

Pornography and Sexual Aggression: Can Meta-Analysis Find a Link?

Christopher J. Ferguson¹ and Richard D. Hartley²

Abstract

Whether pornography contributes to sexual aggression in real life has been the subject of dozens of studies over multiple decades. Nevertheless, scholars have not come to a consensus about whether effects are real. The current meta-analysis examined experimental, correlational, and population studies of the pornography/sexual aggression link dating back from the 1970s to the current time. Methodological weaknesses were very common in this field of research. Nonetheless, evidence did not suggest that nonviolent pornography was associated with sexual aggression. Evidence was particularly weak for longitudinal studies, suggesting an absence of long-term effects. Violent pornography was weakly correlated with sexual aggression, although the current evidence was unable to distinguish between a selection effect as compared to a socialization effect. Studies that employed more best practices tended to provide less evidence for relationships whereas studies with citation bias, an indication of researcher expectancy effects, tended to have higher effect sizes. Population studies suggested that increased availability of pornography is associated with reduced sexual aggression at the population level. More studies with improved practices and preregistration would be welcome.

Keywords

pornography, sexual aggression, rape, domestic violence

Research regarding the effects of pornography consumption on sexually aggressive or violent behavior has been extensive and controversial over the past 40 years since the U.S. Meese Commission reviewed the issue in the 1980s. Although many arguments have been made that consuming pornography increases sexually aggressive behavior of males toward females, the results from extant studies are not conclusive regarding these negative effects. Most industrial countries have experienced large declines in rape and sexual assault while the availability and ease of access to pornography has increased over the same time period (Ferguson & Hartley, 2009). The current study conducts a meta-analysis of 59 existing correlational, experimental, and population studies examining the influence of pornography on sexual aggression.

To date, dozens of research studies have examined the relationship between pornography consumption and aggressive behavior. Outcomes from these studies are mixed, yet those that find a relationship usually report small but statistically significant effects of pornography on aggressive behavior (Alexy et al., 2009; Burton et al., 2010) in mostly samples of male adolescent or college students (for two recent studies, see Dawson et al., 2019; Hagen et al., 2018). Other studies find no effects (Endrass et al., 2009; Hagan et al., 2018) or even inverse relationships (Diamond et al., 2011). Further still, some studies suggest the relationship is more complex, citing both mediators and moderators that reduce the strength of the effect of

pornography consumption on sexually aggressive behavior (Malamuth et al., 2000) or eliminate its influence altogether (Hagen et al., 2018; Kjellgren et al., 2009).

One issue of concern regarding the current corpus of research is how cross-study heterogeneity might be due to methodological issues influencing effect sizes. In other words, it is possible that methodological shortcomings can create “noise” resulting in false positive results in some studies or perhaps false negatives in others. False positive results can cause inflated effect sizes in meta-analyses, falsely boosting confidence in the existence of an effect in the population (for discussion in the similar realm of video game violence effects, see Drummond & Sauer, 2019). For instance, significant effect sizes might disappear after controlling for important theoretically relevant third variables, but meta-analyses that rely on bivariate effects may not properly control for these. Also, effect sizes may be artificially inflated by hypothesis guessing on the

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Pornography And Sexual Aggression

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