or negative (e.g., hostile) affect (Watson et al., 1988). Items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (Very slightly or not at all) to 5 (Extremely). The estimate of internal consistency for the positive affect in the present study was $\alpha = .90$, ($M = 29.55$, $SD = 8.70$) and for the negative affect was $\alpha = .94$, ($M = 13.59$, $SD = 6.45$). See Appendix H for the full scale.

**Results**

**Impact of Religious Involvement.** Because of the strong correlation of religious involvement with sexual coercion proclivity, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted with entering religious involvement, narcissism, and the interaction of narcissism and social threat. An analysis of standard residuals was carried out, which showed the data contained no outliers (Std. Residual Min = -2.51, Std. Residual Max = 2.55). Tests to see if the data met the assumption of collinearity indicated multicollinearity was not a concern (Religious Involvement, $= 1.00$, VIF = 1.00, Narcissism = 1.00, VIF = 1.00; Religious Involvement, Narcissism, $= .99$, VIF = 1.00, Religious Involvement, Narcissism, Narcissism x Social Threat = .77, VIF = 1.30). Finally, the scatterplot of standardized predicted values showed the data met the assumptions of homogeneity of variance and linearity.

In the first step of the regression, religious involvement was put into the equation adjusted $R^2 = .05$, $F (1, 297) = 17.91$, $p < .001$. Religious involvement was a significant
predictor of sexual coercion proclivity (β = .24, \( p = .000 \)), yet religious involvement only accounted for approximately 5% of the variance in sexual coercion proclivity. Narcissism was entered into the equation in the second step. This model was also significant, adjusted \( R^2 = .10, \Delta F (1, 296) = 15.75, p < .001 \), although religious involvement remained a significant predictor (β = .22, \( p = .000 \)). Social threat was entered into the equation in the third step. This model was not significant, adjusted \( R^2 = .10, \Delta F (1, 296) = 0.00, p > .05 \), although narcissism (β = .22, \( p = .000 \)) and religious involvement (β = .22, \( p = .000 \)) remained significant predictors. Finally, the interaction of narcissism and social threat was entered into the equation in the third step. This model was significant, adjusted \( R^2 = .11, \Delta F (1, 297) = 5.61, p < .05 \). The interaction of narcissism and social threat was shown to be the strongest independent predictor of sexual coercion (β = .33, \( p < .05 \)). In this model, religious involvement (β = .22, \( p = .000 \)) and social threat (β = -.25, \( p < .05 \)) were significant but narcissism (β = .09, \( p > .05 \)) was not significant. This model accounted for approximately 11% of variance in sexual coercion proclivity scores.

**Negative Affect.** To determine if narcissism interacted with social threat to result in more negative feelings or reactions, narcissism was recoded into a categorical variable with two levels, high and low, based on a midpoint split. A one-way ANOVA found that there was a main effect of narcissism on negative feelings as measured by the PANAS, \( F(1, 295) = 9.41, p < .01; \eta^2 = .03, \) observed power = 0.86. However, there was no significant main effect of social threat and no interaction.

Additionally, a hierarchical regression was conducted to determine if there were any differential effects of social threat or narcissism on negative affect. In the first step of the regression, narcissism was put into the equation, adjusted \( R^2 = .03, F (1, 297) = \)
10.92, p = .001. Narcissism was a significant predictor of negative affect (β = .19, p = .001), but narcissism only accounted for approximately 3% of the variance in negative affect. Social threat was entered into the equation in the second step. This model was also significant, adjusted $R^2 = .03$, Δ $F(1, 296) = 5.83$, p = .003. Social threat alone was not a significant predictor of negative affect (β = .05, p = .39). However, narcissism remained a significant predictor (β = .18, p = .002). Social threat did not account for any added variance of negative affect. Further, the interaction of narcissism and social threat was entered into the equation in the third step. This model was also significant, adjusted $R^2 = .03$, Δ $F(1, 295) = 3.96$, p = .009. Narcissism again was a significant predictor of negative affect (β = .16, p = .04) yet neither social threat alone (β = .05, p = .63) or the interaction (β = .03, p = .83) were significant predictors of negative affect. Narcissism alone was shown to be the most significant predictor of negative affect.

**Self-Esteem.** Additionally, previous research suggested there is an interaction between narcissism and self-esteem when looking at compensatory reactions to social threat. Thus, a 2x2x2 ANOVA was conducted comparing self-esteem (high and low), narcissism (high and low) and social threat (excluded or included) on sexual coercion. Narcissism and self-esteem were divided into two levels using a midpoint split. It was found that there was a main effect of narcissism, $F(1, 284) = 20.31$, p < .001, and self-esteem, $F(1, 284) = 4.12$, p < .05, on sexual coercion. There was no main effect of social threat, and no interaction effects of any kind.

**High Narcissism.** Finally, because of narcissism’s influence on sexual coercion the analysis of the original hypotheses was re-analyzed using only the participants high in narcissism. A midpoint split of the transformed total narcissism scale was used to select
only the participants who scored highest on the NPI-16. Then, a 2 (social threat exclusion vs. inclusion) x 2 (high vs. low sexually objectifying media) ANOVA was run to determine the relationship between the variables on sexual coercion proclivity. The Levene test showed a nonsignificant difference between the variances making them acceptable for further analysis. The analysis showed there was no significant main effect of social threat on sexual coercion proclivity $F(1, 56) = 0.04, p > .05; \eta^2 = .001$, observed power = 0.05. There was also no significant main effect of objectification, $F(1, 56) = 0.08, p > .05; \eta^2 = .004$, observed power = 0.06. Finally, there was no significant interaction between social threat and objectification on sexual coercion proclivity $F(1, 56) = 0.23, p > .05; \eta^2 = .004$, observed power = 0.08. Thus, it appears that those high in narcissism responded similarly to those low in narcissism on sexual coercion proclivity after experiencing social threat and sexually objectifying media.

**Additional Correlations.** Several correlations were found that seemed to support the original findings. For example, sexual coercion proclivity was found to be significantly positively correlated with narcissism, $r(297) = .24, p < .001$. Participants with higher narcissistic characteristics tended to have higher proclivity for sexual coercion. Further, the negative affect scale, measured by the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) was also significantly positively correlated with the TOSS scale, $r(297) = .42, p < .001$.

Additionally, the full TOSS scale was significantly correlated with measures of the SCS-R in expected ways. In particular, the full TOSS scale was significantly positively correlated with the (Pro) Assuming Consent subscale, $r(297) = .42, p < .001$, indicating participants who tend to assume consent in sexual interactions also have high
proclivity for sexual coercion. See Table 5 for full pattern of correlations amongst these scales.

Table 5. Ex Post Facto Correlations.

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*Significant at the .05 level
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