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Sexualised video games, sexist attitudes and empathy towards victims of rape: Correlational evidence for a relationship is minimal in an online study

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Abstract

Background: There is continued debate about whether sexualisation in games can influence sexist attitudes and reduced empathy towards women in real life. There is research evidence both supporting and refuting the possibility.

Aims: Our aim was to examine the relationship between sexualised content in video games and players' sexist attitudes and empathy. Our research question was, do any such relationships exist once other factors including gender and trait aggression are controlled?

Methods: An online sample of 125 participants were recruited and asked to rate their video game playing experience, complete a trait aggression scale and record responses to a vignette about rape. Scores were first correlated, and then hierarchical multiple regression was employed followed by PROCESS examination of interactions between sexualised game content and trait aggression.

Results: Exposure to sexualised content in video games was neither correlated with higher sexist attitude ratings nor with lower empathy scores. Sexualised content in games was associated with slightly lower sexist belief scores for those with higher scores on trait aggression (the 12.8% of our current sample at one standard deviation above the

mean). No effects were observed for those low in trait aggression.

Conclusions and Implications: While it is natural to be concerned about the impact of potentially arousing video games, actual effects may be counterintuitive, so if seeking to regulate, it is important to act from actual information. Further research with groups of particular concern will be important.

KEYWORDS

empathy, rape myths, sexist attitudes, video games

1 | BACKGROUND

Since their commercial introduction into society, beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, video games have become an integral facet of popular culture. They have also attracted considerable controversy. In more recent years, particular controversy has emerged over sexualised content in games. Put broadly, these would include games that present female characters in a highly sexual light, where their sexual characteristics are their most distinguishing qualities. *Grand Theft Auto*, for instance, is often considered a highly sexualised game given that female characters are often portrayed as prostitutes, strippers or in other highly sexualised roles. Some scholars have sought to investigate whether sexualised content in games might produce sexist attitudes in players.

1.1 | Video games and sexism

Since about 2010, several content analyses of video games have revealed female characters tend to be underrepresented, but when they are included in games, they are presented as sexual objects (Beasley & Collins-Standley, 2002; Williams, Martins, Consalvo, & Ivory, 2009). There is anecdotal evidence that the situation may have begun to change since 2009, with more female characters and stronger roles for them. One recent content analysis supports these anecdotal observations (Lynch, Tompkins, van Driel, & Fritz, 2016).

1.2 | Theories as to why sexualised content in games may or may not influence sexist attitudes

Various theories have been offered as to why video game content may influence player attitudes or behaviours. Such theories generally fall under the broadly related categories of "cultivation models." They posit that fictional media are powerful tools for learning. From such an approach, referred to collectively as the *Cultivation* approach, exposure to fictional media content that is sexualised in nature can be expected to cultivate sexualised representations of women in players' minds related to attitudes that are described as sexist. If this is the case, we might expect that an increase in sexism could then relate to other outcomes such as decreased empathy for victims, particularly female victims of rape. It is argued that sexist individuals may be more inclined to adopt rape myths, such as that women often say "no" but mean "yes," or deserve to be raped if they dress provocatively (Rollero & Tartaglia, 2019). Thus, a sexist attitude may include placing greater responsibility for rape on the female victims of rape.

By contrast, other models, particularly from an evolutionary approach, tend to differentiate between the importance of fictional media and real-life events. For instance, the catalyst model (Ferguson et al., 2008) posits that negative outcomes such as aggression or body dissatisfaction arise primarily through an interaction of genetic predisposition with early childhood environment. The catalyst model specifically suggests real-life events are far more powerful than fictional ones. Fictional media may sometimes have minor influence on the style of a behaviour (Surette & Maze, 2015) but not on whether the behaviours occur.

In relation to sexualised video games, the contrast between the cultivation approach and the catalyst model is fairly straightforward. From the cultivation perspective, we ought to observe a correlation between exposure to sexualised content in video games and sexist attitudes. According to the catalyst model, we should not expect to find a correlation of significant magnitude.

1.3 | Prior evidence on sexualised content in games

Results of prior research have been mixed regarding what impact "sexist" video games may have on players. Part of the difficulty may come in delineating exactly what a "sexist" game is. A clear operationalisation of "sexist video game" may prove curiously elusive. Similar issues have also plagued definitions of "violence" in games, noting "violence" is not a monolithic construct as often it is used in the literature (Tamborini, Weber, Bowman, Eden, & Skalski, 2013). In most studies, "sexist" games appear to be represented mainly by sexualised images of female characters in games. Henceforth, the term "sexualised" video game will be used rather than "sexist" given the latter is a subjective judgment and the former arguably more precise.

The concept of sexism as an outcome or dependent variable also lacks clarity. Hostile sexism refers to misogyny or holding negative and hateful views of women. By contrast, benevolent sexism is characterised by beliefs in the moral and social superiority of women, and a protective attitude towards females (Glick & Fiske, 2011). The importance of this distinction can be witnessed in one interesting study (Stermer & Burkley, 2015). Men who played more sexualised games did not display higher scores of hostile sexism, but a small correlation with benevolent sexism did exist. An analysis of the wording of the benevolent sexism items, however, reveals that, here, interpretation may be even more difficult. Many items are worded in such a way that it is unclear if higher scores indicate benevolent sexism or the absence of hostile sexism, for example "Women are more moral than men."

Some experimental research suggests sexualised games may have some short-term impact on sexist beliefs. One study, which noted cognitive themes related to sexism, could be primed by a sexualised game during a lexical decision task (Yao, Mahood, & Linz, 2010). The design of this study may not, however, have been optimal as the games used were poorly matched, potentially introducing confounds (Adachi & Willoughby, 2011). By contrast, one longitudinal study (Breuer, Kowert, Festl, & Quandt, 2015) found no evidence that exposure to sexualised games among adults was associated with later sexist attitudes. The Breuer et al. study employed a 3-year longitudinal design studying German players of 14 and older. Neither overall video game play nor exposure to particular genres high in sexualisation content were related to higher sexist attitudes 3 years later. To date, this is one of very few longitudinal designs on this topic. In a later study, Bègue, Sarda, Gentile, Bry, and Roché (2017) found a statistically significant but arguably trivial impact on sexism for video game playing (r = 0.07), but no impact of television.

One study by Fox, Bailenson, and Tricase (2013) provided an interesting insight into female gamers and their use of sexualised avatars. Results were complex and difficult to interpret in the light of traditional media effect theories. Women who interacted in virtual reality using a sexualised avatar with their own face included tended to endorse higher rape myth acceptance compared to control conditions, but women who had sexualised avatars with faces that were not their own showed *less* rape myth acceptance compared to control conditions. As such, it remains unclear whether sexualisation per se is a clear causal component. Another recent experiment (Beck & Rose, in press) involving male players suggested that playing a sexualised game such as *Grand Theft Auto* may actually result in lower rape

myth acceptance long-term. A third recent experiment (Read, Lynch, & Matthews, 2018) found no significant impact for sexualised games on sexist attitudes. As with studies that have purported to find effects, these latter two are not without limitations. For instance, Beck and Rose (in press) employ only a small sample (n = 60) with games (Grand Theft Auto V and Madden NFL 12) that may not have been well matched. Read et al. (2018), by contrast, had a sample of 300, with a sophisticated design. Their manipulation, however, like that of Fox et al., (2013), is more applicable to sexualised avatars than gameplay itself.

Lastly, a controversial experiment by Gabbiadini, Riva, Andrighetto, Volpato, and Bushman (2016) examined the impact of playing sexualised video games on adolescents' empathy towards a female victim of assault. No direct impact of sexualised content was found, but when the authors employed a complicated multipart mediation/moderation model, they found some impact of video games. However these results were not confirmed in a reanalysis that we performed (Ferguson & Donnellan, 2017a; see also Gabbiadini, Bushman, Riva, Andrighetto, & Volpato, 2017; Ferguson & Donnellan, 2017b) and it was revealed that randomisation to condition did not, in fact, occur as was claimed. Younger players were non-randomly assigned to sexualised game conditions. Thus, this study does not provide evidence for a causal effect.

1.4 | Trait aggression and sexist attitudes

When studying acts of violence, criminologists have argued multivariate models which control for theoretically relevant constructs are essential when investigating links with media experiences (Savage, 2004). This is because evidence suggests that trait aggression develops early through a combination of genetic and early environment factors (Lubke, McArtor, Boomsma, & Bartels, 2018) and remains largely stable from early childhood. Recent long-term analyses also suggest that aggressive traits are not predicted by violent game play specifically (Smith, Ferguson, & Beaver, 2018). Other evidence, however, suggests early aggressiveness can predict later violent game play (Breuer, Vogelgesang, Quandt, & Festl, 2015). Thus, trait aggression is a sound candidate for a control variable for violent content.

Current evidence suggests trait aggression may predict sexist attitudes (Sierra, Santos-Iglesias, Gutiérrez-Quintanilla, Bermúdez, & Buela-Casal, 2010) and empathy (Batanova & Loukas, 2014). Thus, trait aggression is a reasonable control variable when examining video game impacts on sexist attitudes.

1.5 | Our study

Our aim, therefore, was to investigate the relationship between sexualised video game exposure, sexist attitudes and empathy for people who had been subjected to sexual assault. Hypotheses tested were that:

1. there would be a significant positive relationship between exposure to sexualised video game play and sexist attitudes, and
2. exposure to sexualised video game play would correlate negatively with empathy for victims of rape.

2 | METHODS

All procedures described within met with Institutional Review Board approval at the University of the second author, where primary data collection took place (Psychology Ethics Committee, University of Westminster, London, UK Ref ETH1617-0462). This was a general population sample, and no incentive was offered for participation.

2.1 | Participants

A link to the Qualtrics survey was distributed with the use of emails and social media. Social media sites included those dedicated to gaming related issues. These included snowball sampling through platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. Solicitations informed participants that we were interested in understanding their gaming habits and how these might relate to their feelings and attitudes about other social issues. A link to the survey was provided as part of the solicitation. No compensation was offered. A priori power analysis suggested a sample size of approximately 156 would be required to detect effects of $r = 0.20$, which have been highlighted as potentially important effects by some media scholars (Hilgard, Engelhardt, & Rouder, 2017) and which has been deemed a threshold for clinical significance (Ferguson, 2009).

2.2 | Measures

2.2.1 | Video game questionnaire

Participants were asked to name their three favourite video games, and rate how often each one is played on a five-point scale. Game responses were then coded for violent content according to ratings provided by the Entertainment Software Ratings Board (ESRB). Using the age-based ratings (EC, E, E10+, T, MA, AO) from the ESRB ratings provides an ordinal estimate of violent content. Higher ratings on the games were related to higher ratings (from one to six, from EC through AO). A composite score (ratings composite) was derived from these ratings by multiplying these raw scores by length of time played in hours, summed across the three games. This was used to indicate exposure to violent content. Use of game ratings as indicators of violent content is a common approach and has been found to be a valid measure of violent content (Fikkers, Piotrowski, & Valkenburg, 2017). Sexual content in games was assessed by coding the games on a binary code for any form of sexual content, or not. Sexual content classifications were drawn from the ESRB ratings system, with any of the following resulting in a score of 1: sexual themes, partial nudity, nudity, sexual violence, strong sexual content and suggestive themes. A game coded for any of these classifications was given a binary code for sexualisation. Although a binary rating for each game loses some variance, we judged this to be better than making subjective assumptions about the severity of specific content descriptors without engaging in a full content analysis of hundreds of games. These binary ratings were summed across the three games to create a sexual content index. This index was then multiplied by the centred rating composite described above (that is, the summed scores of the ESRB ratings multiplied by time spent on the games; centering is a method of adjusting the scores to prevent multicollinearity due to related variables) to form a sexual composite estimate score. This gave us a sense of which games included sexualised content and how adult in nature the material was, given the content rating the game received.

2.2.2 | Trait aggression

Trait aggression was measured using Buss and Perry's (1992) aggression scale. This consists of 29 five-point scale items. Internal consistency obtained in the current sample was high (Cronbach $\alpha = .92$). This scale was used as a control measure, given that it has been shown that individuals higher in trait aggression are likely to be less empathic and have more sexist attitudes (Sierra et al., 2010). Although the aggression questionnaire has several subscales, in the current sample these all correlated very highly with each other (r range: 0.450–0.698) and with the total score (r range: 0.767–0.883). Thus, only the total scale score was used, consistent with use of general trait aggression as a control variable in other studies (Buckels, Trapnell, Andjelovic, & Paulhus, 2018).

2.2.3 | The sexist attitudes scale

The Sexist Attitudes Scale used was Breuer, Kowert, et al. (2015); Breuer, Vogelgesang, et al. (2015) adaptation of a scale devised by Brogan and Kutner (1976). It consists of three items rated on a five-point scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." These items were: "In a group of male and female members a man should take the leadership"; "A man should be responsible for all major decisions made in the family"; "Even if both partners work, the women should be responsible for taking care of the house hold." Internal consistency was high (Cronbach α = .92).

2.2.4 | Acquaintance rape vignette

With permission, we used a "rape scenario" in which a woman is raped by a man while on a date (Szymanski, Devlin, Chrisler, & Vyse, 1993). Two broadly similar vignettes were constructed; one for a heterosexual female rape and the other for a homosexual male rape (see Appendix A for the male victim version). Participants were randomly assigned to one of these two vignette conditions.

2.2.5 | The empathy scale

The empathy scale was taken from Gabbiadini et al (2016). Participants were asked to describe their feelings towards the sexually assaulted victim in the randomly assigned vignette scenario, using a seven-point scale, on eight descriptors (e.g. compassionate, tender, and warm). Internal consistency was high (Cronbach α = .88).

2.3 | Procedure

During recruitment, participants were informed that they would be asked about their impressions of a written depiction of sexual interaction between two people, followed by some basic questions on demographics, attitudes and leisure activities. Following consent, participants were asked to provide demographic data and then to complete the video game, and then the aggression and sexist attitude scales. They were then presented with one of the two rape vignettes before completing the victim empathy scale, which came last. All procedures took place online using the Qualtrics software.

2.4 | Analyses

Both main hypotheses were tested using ordinary least squares (OLSs) regression, with pairwise deletion for missing data. For each outcome, independent variables included exposure to both sexualised and violent video game content, as well as gender and trait aggression. Vignette condition was also an independent variable for the empathy outcome.

3 | RESULTS

The survey had 180 logins, although completed data were available for just 125 participants, 57 men and 66 women, as well as two individuals who did not identify. Ethnicity data were not collected for this sample. Mean age was 26 years (*SD* = 11.2). Scale scores are shown in Table 1 and bivariate correlations between them in Table 2.

TABLE 1 Descriptive data on study variables

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation
Trait aggression	70.79	19.31
Violent game exp.	17.99	22.31
Sexualised games	1.41	14.08
Sexist beliefs	4.88	2.99
Empathy	40.93	11.02

TABLE 2 Bivariate correlations between study variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Female gender	1.00	−0.158*	−0.400**	0.040	0.129	−0.255**	0.026
2. Game sexualisation		1.00	0.413**	−0.086	0.020	−0.050	−0.145
3. Game violence			1.00	−0.006	−0.156	0.243**	−0.057
4. Sexist attitudes				1.00	−0.300**	0.243**	−0.047
5. Victim empathy					1.00	0.281**	0.056
6. Trait aggression						1.00	−0.001
7. Rape scenario condition							1.00

*p < .05.; **p < .01.

TABLE 3 Regression model for sexist attitudes outcome

Variable	β	t	p-value
Trait aggression	0.251	2.789	.006
Female gender	0.003	0.032	.974
ΔR^2 = 0.060		F (2, 123) = 3.893, p = .023	
Violent game exposure	−0.046	−0.431	.667
Sexualised game exposure	−0.055	−0.557	.805
ΔR^2 = 0.006		F (2, 121) = 0.416, p = .661	

Although the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire is not a clinical measure used to make diagnoses such as antisocial personality disorder, it is worth noting that our sample mean (70.79) is about equivalent to that in the original Buss and Perry (1992) study and, although not used for clinical diagnoses, these scores were associated with other measures of physical aggressiveness. Using an approach based on *SD*, this suggests that those 1 *SD* or higher than the mean are at highest risk for physical aggression. This would include 12.8% of our current sample.

In the first regression, sexist attitudes were taken as the dependent variable, with gender and trait aggression only entered as the independent variables in the first step; violent and sexual video game scores were then added as independent variables in the second step. Pairwise deletion was used for missing data. The resultant OLSs regression model was statistically significant (F[2, 124] = 3.893, p = .023, $_{adj}R^2$ = 0.044). In this model, only trait aggression (β = .251) was significantly related to sexist attitudes; neither violent game play nor exposure to sexualisation in games was. Trait aggression explained about 6% of the variance in sexist attitudes. Full results are presented in Table 3. Variable inflation factor (VIF) statistics were all below 1.466 indicating absence of multicollinearity. Although the sample size was a little smaller than we had hoped given our power analysis, the potential for Type II error appears to be minimal, given that observed effect sizes were in the direction opposite from the hypothesis.

In the second regression, empathy towards rape victims was taken as the dependent variable. As before, first gender and trait aggression only were entered as independent variables, then violent and video sex games scores

added. Here, in a third step, response to sexual vignette scores was added. The resultant regression model was statistically significant (F[2, 108] = 4.864, p = .009, $_{adj}R^2$ = 0.051). Again, only trait aggression (β = −.243) was significantly associated with empathy (and once again, explaining approximately 6% of the variance in empathy). Neither form of game play nor the randomised rape vignette was related to decreased empathy towards the victim in the rape scenario. Full results are presented in Table 4. VIF statistics were all below 1.466 indicating absence of multicollinearity. As with the previous regression, the effect size for sexualised games, though non-significant, was in the opposite direction from the hypothesis, limiting any concerns about Type II error.

3.1 | Interaction effects

Possible interaction effects between trait aggression and sexualisation in games were tested using PROCESS (Hayes, 2017), with the Johnson-Neyman technique, in a simple moderation model (Model 1, using the 2013 version). This model tested a possible relationship to sexist beliefs or empathy of sexualised game play (X), moderated by trait aggression (M). Gender and violent game exposure were used as control variables.

For sexist beliefs, the PROCESS model revealed a significant interaction between sexualisation in games and trait aggression (t = −2.068, p = .041). The Johnson-Neyman technique revealed that sexualised content in games had negligible impact on individuals relatively low in trait aggression (B = 0.061, p = .154 at the lowest level of trait

TABLE 4 Regression model for empathy towards rape victims outcome

Variable	β	t	p-value
Trait aggression	−0.243	−2.465	.015
Female gender	−0.033	−0.324	.747
ΔR^2 = 0.083		F (2, 108) = 4.864, p = .009	
Violent game exposure	−0.107	−0.953	.343
Sexualised game exposure	0.066	0.632	.529
ΔR^2 = 0.008		F (2, 106) = 0.469, p = .627	
Male/female condition	0.059	0.629	.530
ΔR^2 = 0.003		F (2, 105) = 0.396, p = .530	

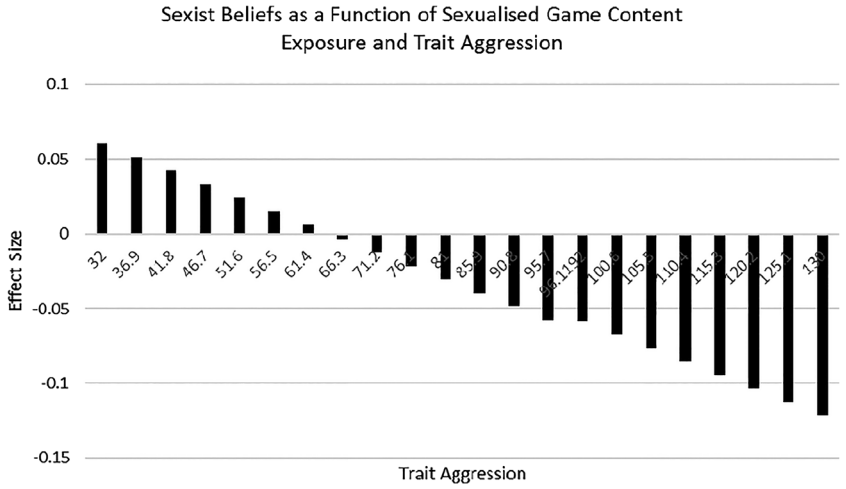

FIGURE 1 Correlations between sexualised game content and sexist beliefs as a function of trait aggression level

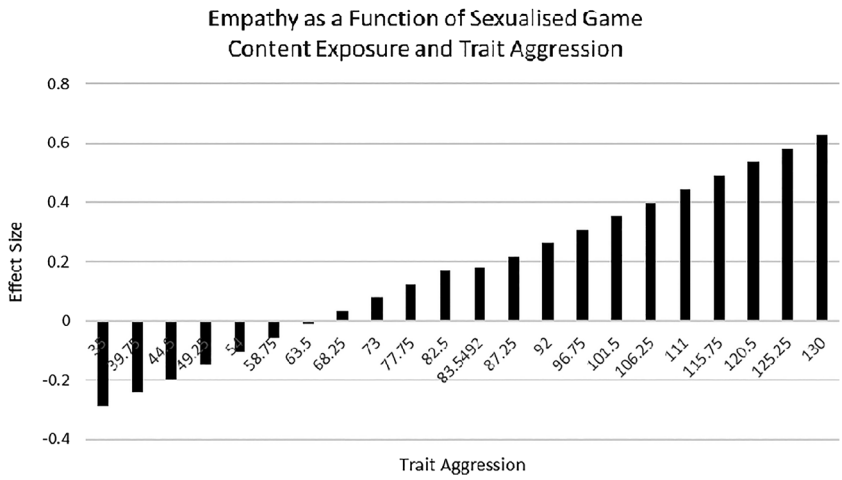

FIGURE 2 Correlations between sexualised game content and empathy as a function of trait aggression level

aggression), but became a protective factor against sexist beliefs for those relatively higher in trait aggression in continuous scale ($B = -0.122$, $p = .030$). This interaction effect is graphically represented as Figure 1.

Findings with empathy as the dependent variable were similar. The PROCESS model revealed a significant interaction between sexualisation in games and trait aggression ($t = -2.700$, $p = .008$). The Johnson-Neyman technique revealed that sexualised content in games had non-significant impact on individuals low in trait aggression ($B = -0.286$, $p = .055$ at the lowest level of trait aggression), although there was almost a trend towards a relationship. It became a protective factor for sexist beliefs for those higher in trait aggression ($B = 0.627$, $p = .007$). This interaction effect is graphically represented as Figure 2.

4 | DISCUSSION

Contrary to our hypotheses, we found no association between sexualised content in games and either sexist attitudes or empathy towards a rape victim. Both were related to trait aggression, with some evidence that this relationship was modified by sexualised video content. Sexualised content had minimal impact on those low in trait aggression, but more sexualised content was actually associated with fewer sexist beliefs and higher empathy scores among those with higher trait aggression and positively correlated with empathy among those higher in trait aggression. We emphasise, however, that this interaction had a small effect and should not be relied on as a protective factor. Nonetheless, the fact that this interaction term suggests some small effects in the opposite direction from that expected is interesting and fits with other studies suggesting a protective effect for sexualised game play (Beck & Rose, in press; Breuer, Kowert, et al., 2015; Stermer & Burkley, 2015). It is possible that such games may cause players to reflect on issues related to sexualisation, which they might not otherwise do, and be more inclined to reject sexism in real life. Current data support a *Catalyst Model* approach to media effects, but not a *Cultivation* approach.

One concern that some scholars may have is that, in controlling for trait aggression, the multivariate analyses may have significantly reduced a real effect. It is worth noting, however, that there was actually a trend towards an inverse bivariate correlation between sexist attitudes and exposure to sexualised video games ($r = -0.086$) though not statistically significant; there was simply no relationship between victim empathy and such games ($r = 0.02$). We maintain that controlling for trait aggression is correct, and our data do not support the contention that doing so masked real bivariate relationships.

Though the debate will certainly continue, we argue it may be time to cease looking for video games as a contributor to pressing social problems. There is growing evidence that cultivation effects for video game content are minimal (Festl, Scharkow, & Quandt, 2013). It may be, though, that other factors, such as family environment, moral developmental factors or genetics, are more important in explaining outcomes and warrant further consideration in future research. This is not to say advocacy efforts pushing for better representations of female characters in games are unwarranted, only that advocates may be better refraining from arguments based on causal impacts on behaviour or attitudes when framing their rationale for change.

4.1 | Limitations

As with all studies, our report has limitations. First, the sampling methods were non-random. Secondly, some individuals who initially logged in to the survey chose not to complete it. In most of these cases, these individuals initially logged in but completed few, if any, actual survey instruments, so it was not possible to test for potential sources of bias even through basic demographic information.

5 | CONCLUSIONS

Data are accumulating which appear to suggest that clear links between sexualised video content and sexist attitudes towards women may not be there. Advocacy efforts directed towards better inclusion of women characters in games would be best served by avoiding cause and effect arguments which are not well found in data.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

All data and materials can be found at: https://osf.io/jp7f9/.

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APPENDIX A. Acquaintance Rape Scenario (Male Victim)

Please read the following story and then answer the questions about the story on the subsequent questionnaire.

Michael went into Woodard Dormitory and walked up the stairs to Alex's room. When he arrived there, Alex's roommate told him that he was in a friend's room down the hall. While she went to tell Alex that Michael had arrived, Michael checked himself in the mirror. His 5-ft, 10-in., 160 pound frame fit well into the sweater and jeans he had decided to wear. Alex came into the room and walked over to Michael. Alex was only 5 ft 4 in., 130 pounds, small in relation to Michael.

As they walked to the car, Alex said he'd wanted to see the movie "Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them", for a long time. As they drove to the cinema they talked about their mutual friends and the party last weekend. Alex and Michael had met two months earlier and had seen each other a couple of times at first, and then every weekend for the past month. They each continue to date others on occasion.

After parking the car, the couple waited in the queue, making small talk until the ticket window opened. Michael bought the tickets and they went inside. They were spellbound by the movie; neither talked until the film was over. After the movie, Michael suggested they go back to his dorm room where they could listen to music, drink some wine, and talk. Alex said, "Okay." Michael's roommate had gone out to a party so Michael and Alex had the room to themselves. Michael put on a C.D. and poured some wine for the both of them. They sat on his bed for a while, talking and listening to music. As they were talking, their eyes made contact. Alex and Michael held their gaze and smiled. Michael moved closer to Alex, put his arm around him gently and stroked his shoulder. He kissed him softly.

Michael put both arms around Alex and held him close to him. He kisses him again, longer this time, and then opened his mouth slightly so that his tongue touched his. He continued to kiss Alex like this for a while.

Michael slid his hand inside Alex's top and began to caress his nipples, with the other hand he started unbuttoning his jeans. Soon, Michael managed to finish unbuttoning Alex's shirt and slipped it off his torso. Kissing him so that their mouths were in a continuous contact, he tweaked his nipples rhythmically and then rubbed the inside of his thighs. Michael kissed Alex's chest and stomach and touched his genital area. He then slid his jeans completely off and removed his underwear. They kissed each other passionately.

Suddenly, the phone rang and Michael answered it. Just a wrong number; Michael hung up, closed the door, turned up the volume of the stereo, and returned, sitting next to Alex. With Alex totally naked, Michael leaned up against him and pushed him back onto the bed and he was on top of him. Alex said "No, Michael, don't", and tried to cover himself with his jeans.

Ignoring this, Michael said "it's okay" and quickly unzipped his pants and slid them down. Alex struggled and shouted, "I don't want to, let me go!" "Relax, Alex, don't worry" Michael answered.

Alex protested once more "Stop! Do not!" Michael held Alex and said "Don't worry, I'll take care of everything". He stroked his chest, "Relax, just take it easy" he said. Michael continued to kiss and fondle Alex. While Alex shouted "No, no!"' he soon penetrated him and intercourse occurred.