Behind Closed Doors: Hentai Fans' Perceived Discrimination, Ingroup Identification, and Attitudes toward Subgroups in the Anime Fandom

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Abstract

Fan groups are communities which develop a shared identity around a specific topic or idea. Hentai fans identify as part of a group which celebrates a medium of illustrated or animated pornography. We examined the associations between hentai fan membership, feelings of ingroup identification, and perceptions of discrimination both toward themselves and other fan groups within the anime community. Hentai fans showed more liking toward other groups but feel more discrimination toward themselves as compared to non-hentai fans, who feel less liking toward other groups and feel less discrimination targeted at their own group. Additionally, hentai fans identify more as fans of hentai than non-hentai fans identify with their respective groups, including anime fans. We also found evidence supporting a serial mediation model wherein higher fandom identification leads to higher feelings of more positive attitudes in fan groups, while feelings of personal discrimination do not correlate with higher positive feelings of prejudice in fan groups. The implications of these results and future directions are also discussed.

Keywords: Hentai, Fan, Discrimination, Identification, Identity, Anime

Introduction

Research on stigmatized groups has historically focused on people's attitudes toward group members whose visible traits distinguish them from other individuals (Dienstbier, 1970; Dion, 1989). "Visible" traits (Dion & Kawakami, 1996) are physical characteristics immediately identifiable by sight, such as a person's race or sex. In contrast, "invisible" traits, such as political orientation or religion, are not immediately identifiable from one's physical appearance (Goffman, 1963). While research has primarily focused on prejudice toward visible marginalized groups, there is relatively little difference between prejudice toward visible and invisible minorities, a finding which has recently been replicated in

studies of fan groups (e.g., Leshner, Reysen, Plante, Chadborn, Roberts, & Gerbasi, 2018; Reysen, Plante, Roberts, & Gerbasi, 2017). Fan identity, like political orientation or religion, is an "invisible" trait, as it is rare for a person's physical traits to convey their fan interest. As such, unlike visible traits, fan identity can be shown at will, such as a sport fan choosing to wear a cap with their team's logo or a music fan wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with their favorite band's members. Some fans, such as hentai fans, whose fandom revolves around anime-themed pornography, fit into this category. We define *hentai* as a medium of pornography either created by, or in the style of, Japanese artists, encompassing both drawn (still image) and animated (moving image) work. While previous research has examined stigmatized fan groups and their feelings of prejudice toward other groups (e.g., Reysen & Shaw, 2016), there are two reasons why the present research is important. First, similar to "My Little Pony" fans (i.e., bronies) or furries (fans of media featuring anthropomorphized animal characters; Leshner, Reysen, Plante, Chadborn, Roberts & Gerbasi, 2018), fans of hentai may want to hide their fandom due to how they may be seen by the public, as a way to buffer against feelings of discrimination; and second, as hentai fans tend to also be fans of anime, there may be discrimination against hentai fans from other anime fans seeking to separate the two groups in the public eye (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988).

Stigma toward Pornography Consumers

There are remarkably little data on whether stigma exists toward consumers of pornography. One study found that people disapprove of those who consume pornography on moral grounds (Volk, Thomas, Sosin, Jacob, & Moen, 2016). Specifically, the study found that growing up in a religious household mediated pornography consumers' felt shame, providing evidence not only that consumers of pornography may have negative feelings about their own pornography consumption, but evidence for at least one potential mediator. Presently relevant, this shame was found to exist despite variability in whether others knew about one's pornography use. Fearing shame from peers or loved ones, these findings suggest that individuals who consume pornography may be motivated to hide their interest, compared to hobbies or traits that may not carry that same shame.

A 2015 book by Georgina Voss examines how stigmatization toward both the actors in pornography and its consumers has led to the industry's private, often clandestine, nature. From the use of pseudonyms by actors and directors to protect their names and identities to the reliance of consumers on the internet and mobile phones for private browsing, the pornography industry never had the same opportunity for "legitimization" that companies like "Blockbuster, who was able to strengthen its position by branding itself as 'clean'" (Voss, 2015, p. 131) had. This lack of legitimacy led to devaluing the individuals working in the industry and, by extension, the devaluing of people creating

and consuming pornography. This, coupled with the stigmatization of pornography on moral grounds (Volk et al., 2016), paints a relatively bleak picture for how anyone who enjoys pornography might be treated if their interest is known. This may explain why some consumers of pornography may desire to find a group where their interests are accepted and where they can be expressed more openly.

Men, in particular, are often stigmatized for their presumed consumption of pornography to a much greater extent than women. Despite the prevalence of this stereotype, recent research has yet to confirm gender differences in pornography consumption (Hald, 2006; Romito & Beltramini, 2011). That said, there are gender differences in the way pornography is consumed, with women being more likely to view pornography with partners while men are more likely to view pornography alone or with same-sex friends (Hald, 2006). Despite a relative dearth of data, the stereotype persists that men are frequently stigmatized for their assumed use of pornography. The present study aims to test the veracity of this stereotype.

Ingroup and Intergroup Identification

In-group identification is the extent to which a person feels a sense of psychological connection to a particular group. Research has shown that group identification may reduce felt stigma associated with negativity from outgroup members (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; McCoy & Major, 2003; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997). Anime fans, and by extension fans of hentai, experience discrimination in an analogous fashion to that experienced by members of stigmatized racial and gender groups and, as such, likely experience an analogous buffer by identifying with their ingroup (Chadborn, Plante, & Reysen, 2016; Leshner, Reysen, Plante, Chadborn, Roberts, & Gerbasi, 2018). Hentai fans, however, as fans of both anime and pornography—which are both two stigmatized groups—may experience considerably more stigma than anime fans normally do. On the one hand, they may experience the same stigma that anime fans do for having a non-prototypical fan interest (Roberts, Plante, Reysen, & Gerbasi, 2016). On the other hand, they are also likely to experience stigma as a result of their pornography consumption insofar as consumers of pornography tend to be stigmatized. As such, there is reason to hypothesize that, even among a stigmatized fandom such as anime, there may be increased felt stigmatization for hentai fans as compared to non-hentai anime fans.

As hentai fans are likely to experience considerable stigmatization due to their interests, hentai fans may themselves dislike members of other groups to the extent that they, themselves, are disliked. Tajfel (1978) suggested that when one group is severely disliked by other groups, the disliked group will create a hierarchy wherein groups seen as being below them are stigmatized as a means of ego preservation. Therefore, it follows that hentai fans should discriminate against other groups as they themselves are discriminated against. Alternatively, stigmatized individuals may come to like members of other stigmatized groups due to

their "shared disadvantage" (Cortland, Craig, Shapiro, Richson, Neel & Goldstein, 2017) creating a sense of commonality among the different groups. That being said, given previous research of feelings toward other fan groups (Reysen & Shaw, 2016), as well as how stigmatized fan groups feel discrimination (Leshner et al., 2018), it seems more likely that hentai fans will tend to dislike other groups as per social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978).

Hypotheses

The present study aims to test four hypotheses based on the existing literature:

1. Hentai fans, feel more stigma against the anime community than do anime fans.
2. Hentai fans identify more strongly than non-hentai fans with the anime community.
3. Hentai fans dislike other groups more than non-hentai anime fans.
4. Hentai fans, more so than non-hentai anime fans, are predominantly male.

The first hypothesis is grounded in prior research suggesting that pornography consumption and the pornography industry itself are stigmatized (Voss, 2015). While we are aware of no metrics that have measured pornography use and its relation to hentai and its fans, we posit that fans of hentai will experience more stigma than non-hentai anime fans due to the stigmatization associated with pornography use in general.

The rationale for our second hypothesis comes from work by Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999), which found that feelings of stigma toward one's group was positively associated with stronger feelings of group identification. If hypothesis 1 is found to be true, it should follow that the greater stigma associated with being a hentai fan should be associated with greater identification with the anime fandom. While previous research has also measured this effect within fan groups (Chadborn, Plante, & Reysen, 2016), this has never been tested within hentai fans specifically, nor has it been investigated among a subgroup within a single fandom.

Our third hypothesis is based on a principle of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) which predicts that group members stigmatize outgroups in service of their own self-esteem. If our first hypothesis is supported by the data, we predict that hentai fans, being highly stigmatized, will also hold disparaging beliefs about other anime groups as a means of preserving their self-esteem.

Our fourth and final hypothesis is based on the aforementioned research that there are more male consumers of pornography compared to females (Hald, 2006; Romito & Beltramini, 2011). Confirming this hypothesis would both be in line with existing research and provide a conceptual replication of previous findings. In short, if men consume more illustrated pornography, as they have been found to do with other types of pornography, it provides further evidence that there are sex differences in pornography consumption which may prove

fruitful for future research on both pornography and hentai.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants included self-identified anime fans recruited at AnimeFest (an anime convention in Dallas, TX) and online through anime-related websites (see Table 1 for sample characteristics). As part of a longer questionnaire, participants completed measures regarding whether they self-identify as a hentai fan (26.6% of fans identified as hentai fans), perceived personal discrimination, fandom identification, and prejudice toward groups and activities within the anime fandom.

Measures

Personal discrimination. A single item ("I have felt discriminated against because I am an anime fan") was adopted from prior research (Leshner et al., 2018) to assess the perception of discrimination against the self due to being an anime fan. Participants rated the item on a 7-point Likert-type scale, from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*.

Fandom identification. A single item ("I strongly identify with other anime fans in the anime community") was adapted from prior research (Reysen, Katzarska-Miller, Nesbit, & Pierce, 2013) to assess ingroup identification with the anime community. Participants rated the item on a 7-point Likert-type scale, from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*.

Intragroup prejudice. We constructed a list of 20 activities and groups (see Table 2 for a list of all groups) that exist within the anime fandom (e.g., cosplayers, artists, industry people). Participants were asked to rate how cold (0) to how warm (10) they felt toward people representing each activity/group similar to past feeling thermometer measures of prejudice (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). Thus, higher scores indicate positive prejudice toward those groups.

Results

Mean Differences

To test whether there are differences between hentai and non-hentai anime fans on the assessed variables, we conducted a MANOVA with hentai fan membership as the independent variable and discrimination, fandom, and intragroup prejudice as dependent variables. The omnibus test was significant, Wilks' $\Lambda = .72$, $F(22, 1069) = 18.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .275$. As shown in Table 2, hentai (vs. non-hentai) fans rated their perceived personal discrimination and fandom identification higher. Hentai (vs. non-hentai) fans also rated the various subgroups within the fandom significantly more positively, with the exception of writers, steampunk fans, and voice actors. Unsurprisingly, hentai fans rated other hentai fans significantly higher than non-hentai fans (i.e., ingroup bias). However, non-hentai fans rated hentai fans below the midpoint of the 11-point scale. This result suggests that hentai fans are not viewed

favorably within the anime community by non-hentai fans.

Serial Mediation

To examine the influence of perceived personal discrimination and fandom on the association between being a hentai fan and prejudice, we first constructed a measure of prejudice toward the three most disliked groups within the anime fandom. We also believe that these groups are fundamentally different from hentai fans since none of the groups are primarily based around pornography consumption. We averaged prejudice toward bronies, smart doll fans, and furries to create an index of most disliked groups ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 2.52$; $\alpha = .82$). Next, a hierarchical linear regression showed that the membership of the fan ($0 =$ non-hentai, $1 =$ hentai) predicted greater positive prejudice (see Table 3, Step 1). When the proposed mediators were included in the analysis, the association between sample and positive prejudice was reduced (see Step 2), fandom identification was significant, while personal discrimination was not.

Based on the pattern of zero-order correlations observed, we tested a possible mediation model whereby differences in positive prejudice between the two samples were mediated in a serial fashion by personal discrimination and fandom identification. The model was tested using the PROCESS SPSS macro with 95% confidence intervals and 20,000 bootstraps (Hayes, 2013). The total effect (i.e., association between the sample and positive prejudice toward the most disliked groups),

direct effect (i.e., association between the sample with positive prejudice partialling out the potential mediators), and all indirect effects are shown in Table 4. The indirect pathway through personal discrimination was not significant, as indicated by the presence of zero within the confidence intervals of the indirect effects (see Table 4). In contrast, the indirect pathway through fandom identification was significant, as indicated by the absence of the value zero within its confidence interval. Finally, we found evidence of serial mediation, as indicated by the non-inclusion of zero within the confidence interval of the indirect pathway containing personal discrimination and fandom identification was significant (see Figure 1 and Table 4). This final pathway suggests that anime fans who are hentai fans (vs. non-hentai fans) may experience greater felt identification with the fandom as a result of perceived discrimination which, in turn predicts greater positive prejudice, or liking toward, other heavily-stigmatized groups.

Discussion

The purpose of the current research was to test whether hentai fans experience more personal discrimination than non-hentai anime fans, to test whether hentai fans identify more strongly with the anime community, to test whether hentai fans show greater outgroup derision, and to test whether hentai fans are significantly more male than not. We found evidence supporting our first hypothesis, that hentai fans do indeed feel more discrimination against their ingroup than non-hentai anime

fans, and that hentai fans are more disliked by non-hentai fans compared to how much hentai fans dislike non-hentai fans (see Table 2). While this difference was observed, we did not assess the reasons underlying these differences. Future research should examine the reasons why hentai fans are so much more disliked than non-hentai fans. One possibility is because non-hentai fans fear that hentai fans make them look bad. At least one study found evidence supporting this idea, as deviants within a group are often judged negatively by other members of the group due to the extent that they are motivated to be seen positively by outgroup individuals (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). Deviant members would significantly damage the image of the group, which may endanger the group's fundamental motives according to some theorists (e.g., Schaller & Neuberg, 2012).

We also found evidence supporting our second hypothesis, that hentai fans identify more strongly with the anime fandom compared to non-hentai anime fans, a relationship mediated by felt prejudice toward one's group (see Figure 1; for a review, see McCoy & Major, 2003). It is worth noting that our measure specifically assessed identification with the anime fandom. Given that hentai can be considered a subgenre within the genre of anime itself, we expected some level of identification in both examined groups. It is notable, then, that identification with the anime fandom was higher among hentai fans as a particular subgroup within the anime fandom than among anime fans more broadly.

With respect to our third hypothesis, there is no evidence to suggest that hentai fans express greater negativity toward other groups. In fact, hentai fans may, if anything, show more *positivity* toward other groups. This finding runs entirely counter to our hypothesis, which is grounded on the social identity theory principle that stigmatized groups should want to put other groups below them (Tajfel, 1978). The findings do, however, support prior research by Cortland and colleagues (2017), which implies that shared disadvantage (in this case, shared stigmatization), leads to greater liking toward those groups. Hentai fans may not dislike the other fan groups based on ingroup/outgroup theories of derision, and may dislike those groups for other reasons, or may not dislike them at all. The main conclusion we can confirm in this research is that hentai fans tend to like anime-related groups more than non-hentai anime fans do, and future research is necessary to determine why and how much. As well, we also theorize that hentai fans, because they understand what feeling stigmatized is like, may be more tolerant of other groups in comparison to non-hentai fans.

Finally, we found that hentai fans are disproportionately male. Despite making up just under half of the total sample of anime fans, 71% of the hentai fans were male. Previous research on pornography consumption has shown non-significant differences between sex, with men having consumed about as much pornography on average compared to women (Hald, 2006; Romito & Beltramini, 2011). This is important for a number of reasons: according to this dataset, there may be sex

differences of hentai pornography consumption that are present that do not exist in non-hentai pornography consumption. While these data should be viewed cautiously as the results have not been replicated, this creates important considerations for future research.

Limitations

One limitation of the present study is its results cannot be generalized beyond the samples studied. While we assessed hentai and anime fans at both a convention and numerous popular anime websites, the study itself was conducted only in English. As such, it is entirely possible that the findings of the present study may not fully represent the anime or hentai fandoms and their respective prejudices and feelings. In future studies, researchers would do well to recruit participants in multiple languages and from a multitude of countries to ensure a better test of the generalizability of the results to the entire anime and hentai fandoms.

As a second limitation, two of our scales consist of single-item measures, which considerably undermines their reliability relative to measures that involve more items. Moreover, the single-item measures increase the likelihood that small nuances of word choice may be driving some of the observed relationships. Future research should focus on creating a scale of fan group identification that consists of more items for more accurate measurement of the variables being assessed.

As a third limitation, it should be noted that, due to social desirability concerns, people who consider themselves to be fans

of hentai may not report their interest on a survey. Prior studies have shown that the moral disapproval of pornography leads to a sexual shame in individuals (Volk et al., 2016). Therefore, hentai fans may feel a sense of shame and choose not to identify themselves as hentai fans, which could lead to an underestimation of their prevalence in our study. Nonetheless, even if this is the case, we were still able to find significant results despite having fewer hentai fans and potentially unidentified hentai fans within the "non-hentai" sample. This would make it harder to detect a significant result, making the present tests of differences fairly conservative. While there is no easy way to confirm that all the respondents in a survey are truthful, reassuring participants that their responses are indeed anonymous, or telling participants at the outset that the survey is being performed to understand more about fan groups may affect truthfulness positively in the sample.

A final limitation of the present study is its cross-sectional nature. The mediation model suggests that being a hentai fan leads to more felt stigmatization, which is then mediated by group identification to produce feelings of positive prejudice. While we are confident in this model explaining these data, the cross-sectional design of this study does not allow for the confirmation that this is the exact model. In a longitudinal design, the answers given by participants could be confirmed and other possible conclusions could be ruled out. A way to eliminate this limitation would be to assess beliefs about hentai fans at multiple time points (i.e., averaging scores of stigmatization that are measured once a week for a month or once a

month for a year) or possibly even just before and after an event that prominently features a number of hentai fans.

Future Directions

While previous research has shown that there is both an intergroup discrimination both toward and felt by furries and bronies (Leshner et al., 2018; Reysen & Shaw, 2016), there has not, to our knowledge, been a study looking at smart doll fans on prejudice toward them or attitudes among them. Smart doll fans are seen similarly by hentai and non-hentai fans, as bronies and furries were, but there are no data at this time that has examined stigma against them. If smart doll fans are being stigmatized similarly to bronies and furries, it would be important to understand why, especially because one could argue that smart doll fans and hentai fans likely have some commonalities, such as an individual's sexual gratification. Future research into this fandom may prove fruitful, both for learning more about this relatively unstudied fandom and for better understanding the nature of intergroup attitudes between different fandoms.

In addition, more work should be done to further elucidate subgroups within the hentai fandom, given that there may be differences in feelings people have toward different sexual interests. We may benefit from studying how different interests within hentai are seen by both members within the group as well as other groups. Because hentai encompasses a broad range of interests, assessing the collective hentai group may miss nuances associated with sub-categories of hentai.

Finally, while this study examined felt discrimination of hentai fans compared to anime fans who do not consume hentai, this study did not examine discrimination toward hentai fans as felt by the aforementioned groups (see Table 2). After showing the significant differences of felt discrimination toward the anime community between anime fans and hentai fans, a logical next step of this research would be to assess discrimination toward hentai consumers from non-anime fans. Future analyses should aim to capture feelings of stigma toward hentai fans at multiple times to better-assess the true feelings of participants. This would allow the researchers to have more confidence in their beliefs that there is stigmatization between fan groups and their members. This could also lead to future analyses such as conflict between groups (e.g., anime fans and hentai fans) and how those conflicts affect the relationships between groups.

Conclusion

This paper assessed whether there are differences between hentai and non-hentai anime fans with respect to their felt discrimination, identification with the fandom, and perception of other anime-related groups. We found that hentai fans do indeed feel more prejudice compared to non-hentai fans, and also found that hentai fans generally feel less discrimination toward other groups. We also found that group identification correlated with feelings of prejudice when both mediated and not

mediated by personal feelings of discrimination. This research answers a gap in the research that has examined discrimination against pornography and its consumers, but has not examined the the same effects against consumers of hentai. While there are no data to suggest how many pornography consumers are also consumers of hentai, the simple fact that 25% of our sample consider themselves "fans" of hentai should be a cause for increased interest in the topic. Future research would do well to examine these results using longitudinal methods to further explore our findings. Future research should also look at subgroups within hentai fandom to see if there are differences in the attitudes of different subgroups towards one another.

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Table 1

Sample Characteristics

Variable	Non-Hentai	Hentai
N	801	291
Mean (*SD*) Years Fan	11.14 (6.94)	11.19 (6.82)
Mean (*SD*) Age	25.22 (7.45)	24.31 (6.09)
Sex		
Male	385	207
Female	407	80
Intersex	2	1
Other	7	3
Gender		
Man	382	201
Woman	360	69
Non-binary/Genderqueer	49	13
Other	10	8
Ethnicity		
White	502	163
Black	46	16
Asian	103	38
First Nations/ Native American	4	3
Hispanic	85	54
Middle Eastern	4	1
Other	57	16

Table 2

Means (Standard Deviation) of Assessed Variables by Hentai Fan Membership

Variable	Non-Hentai	Hentai	$F(1, 1090)$	p	η_p^2
Discrimination	2.81 (1.83)	3.17 (1.96)	7.95	.005	.007
Fandom	4.35 (1.66)	4.72 (1.65)	10.64	.001	.010
Intragroup Prejudice					
Artists	8.23 (1.96)	8.62 (1.85)	8.55	.004	.008
Gamers	7.04 (2.47)	7.81 (2.33)	21.69	< .001	.020
Musicians	7.67 (2.21)	8.01 (2.13)	5.10	.024	.005
Bronies	3.74 (2.90)	4.16 (3.23)	4.34	.038	.004
Writers	7.77 (2.11)	7.79 (2.35)	0.02	.898	< .001
Dealers	6.06 (2.59)	6.62 (2.62)	9.57	.002	.009
Sci-fi fan	6.78 (2.35)	7.21 (2.35)	6.95	.009	.006
Anime Otakus	6.56 (2.60)	7.43 (2.58)	24.25	< .001	.022
Manga Otakus	6.48 (2.61)	7.37 (2.53)	24.97	< .001	.022
Smart Doll fans	4.37 (2.66)	5.11 (2.90)	15.64	< .001	.014
Cosplayers	7.49 (2.27)	8.03 (2.08)	12.59	< .001	.011
Idol Otakus	5.04 (2.79)	5.87 (2.97)	18.19	< .001	.016
Furries	3.91 (2.95)	4.80 (3.39)	17.92	< .001	.016
Figurine Collectors	5.99 (2.47)	6.95 (2.53)	31.64	< .001	.028
Maid Café fans	5.14 (2.65)	6.58 (2.67)	62.10	< .001	.054
Steampunk fans	6.10 (2.50)	6.42 (2.82)	3.38	.066	.003
Mecha figurine fans	5.92 (2.46)	6.58 (2.69)	14.70	< .001	.013
Hentai fans	4.16 (2.84)	7.54 (2.36)	329.65	< .001	.232
Industry people	6.97 (2.35)	7.54 (2.38)	12.52	< .001	.011
Voice Actors	7.85 (2.11)	8.09 (2.29)	2.59	.108	.002

Note. Perceived personal discrimination and fandom rated on a 7-point scale, from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*. Intragroup prejudice rated on an 11-point scale, from 0 = *cold* to 10 = *warm*.

Table 3

Unstandardized Coefficients for Regression showing Association of Type of Fan (Non-Hentai vs. Hentai), Personal Discrimination, and Fandom with Intragroup Prejudice

| | Step 1 | | | | Step 2 | | |
Variable	b	SE	t		b	SE	t
Non-Hentai vs. Hentai	.68	.17	3.98**		.54	.17	3.22**
Discrimination					.02	.04	0.01
Fandom					.38	.05	8.29**
R^2 Change	.01				.06		
F Change	15.86**				36.42**		
df Change	(1, 1090)				(2, 1088)		

Note. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4

Bootstrap Analysis of Indirect Effects Through Discrimination and Fandom

| | | | 95% Confidence Interval | |
	b	SE	Lower	Upper
Total Effect	.68	.17	.347	1.02
Direct Effect	.54	.17	.210	.869
Discrimination	.01	.02	-.025	.045
Fandom	.12	.05	.035	.215
Discrimination + Fandom	.02	.01	.008	.047

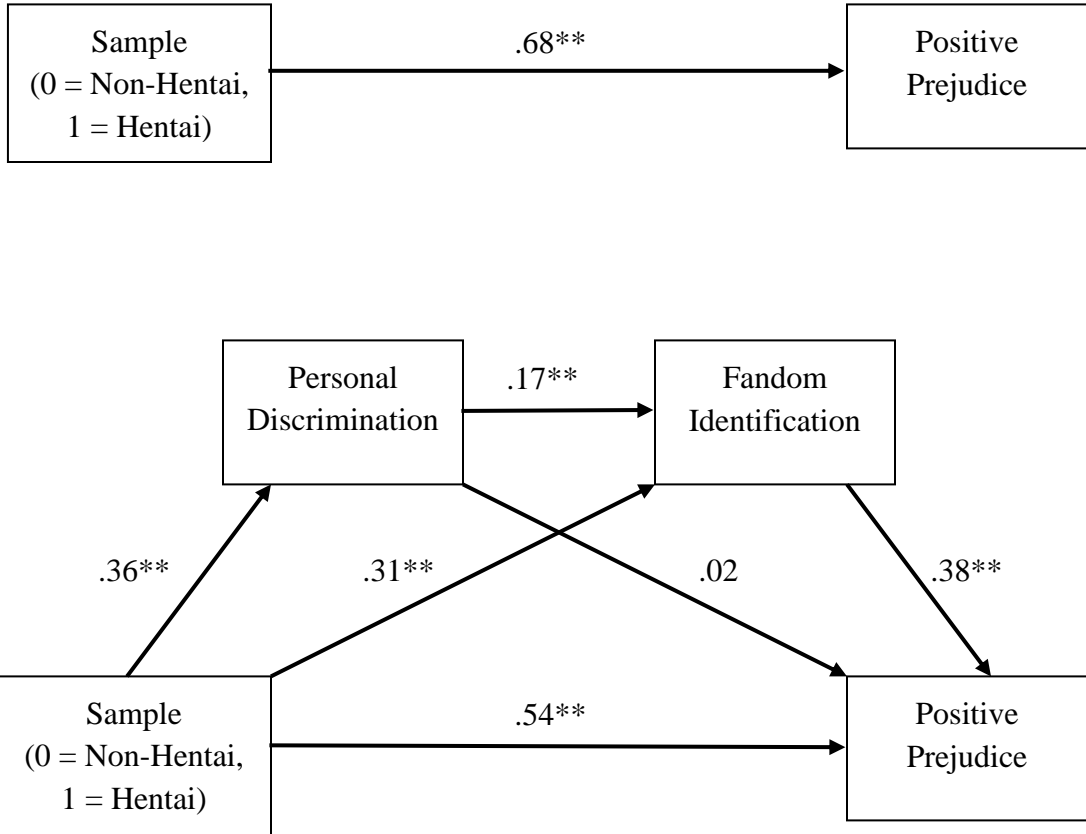*Note.* The ratio of the indirect effect to the total effect of the serial model is .03.

Figure 1: Serial mediation model of sample predicting positive prejudice through personal discrimination and fandom. Unstandardized betas presented. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.