

Culture-Specific Models of Men's Sexual Aggression: Intra- and Interpersonal Determinants

GORDON C. NAGAYAMA HALL
The Pennsylvania State University

STANLEY SUE
University of California, Davis

DAVID S. NARANG
ROY S. LILLY
Kent State University

The role of intra- and interpersonal variables was examined in samples of Asian American (N = 91) and European American (N = 377) men. A path model for Asian American men suggested 2 interpersonal paths and 1 intrapersonal path to sexual aggression. For Asian Americans, concern about social standing is a risk factor among those who hold misogynous beliefs and who use alcohol before sex. Concern about the negative reputational impact of sexual aggression is a protective factor among Asian Americans who do not hold these negative attitudes. A European American model suggested only an intrapersonal path to sexual aggression consisting of misogynous beliefs, with interpersonal variables not being predictive of sexual aggression. These results suggest both individualist and collectivist determinants of Asian American sexual aggression, whereas only individualist determinants were found for European American sexual aggression.

• sexual aggression • Asian Americans • collectivism • individualism • loss of face
• path analysis

-
- Gordon C. Nagayama Hall, Department of Psychology, The Pennsylvania State University; Stanley Sue, Departments of Psychology and Asian American Studies and National Center for Research on Asian American Mental Health, University of California, Davis; David S. Narang and Roy S. Lilly, Department of Psychology, Kent State University.

This article is based on a paper titled "Sexual Aggression Among Asian and European Americans: Determinants and Prevention" presented in August 1998 at the 106th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco. We thank Nolan Zane for his feedback and use of the Loss of Face Scale. We also thank Jennifer Lee and Annie Lei for data collection and Gia Maramba for data analyses.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Gordon C. Nagayama Hall, Department of Psychology, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania 16803. Electronic mail may be sent to gch3@psu.edu.

Little is known about cultural differences in the determinants of sexual aggression. Yet, cultural differences in determinants of other behaviors would suggest that cultural differences in sexual aggression should similarly exist. One major dimension on which cultures differ is individualism and collectivism (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). The determinants of sexual aggression should markedly differ between individualist and collectivist cultures (Hall, 1996; Hall & Barongan, 1997).

Sexual Aggression in Individualist Cultures

When individual desires take precedence over the rights of others, personal fulfillment may include the violation of others' rights. Fulfillment of desires for individual enhancement at the expense of others may be associated with many forms of violent behavior, including sexual aggression (Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996; Hall & Barongan, 1997; Schmidt, 1995). In individualist cultures, ego-focused emotions that are self-serving are common, including anger, frustration, and pride (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The expression of such ego-focused emotions may occasionally lead to overt aggression. One's personal welfare in individualist cultures depends primarily on personal resources and is not necessarily dependent on the welfare of others. If one is not personally fulfilled but feels entitled to fulfillment, then others may simply be regarded as vehicles to be used to become fulfilled. The suffering and harm that victims of aggression experience may not be a deterrent to an aggressive individual whose primary goal is self-fulfillment. In fact, reducing another person's sense of superiority may be the motivation for some who are aggressive (Baumeister et al., 1996). Prevention of victimization and recovery from it may even be regarded as the victim's responsibility. Thus, in individualist cultures, intrapersonal con-

structs may be more important than interpersonal ones.

The confluence model of Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, and Tanaka (1991) and Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes, and Acker (1995) is a primarily intrapersonal approach to men's sexual aggression. The confluence model includes two paths, hostile masculinity and impersonal sex, that are associated with men's sexually aggressive behavior. Hostile masculinity involves an insecure, defensive, hypersensitive, and hostile-distrustful orientation, particularly toward women, and gratification from controlling or dominating women. The second path, impersonal sex, involves a willingness to engage in sexual relations without closeness or commitment, such as sexual promiscuity.

Sexual Aggression in Collectivist Cultures

Interpersonal conflict and violence tend to be minimal in collectivist cultures because individual goals are subordinated to those of the group, social support is high, and competitiveness is low (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Indeed, satisfying one's personal goals may require meeting others' goals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Persons who are interdependent tend to be more concerned about negative evaluations by others than those who are independent (Okazaki, 1997). Being unique and asserting one's personal desires are deemphasized insofar as they may interfere with group harmony. An aggressive act may be regarded as a crime against a whole community or society rather than an isolated act involving two individuals (Hall & Barongan, 1997). Empathy and concern about the well-being of others are emphasized in collectivist cultures (Fiske et al., 1998).

The importance of fitting in with the group may cause group norms to be more influential in collectivist than in individualist cultures. Deviant behavior may result in loss of face, or the threat of loss of one's social integrity (Sue & Morishima, 1982). In collectivist settings, the important conse-

quence of loss of face is not its impact on an individual but its impact on the group. Personal consequences of deviant behavior are secondary. Thus, an individual who engages in deviant behavior is shamed more because the deviant behavior results in loss of face for the whole group than because of any negative individual consequences. Loss of face may be a more important mediator of behavior among collectivist than among individualist Americans (Zane, 1991).

Loss of face may serve as a protective or risk factor associated with sexual aggression, depending on one's reference group. In collectivist cultures, vertical (superiors) and horizontal (peer) relationships serve as reference groups. A general respect for authority is an example of the value placed on vertical relationships. Authority figures typically disapprove of sexually aggressive behavior. Fear of disapproval or punishment by authority figures (e.g., parents, employer, police, and legal/judicial system) may be more of a deterrent against acting out in collectivist cultures than in individualist cultures (Hill, Soriano, Chen, & LaFromboise, 1994). Peer disapproval may also serve as a deterrent against sexual aggression in collectivist cultures. In collectivist cultures in which the self is not separate from others, any behavior that serves to upset group interdependence is not approved of (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994). Both aggressive behavior and unrestricted sexual behavior may interfere with group harmony (Bond, 1991). To be sexually aggressive could be a violation of group norms in a collectivist culture.

Loss of face could also serve as a risk factor for sexual aggression. If one's reference group consists of other aggressive and sexually aggressive men, it may appear "manly" to engage in sexually aggressive behavior (see Malamuth et al., 1991, 1995). Thus, loss of face may occur if a man does not engage in aggressive and sexually aggressive behavior against women to fulfill the perceived masculine role. Moreover, the authority structure of collectivist cultures may also create risk factors for sexual aggression (Hall & Barongan, 1997; Hall, Win-

dover, & Maramba, 1998). Women often have a subordinate status and may be oppressed in collectivist cultures (Ho, 1990; Okazaki, 1998). Suffering and persevering without complaining and acceptance of fate are Asian values that may encourage abuse (Chen & True, 1994; Ho, 1990; Okamura, Heras, & Wong-Kerberg, 1995; Yoshihama & Sorenson, 1994).

Situational Disinhibition of Sexual Aggression: Substance Use

Men do not become sexually aggressive in all situations in which there is an opportunity to do so (Marshall & Barbaree, 1990). Moreover, there is overlap between sexually aggressive and nonaggressive men on many personality variables (Hall, 1996). Thus, situational constructs may be critical to the disinhibition of sexually aggressive behavior.

Alcohol use particularly appears to be a situational risk factor for sexual aggression in college settings (Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998; Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAuslan, 1996; Koss & Dinero, 1989). Sexually aggressive men often report using alcohol while they were sexually aggressive (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Seto & Barbaree, 1995). However, alcohol use may be used as an excuse for being sexually aggressive, and it is unlikely that substance use has a causal role in sexually aggressive behavior. More likely, alcohol use may disinhibit sexually aggressive impulses among some men (Seto & Barbaree, 1995).

The purpose of the present studies was to examine the relative utility of intra- and interpersonal determinants of sexual aggression among Asian Americans, who are generally a collectivist group. A second purpose was to determine the utility of intra- and interpersonal determinants of sexual aggression among European Americans, who are generally individualists. In the confluence model, it has been proposed that general variables (e.g., negative attitudes) are mediated by variables that are more specific to sexual aggression (e.g., hostility toward

women). Similarly, Hall and colleagues (Hall, 1996; Hall et al., 1998) have proposed that individual motivational variables (e.g., hostility toward women) may be moderated by situational variables (e.g., alcohol use) that are specific to the disinhibition of sexually aggressive behavior. On the basis of these models, we hypothesized three paths involving variables increasingly specific to sexual aggression. The first two paths involve intrapersonal variables, and the third path involves interpersonal variables. The first path is similar to the hostile masculinity path of Malamuth et al. (1991, 1995). In the Malamuth et al. studies, attitudes supporting violence against women were mediated in their relationship to sexual aggression by hostile masculinity. We additionally propose that this path will be moderated by alcohol use. The second hypothesized path is similar to Malamuth et al.'s impersonal sex path, and we propose that the path will be moderated by alcohol use. The third path, consisting of interpersonal variables, involves a general loss-of-face component that is medi-

ated in its relationship with sexual aggression by the perceived impact of sexual aggression on one's reputation. Similar to the other two paths, perceived impact is moderated by alcohol use. The proposed model is presented in Figure 1. We hypothesize that (a) interpersonal variables will be more relevant in a model of sexual aggression among Asian American men than in a model among European American men, and (b) intrapersonal variables will be more relevant in a model of sexual aggression among European American men than in a model among Asian American men. Because the vast majority of college-age Asian Americans attend college (88%; Hsia & Peng, 1998), college samples are investigated in the present studies.

Study 1

Method

PARTICIPANTS. Participants were 91 Asian American men from a university in northern

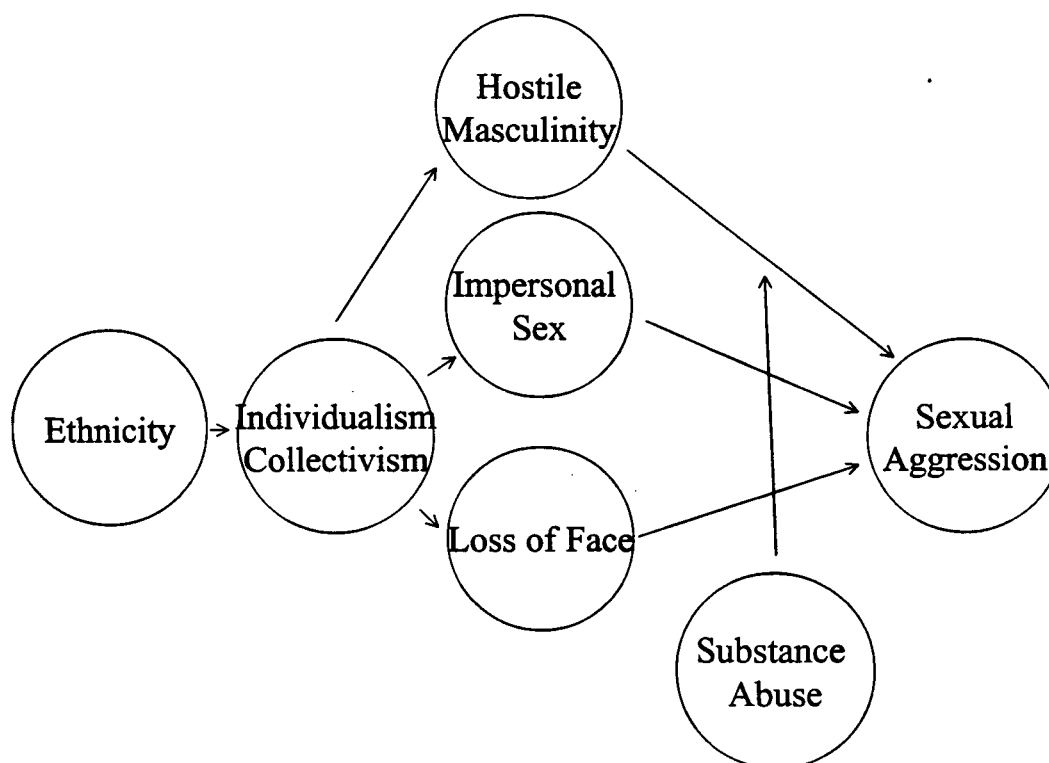


Figure 1. A general model of men's sexual aggression.

California who were taking psychology or Asian American Studies courses. Participants were primarily freshmen and sophomores and received extra credit in the psychology courses or the possibility of winning a raffle of \$25 in the Asian American Studies course for their participation. Approximately 30% of the university population was Asian American. In the sample, 43 were Chinese Americans, 14 were Southeast Asian Americans, 13 were Korean Americans, 11 were Filipino Americans, 3 were Japanese Americans, 2 were Asian Indian American, and 5 identified themselves as "other" Asian Americans. Fifty-three were foreign-born and 38 were born in the United States. The measures below were administered by Asian American female graduate students.

MEASURES. Because of the relatively small sample size, the best single exemplars of the relevant constructs were selected (see Malamuth et al., 1995).

Intrapersonal variables. The following instruments were chosen because of their psychometric qualities and because they measure intrapersonal constructs associated with sexually aggressive behavior.

1. The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (RMAS; Burt, 1980): The RMAS is a measure of cognitive distortions concerning rape (e.g., in the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has had a bad reputation). Rape myths are culturally conditioned beliefs that excuse sexually aggressive behavior (Burt, 1980). The RMAS has nineteen 5-point Likert scale items. Cronbach's alpha for the RMAS is .88 (Burt, 1980).
2. The Hostility Toward Women Scale (HTWS; Check, 1985): The HTWS is a 30-item true/false measure of trait hostility toward women. A Likert format for the HTWS was used in this study because of its increased sensitivity relative to a true/false format (Malamuth et al., 1995). Cronbach's alpha for the scale is .80 (Check, 1985). Scores on the HTWS are posi-

tively associated with sexual aggression against women (Lisak & Roth, 1990; Malamuth et al., 1991, 1995; Walker, Rowe, & Quinsey, 1993). Although scores on the HTWS and RMAS are positively correlated, they appear to measure different constructs (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995).

3. Consenting sexual partners: Number of consenting sexual partners is a measure of sexual promiscuity and reflects an impersonal attitude toward sexual relations (Malamuth et al., 1991, 1995).

Interpersonal variables. The following measures were relevant to interpersonal constructs that may be determinants of sexual aggression.

1. The Loss of Face Questionnaire (LFQ; Zane, 1991): The LFQ assessed the importance of the threat to or loss of one's social integrity. The 21-item LFQ is internally consistent ($\alpha = .83$).
2. Impact of sexual aggression on reputation: The following five items were used to assess the impact of sexual aggression on one's reputation with parents, peers, and legal authorities: (a) "My parents would disapprove if I forced someone to have sex," (b) "If I forced someone to have sex, this would interfere with my relationship with my parents," (c) "Being arrested for rape would ruin my reputation," (d) "Being arrested for rape would decrease my chances of succeeding in life," and (e) "My friends think forcing someone to have sex is wrong." The coefficient alpha of this five-item scale is .74.

Alcohol use. Based on the utility of drinking or being drunk before or during sex in predicting sexually aggressive behavior (Abbey et al., 1996), the following items were used to assess alcohol use: (a) "How much of the time do you drink alcohol before or during sexual intercourse?" and (b) "How often have you been drunk before or during sex-

ual intercourse?" Frequency was assessed with a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *never*, 2 = *less than half the time*, 3 = *half the time*, 4 = *more than half the time*, and 5 = *all the time*; Abbey et al., 1996). The internal consistency of this scale was .83.

Sexual aggression. The Sexual Experiences Survey (SES; Koss & Gidycz, 1985) was used as a measure of sexual aggression. For each item that a participant endorsed, he was asked how many times the victim involved in the act was African American/Black, American Indian/Native American, Asian American/Pacific Islander, European American/Caucasian/White, Hispanic/Latina, or multicultural. The total number of acts against persons of all ethnicities was used to quantify the SES as a continuous measure. The internal consistency for the total number of times a person was sexually aggressive against victims of all ethnicities was .89.

Results

Thirty-three percent of the sample admitted to at least one form of sexual aggression on the SES. The percentages of respondents who had engaged in at least one instance of each of the sexually aggressive behaviors on the SES are presented in Table 1. The mean number of victims, based on the combined

number of victims by ethnicity variables, was 2.25 ($SD = 6.12$).

Means for the variables were 22.05 ($SD = 9.61$) for the RMAS, 11.22 ($SD = 5.06$) for the HTWS, 1.24 consenting sexual partners ($SD = 1.37$), 47.05 ($SD = 9.63$) for the LFQ, 17.47 ($SD = 3.49$) for impact of sexual aggression on reputation, and 0.58 ($SD = 1.15$) for alcohol use before or during sex. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) suggested no significant differences between foreign-born and American-born participants for any of these measures or for total number of victims.

Intercorrelations of the constructs for Asian American men are presented in Table 2. The weak correlation between loss of face and impact on reputation suggests that these two interpersonal variables are largely orthogonal. The correlations between loss of face and the other variables suggest that loss of face is a risk factor for Asian American sexual aggression. Loss of face, rape myth acceptance, and hostility toward women were positively correlated. This finding may mean that rape myth acceptance and hostility toward women are associated with saving face for some Asian American men, particularly those having misogynous beliefs. The negative correlation between loss of face and number of consenting sex-

TABLE 1 Sexually Aggressive Behavior as Measured by the Sexual Experiences Survey

Sexual Experiences Survey item	Asian Americans (N = 91)			European Americans (N = 377)		
	%	M	SD	%	M	SD
1. Sex play by using arguments and pressure	32	1.14	2.52	30	1.06	2.20
2. Sex play by using authority	5	0.29	1.85	8	0.29	1.22
3. Sex play by using physical force	2	0.19	1.42	6	0.27	1.53
4. Attempted intercourse by threatening or using force	1	0.04	0.42	4	0.11	0.78
5. Attempted intercourse by giving alcohol or drugs	5	0.26	1.44	7	0.19	0.81
6. Sexual intercourse by using arguments and pressure	11	0.21	0.75	14	0.30	1.05
7. Sexual intercourse by using authority	0			3	0.09	0.62
8. Sexual intercourse by giving alcohol or drugs	3	0.09	0.62	4	0.12	0.65
9. Sexual intercourse by threatening or using force	1	0.03	0.31	3	0.07	0.51
10. Sex acts other than intercourse by threatening or using force	0			3	0.08	0.59

Note. % = percentage of men responding "yes" to the item. Means and standard deviations are the number of times participants engaged in these acts.

TABLE 2 Intercorrelations of Variables Among Asian American Men (*N* = 91)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Loss of face	—	-.06	-.26	.30	.23	-.08	.11
2. Impact of sexual aggression		—	.01	-.03	.01	-.12	-.19
3. No. of consenting sex partners			—	-.14	-.01	.44	.09
4. Rape myth acceptance				—	.46	.11	.24
5. Hostility toward women					—	.17	.24
6. Drinking/drunken and sex						—	.23
7. No. of victims							—

ual partners suggests that having consenting partners is associated with loss of face, whereas the positive correlation between loss of face and number of victims suggests that sexual aggression is associated with saving face. Similarly, the positive correlation between rape myth acceptance and number of victims and the negative correlation between rape myth acceptance and number of consenting sexual partners suggest that rape myth acceptance is associated with sexually aggressive behavior and that it may limit the number of consenting sexual partners. The negative correlation between the impact of sexual aggression on one's reputation and number of victims suggests that perceived negative impact is a protective variable against sexual aggression.

Number of consenting sexual partners was moderately correlated with drinking or being drunk before or during sex in the Asian American sample. This correlation is not surprising in that the drinking/drunken variable pertains to consenting sexual activity. Rape myth acceptance and hostility toward women were also moderately correlated.

The EQS statistical program (Bentler & Wu, 1995) was used for the path analyses in Studies 1 and 2. A path analysis of all direct and indirect relationships among variables was conducted to identify the best-fitting statistical model for the data (Leamer, 1978). The path model presented in Figure 2 clarifies the relationships among the variables for Asian American men. The overall fit of the model was excellent, $\chi^2(15, N = 91) = 17.16$, $p = .31$, comparative fit index = .97.

Three paths to sexually aggressive behavior are suggested by the estimated model. One path to sexual aggression involves loss of face. Loss of face is mediated by rape myth acceptance and hostility toward women. Hostility toward women is moderated by drinking or being drunk before or during sex. Thus, Asian American men who are concerned about loss of face and also accept rape myths and are hostile toward women may lose face by not being sexually aggressive. This second path is similar to the hostile masculinity path in Malamuth et al.'s (1991, 1995) model, although their model did not include loss of face or alcohol use variables.

In a second path, the relationship between number of consenting sexual partners and sexual aggression is moderated by drinking or being drunk before or during sex. Thus, for men who have many sexual partners, sexually aggressive behavior may be disinhibited by alcohol use. It is not number of sexual partners per se that constitutes a risk factor but the combination of multiple sexual partners and alcohol use. This path is similar to the impersonal sex path in Malamuth et al.'s (1991, 1995) model, although their model did not include alcohol use.

The third path is a direct relationship between the impact of sexual aggression on one's reputation and sexually aggressive behavior. The estimated model suggests that this path is independent of the previous two paths. Impact of sexual aggression is an interpersonal component that serves as a protective factor against sexually aggressive behavior.

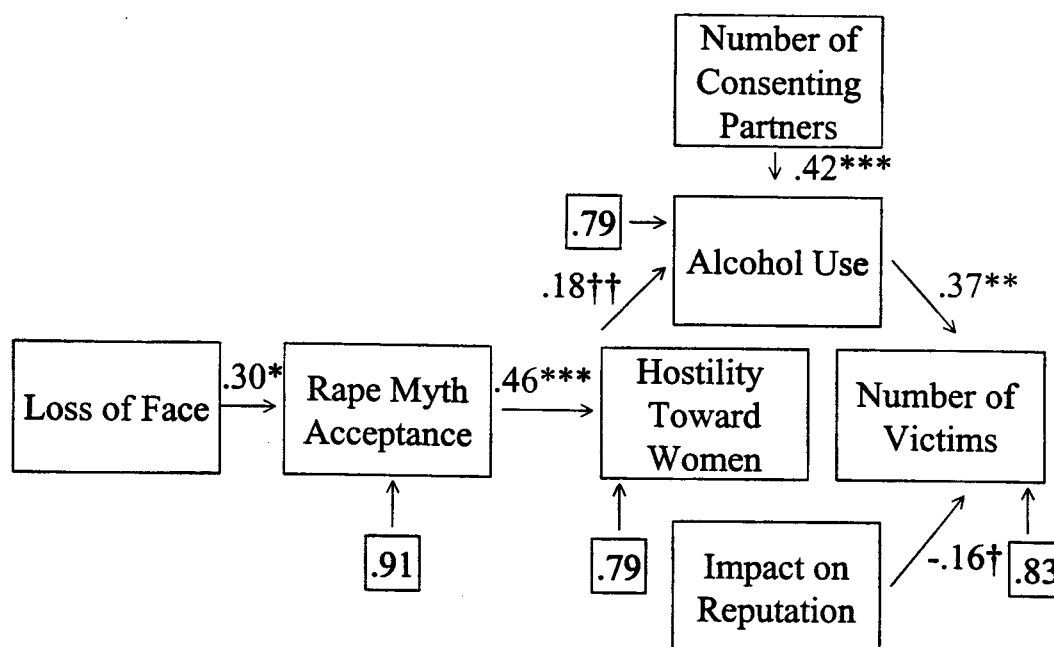


Figure 2. Path model of Asian American men's sexual aggression ($N = 91$). Standardized path coefficients are presented for the estimated model. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{\dagger\dagger}p < .06$. $^*p < .01$. $^{**}p < .001$. $^{***}p < .0001$.

Study 2

Method

PARTICIPANTS. Participants were 377 European American men from introductory psychology courses from the same university as in Study 1 ($N = 82$) and from a university in northeast Ohio ($N = 295$). Women at the Ohio university were also solicited for participation in an analogous study on sexual victimization, although only the men's data are reported in this study. Participants were primarily freshmen and sophomores and received extra credit in these courses for their participation in the study. The measures below were administered by Asian American female graduate students at the first university and by European American female graduate students at the second.

MEASURES. The same measures from Study 1 were used in Study 2.

Results

Thirty-eight percent of the sample admitted to some form of sexual aggression on the

SES. The percentages of respondents who had engaged in at least one instance of each of the sexually aggressive behaviors on the SES are presented in Table 1. European Americans and Asian Americans were not significantly different in their frequencies of endorsing SES items or in the frequencies of engaging in each of the behaviors assessed by the SES. The mean number of victims for European American men, based on the combined number of victims by ethnicity variables, was 2.59 ($SD = 6.93$). Means for the variables were 21.96 ($SD = 10.98$) for the RMAS, 10.58 ($SD = 5.44$) for the HTWS, 1.85 consenting sexual partners ($SD = 1.54$), 42.11 ($SD = 10.40$) for the LFQ, 14.30 ($SD = 3.57$) for impact of sexual aggression on reputation, and 0.63 ($SD = 0.83$) for alcohol use before or during sex.

A MANOVA, with ethnicity (Asian American vs. European American) as the independent variable and loss of face, impact on reputation, number of consenting sexual partners, rape myth acceptance, hostility toward women, alcohol use before and during sex, and total number of victims, indicated a

significant overall between-groups difference, Wilks's $\lambda = .85$, $F(7, 458) = 11.41$, $p < .0001$. Post hoc F tests revealed that Asian Americans had higher scores on loss of face, $F(1, 464) = 17.00$, $p < .0001$; and on impact on reputation, $F(1, 464) = 58.12$, $p < .0001$; and reported having fewer consenting sexual partners than European Americans did, $F(1, 464) = 12.15$, $p < .0001$.

Intercorrelations of the constructs for European American men are presented in Table 3. Similar to the correlations for Asian American men, rape myth acceptance and hostility toward women were positively associated with number of victims. However, unlike the Asian American sample, the correlations between the other variables and number of victims were negligible. These correlations suggest that intrapersonal variables (i.e., rape myth acceptance and hostility toward women) are more strongly associated with sexual aggression than are other variables. Similar to the Asian American sample, rape myth acceptance was moderately correlated with hostility toward women, and alcohol use before or during sex was positively associated with number of consenting sexual partners.

As in Study 1, a path analysis of all direct and indirect relationships among variables was conducted to identify the best-fitting statistical model for the data (Leamer, 1978). The path model of European American men's sexual aggression is presented in Figure 3. Although the paths were statistically significant for the two predictor variables in the estimated model, the overall model fit was not sufficient, $\chi^2(1, N = 377) =$

18.89, $p < .001$, comparative fit index = .86. Nevertheless, although only two variables were included in the estimated model, they explained a substantial amount of the variance in sexually aggressive behavior. The estimated model revealed a path with the relationship of rape myth acceptance and number of victims mediated by hostility toward women. This path was not moderated by alcohol use and is consistent with the hostile masculinity path of Malamuth et al. (1991, 1995). Unlike the Asian American model, interpersonal variables (i.e., loss of face and impact of sexual aggression) were not predictive of number of victims in the European American model. The estimated model did not reveal a path from number of consenting sexual partners to sexual aggression.

General Discussion

This is the first study in which specific determinants of Asian American men's sexual aggression have been examined. The data provide support for the hypothesis that interpersonal variables would be more relevant in a model of sexual aggression among Asian American men than in a model among European American men. However, inconsistent with the hypothesis that intrapersonal variables would be more relevant in a model of sexual aggression among European American men than in a model among Asian American men, intrapersonal variables were relevant in both models. The

TABLE 3 Intercorrelations of Variables Among European American Men ($N = 377$)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Loss of face	—	.11	-.11	.06	.07	-.03	-.05
2. Impact of sexual aggression		—	-.02	-.03	-.02	-.02	-.08
3. No. of consenting sex partners			—	.09	-.01	.35	.08
4. Rape myth acceptance				—	.48	.04	.28
5. Hostility toward women					—	.01	.18
6. Drinking/drank and sex						—	-.02
7. No. of victims							—

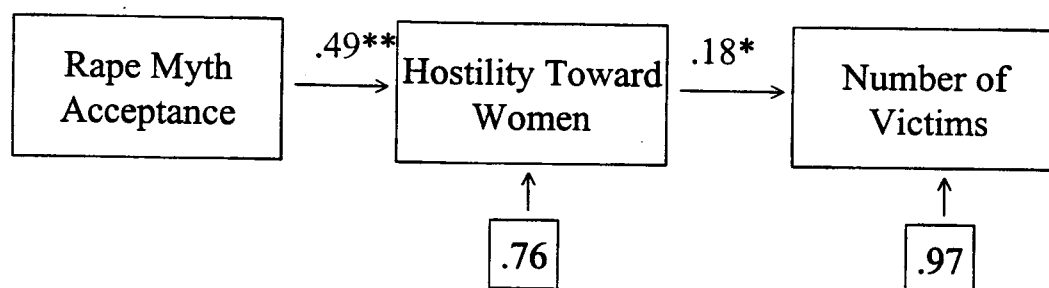


Figure 3. Path model of European American men's sexual aggression ($N = 383$). Standardized path coefficients are presented for the estimated model. * $p < .001$. ** $p < .0001$.

estimated Asian American model included both intrapersonal and interpersonal variables and fit the data well. Conversely, intrapersonal variables alone provided a relatively good fit in the European American model. European Americans were less concerned than Asian Americans about loss of face and the impact of sexual aggression on their reputation. These findings suggest that culture-specific models of sexual aggression may exist and that traditional models of sexual aggression may be inadequate to explain Asian American sexual aggression.

Sexual Aggression Among Asian Americans

Contrary to perceptions of low rates of sexual aggression among Asian Americans based on official records (e.g., Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1994), rates for Asian American and European American men were not significantly different. Thirty-three percent of the Asian American men had perpetrated some form of sexual aggression, whereas 38% of the European American men had done so. There also were no significant ethnic differences for mean number of persons sexually victimized, the percentages of men engaging in various forms of sexual aggression, and the frequencies of men who engaged in these forms of sexual aggression. These data suggest that sexually aggressive behavior is as serious a problem among Asian American men as it is among European American men.

The Asian American path model sug-

gests that interpersonal variables may serve as risk or protective factors (Hall & Baronagan, 1997; Hall et al., 1998). Contrary to the hypothesized model, loss of face and concern about the impact of sexual aggression on one's reputation comprised largely orthogonal paths in the Asian American model. Loss of face was positively correlated with sexual aggression and was mediated by rape myth acceptance and hostility toward women, and moderated by alcohol use. Thus, not being sexually aggressive may be associated with loss of face among Asian American men who hold misogynous beliefs and use alcohol before sex. Conversely, the perceived adverse impact of sexual aggression on one's reputation was negatively associated with sexual aggression. Thus, the perception of sexual aggression as having a negative impact may be a protective factor among Asian American men. This direct relationship between impact and sexual aggression may suggest that situational disinhibition (e.g., alcohol use) does not undermine the protective aspects of negative reputational impact among Asian American men.

The majority of the Asian Americans in Study 1 were born in Asia, which reflects the population of Asians in the United States (Lee, 1998). Yet, the influences of both interpersonal and intrapersonal variables on Asian American sexually aggressive behavior may suggest that Asian Americans are bicultural. Ethnic minority persons in the United States are more likely to be bicultural than

majority persons because ethnic minority persons are typically affected by mainstream culture as well as their cultures of origin (Gaines et al., 1997; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). For example, 46% of Asian American high school students reported a bicultural identity, as compared with only 17% of European American high school students (Rotheram-Borus, 1990). The first path is a combination of loss of face, an interpersonal variable, and rape myth acceptance and hostile masculinity, which are intrapersonal variables. The second path in the current Asian American model is comprised of number of consenting sexual partners, which is conceptualized as an intrapersonal variable insofar as multiple sexual partners reflects an impersonal attitude toward sexual relationships. The third path consists solely of an interpersonal variable, impact of sexual aggression on reputation. If intrapersonal influences reflect acculturation among Asian Americans, it would be expected that these intrapersonal influences would be less likely to be determinants of men's sexual aggression in Asia, which has been characterized as primarily collectivist (Fiske et al., 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995).

The present results suggest that the within-group heterogeneity of Asian Americans should be considered in clinical contexts. The perceived approval or disapproval of the reference group appears critical. An implication for interventions with Asian American men may be that an emphasis on the negative impact of sexual aggression may be a useful deterrent for those who do not hold misogynous beliefs. However, Asian American men who hold misogynous beliefs may not be deterred by such negative consequences. Interventions to directly modify these negative attitudes may be more useful. For example, an empathic understanding of the harmful effects of sexual aggression may influence some Asian American men to perceive hostile masculinity as resulting in loss of face instead of a component of saving or gaining face. Victim empa-

thy is a common component of effective cognitive-behavioral treatment programs for sexually aggressive men, although the effects of these programs are unknown for Asian American men (Hall, 1995). However, clinicians must use care in determining that empathy induction methods are having their intended effects with sexual aggressors rather than being counterproductive (Hall, 1996). The Asian American model also suggests that controlling drinking behavior before sex may also be an important deterrent against sexual aggression for men who have multiple sexual partners or who hold negative attitudes toward women.

The measures in the present studies assess respondents' perceptions of reference group influences. The actual level of support for sexually aggressive behavior within the reference groups is unknown. There is evidence that family and peer influences affect the development of aggressive behavior (Pettit, 1997). On the basis of the finding that over one third of the participants in the present samples engaged in some form of sexually aggressive behavior, it would be relatively easy for individuals to identify peer support for sexually aggressive behavior. It is possible that the sexually aggressive men in the Asian American sample had more associations with sexually aggressive peers than did men who were not sexually aggressive (Wolfe, Wekerle, Reitzel-Jaffe, & Lefebvre, 1998). An alternative possibility is that some men may perceive more reference group support for sexually aggressive behavior than actually exists, a common finding among sexual offenders (Ward, Hudson, Johnston, & Marshall, 1997). Nevertheless, because over one third of the Asian American men in the sample engaged in sexual aggression and Asian American men appear to be influenced by their reference group, group-based interventions may be useful in reducing Asian American men's sexually aggressive behavior. Such interventions might involve getting an Asian American man to disidentify with a misogynous reference group and to identify with a more prosocial

group (Hall, 1999; Hall & Phung, in press). Another method might be to change misogynous group norms. Change at the group level may be necessary, but it is difficult to achieve.

Sexual Aggression Among European Americans

The European American path model is consistent with the hostile masculinity path of Malamuth et al. (1991, 1995) and suggests that intrapersonal variables are more influential in European American men's sexual aggression than any other variables. European Americans were less concerned than Asian Americans about loss of face and the impact of sexual aggression on their reputation, and neither of these variables was predictive of European American sexual aggression. These data support conceptualizations that personal beliefs and standards are more important determinants of behavior in individualist cultures than are community standards, such as concerns about loss of face and the impact of behavior on one's reputation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994; Triandis, 1995). Thus, sexual aggression among European Americans appears not to be context-dependent as it is among Asian Americans. A treatment implication is that misogynist attitudes may be the basis of European American men's sexually aggressive behavior. Cognitive-behavioral treatment programs that seek to modify such misogynous attitudes have been found to be effective in reducing recidivism among sexually aggressive men (Hall, 1995).

The estimated model for European American men did not provide support for the Malamuth et al. (1991, 1995) impersonal sex path. This may be a result of having only a single measure of impersonal sex (i.e., number of consenting partners). It is possible that other components of the impersonal sex construct, such as sexual contact at an early age and infidelity, may be better predictors of sexual aggression. Nevertheless, a separate path for the number of consenting sexual partners was revealed in the Asian American model. The absence of a

consenting sexual partners path in the European American model also was not necessarily a function of restriction of range, as European Americans reported having significantly more consenting sexual partners than did Asian Americans.

Alcohol use was not associated with sexual aggression in the European American sample. It is possible that the brief measure of alcohol use in the present study was insensitive, although it was predictive of Asian American men's sexual aggression and has been predictive of European American men's sexual aggression in other studies (Abbey et al., 1996, 1998). Alternatively, it is possible that intrapersonal variables, including rape myth acceptance and hostility toward women, are more relevant predictors of European American men's sexual aggression than is alcohol use. Indeed, Malamuth et al. (1991, 1995) developed powerful explanatory models of sexual aggression without the inclusion of alcohol use variables.

A general limitation of the path analyses is that single variables were used to measure each construct (e.g., loss of face). We had limited the number of measures because of concerns about the effects of multiple variables with the relatively small Asian American sample. However, it is unlikely that these single measures adequately measure all components of the relevant constructs. Multiple measures of each construct are more likely to result in an adequate test of the theoretical models. We have not been able to replicate the path models because of limited access to Asian American participants. Moreover, the necessarily limited number of measures precluded the use of structural equation modeling (see Malamuth et al., 1995).

A limitation of any correlational, cross-sectional study is that the direction of causality is unknown. Thus, it is possible the engaging in sexually aggressive behavior preceded the predictor variables in the path model. Nevertheless, the estimated models with sexually aggressive behavior as the dependent variable provided an excellent fit for Asian American men and an ad-

equate fit for European American men. Moreover, the Asian American and European American models are substantively different, even if the direction of the path models is misspecified.

The sample size necessitated combining various Asian American ethnic groups (Chinese Americans, Southeast Asian Americans, etc.) into a single group. It is possible that there are within-group differences among these Asian American ethnic groups. We also did not examine the possible heterogeneity within the European American sample. Because we have demonstrated between-groups differences in models of sexual aggression, a next step would be to examine within-group variability. Measures of ethnic identity would be more accurate than broad ethnic classifications in assessing influences of culture (Kohatsu & Richardson, 1996; Sabnani & Ponterotto, 1992).

The college students in this study are not necessarily representative of noncollege populations. However, the Asian American sample is relevant, insofar as the vast majority of young Asian Americans attends college (Hsia & Peng, 1998; Suzuki, 1994). Moreover, the present results suggest that sexual aggression is a relatively common problem among both Asian American and European American men in college.

The lack of differences between Asian-born and U.S.-born Asian participants suggests that cultural influences do not dramatically diminish as a function of acculturation. However, measures of acculturation, such as the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992; Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987), were not included in this study. It is alternatively possible that the present results are a function of ethnic minority status. Asian Americans are a minority group in terms of numbers and also in terms of societal privileges and power (Uba, 1994). Gaines and Reed (1995) contended that the shared experience of being oppressed or exploited is associated with collectivist values. A more direct method of examining the effects of Asian American minority status

would be to study Asian Americans in a context in which they are the majority, such as in Hawaii. Moreover, it is unknown whether interpersonal variables are also determinants of sexual aggression in other collectivist groups. African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians have also been characterized as having collectivist values (Hill et al., 1994). It is possible that models that explain psychopathology among European Americans may not be adequate to explain psychopathology among many non-European American groups and that ethnic-specific approaches are necessary (Earls, 1993; Hall, Bansal, & Lopez, 1999; Okazaki, 1997; Rodriguez & Zayas, 1990).

The present findings may well imply fundamental differences in explanatory models for individualistic and collectivistic cultures. Sexual aggression among people from different cultures is not simply a matter that individualist and collectivist variables predict sexual aggression and that people differ culturally on these variables. Rather, very different theoretical models, using intra- and interpersonal constructs, explain the same behavior among people from different cultures.

Violence prevention has been a major initiative in the American Psychological Association. Richard M. Suinn, president of the American Psychological Association in 1999, also has a major initiative on ethnic minorities. The results of the present studies have implications for both areas. We cannot simply export interventions for violence from non-Asian to Asian American populations. Such interventions may appear to be effective because Asian Americans tend to be bicultural. However, interventions that do not consider Asian American cultural contexts are likely to be partially effective at best. We must begin to develop culture-specific methods of reducing and preventing violence among Asian Americans.

References

- Abbey, A., McAuslan, P., & Ross, L. T. (1998). Sexual assault perpetration by college men:

- The role of alcohol, misperception of sexual intent, and sexual beliefs and experiences. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 17, 167-195.
- Abbey, A., Ross, L. T., McDuffie, D., & McAuslan, P. (1996). Alcohol and dating risk factors for sexual assault among college women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 20, 147-169.
- Baumeister, R. F., Smart, L., & Boden, J. M. (1996). Relation of threatened egotism to violence and aggression: The dark side of high self-esteem. *Psychological Review*, 103, 5-33.
- Bentler, P. M., & Wu, E. J. C. (1995). *EQS for Windows user's guide*. Encino, CA: Multivariate Software.
- Bond, M. H. (1991). *Beyond the Chinese face: Insights from psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 217-230.
- Check, J. V. P. (1985). *The Hostility Toward Women Scale*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
- Chen, S. A., & True, R. H. (1994). Asian/Pacific Island Americans. In L. D. Eron, J. H. Gentry, & P. Schlegel (Eds.), *Reason to hope: A psychosocial perspective on violence and youth* (pp. 145-162). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Earls, F. (1993). Health promotion for minority adolescents: Cultural considerations. In S. G. Millstein, A. C. Petersen, & E. O. Nightingale (Eds.), *Promoting the health of adolescents: New directions for the twenty-first century* (pp. 58-72). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. (1994). *Uniform crime reports for the United States, 1993*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Fiske, A. P., Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., & Nisbett, R. E. (1998). The cultural matrix of social psychology. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (4th ed., pp. 915-981). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gaines, S., & Reed, E. (1995). Prejudice from Allport to DuBois. *American Psychologist*, 50, 96-103.
- Gaines, S. O., Marelich, W. D., Bledsoe, K. L., Steers, W. N., Henderson, M. C., Granrose, C. S., Barajas, L., Hicks, D., Lyde, M., Takahashi, Y., Yum, N., Rios, D. I., Garcia, B. F., Farris, K. R., & Page, M. S. (1997). Links between race/ethnicity and cultural values as mediated by racial/ethnic identity and moderated by gender. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 1460-1476.
- Hall, G. C. N. (1995). Sexual offender recidivism revisited: A meta-analysis of recent treatment studies. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 63, 802-809.
- Hall, G. C. N. (1996). *Theory-based assessment, treatment, and prevention of sexual aggression*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, G. C. N. (1999, April). *The self in context: Implications for psychopathology and psychotherapy*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for the Exploration of Psychotherapy Integration, Miami Beach, FL.
- Hall, G. C. N., Bansal, A., & Lopez, I. R. (1999). Ethnicity and psychopathology: A meta-analytic review of 31 years of comparative MMPI/MMPI-2 research. *Psychological Assessment*, 11, 186-197.
- Hall, G. C. N., & Barongan, C. (1997). Prevention of sexual aggression: Sociocultural risk and protective factors. *American Psychologist*, 52, 5-14.
- Hall, G. C. N., & Phung, A. (in press). Cognitive enculturation and sexual abuse. In J. Schumaker & T. Ward (Eds.), *Cultural cognition and psychopathology*. New York: Routledge.
- Hall, G. C. N., Windover, A. K., & Maramba, G. G. (1998). Sexual aggression among Asian Americans: Risk and protective factors. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health*, 4, 305-318.
- Hill, H. M., Soriano, F. I., Chen, S. A., & LaFromboise, T. D. (1994). Sociocultural factors in the etiology and prevention of violence among ethnic minority youth. In L. D. Eron, J. H. Gentry, & P. Schegel (Eds.), *Reason to hope: A psychosocial perspective on violence and youth* (pp. 59-97). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Ho, C. K. (1990). An analysis of domestic violence in Asian American communities: A multicultural approach to counseling [Special issue: Diversity and complexity in feminist therapy: I]. *Women and Therapy*, 9, 129-150.
- Hsia, J., & Peng, S. S. (1998). Academic achieve-

- ment and performance. In L. C. Lee & N. W. S. Zane (Eds.), *Handbook of Asian American psychology* (pp. 325-357). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kohatsu, E. L., & Richardson, T. Q. (1996). Racial and ethnic identity assessment. In L. A. Suzuki, P. J. Meller, & J. G. Ponterotto (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural assessment: Clinical, psychological, and educational applications* (pp. 611-650). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Koss, M. P., & Dinero, T. E. (1989). Discriminant analysis of risk factors for sexual victimization among a national sample of college women. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 57*, 242-250.
- Koss, M. P., & Gidycz, C. A. (1985). Sexual Experiences Survey: Reliability and validity. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53*, 422-423.
- LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H. L. K., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 114*, 395-412.
- Leamer, E. E. (1978). *Specification searches*. New York: Wiley.
- Lee, L. C. (1998). An overview. In L. C. Lee & N. W. S. Zane (Eds.), *Handbook of Asian American psychology* (pp. 1-19). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lisak, D., & Roth, S. (1990). Motives and psychodynamics of self-reported, unincarcerated rapists. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 60*, 268-280.
- Lonsway, K. A., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1995). Attitudinal antecedents of rape myth acceptance: A theoretical and empirical reexamination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*, 704-711.
- Malamuth, N. M., Linz, D., Heavey, C. L., Barnes, G., & Acker, M. (1995). Using the confluence model of sexual aggression to predict men's conflict with women: A 10-year follow-up study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*, 353-369.
- Malamuth, N. M., Sockloskie, R. J., Koss, M. P., & Tanaka, J. S. (1991). Characteristics of aggressors against women: Testing a model using a national sample of college students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 59*, 670-681.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98*, 224-253.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1994). The cultural construction of self and emotion: Implications for social behavior. In S. Kitayama & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Emotion and culture: Empirical studies of mutual influence* (pp. 89-130). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Marshall, W. L., & Barbaree, H. E. (1990). An integrated theory of the etiology of sexual offending. In W. L. Marshall, D. R. Laws, & H. E. Barbaree (Eds.), *Handbook of sexual assault* (pp. 157-275). New York: Plenum.
- Muehlenhard, C. L., & Linton, M. A. (1987). Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 34*, 186-196.
- Okamura, A., Heras, P., & Wong-Kerberg, L. (1995). Asian, Pacific Island, and Filipino Americans and sexual child abuse. In L. A. Fontes (Ed.), *Sexual abuse in nine North American cultures* (pp. 67-96). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Okazaki, S. (1997). Sources of ethnic differences between Asian American and White American college students on measures of depression and social anxiety. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 106*, 52-60.
- Okazaki, S. (1998). Teaching gender issues in Asian American psychology: A pedagogical framework. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 22*, 33-52.
- Pettit, G. S. (1997). The developmental course of violence and aggression: Mechanisms of family and peer influence. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America, 20*, 283-299.
- Rodriguez, O., & Zayas, L. H. (1990). Hispanic adolescents and antisocial behavior: Sociocultural factors and treatment implications. In A. R. Stiffman & L. E. Davis (Eds.), *Ethnic issues in adolescent mental health* (pp. 147-171). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Rotheram-Borus, M. J. (1990). Adolescents' reference-group choices, self-esteem, and adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*, 1075-1081.
- Sabnani, H. B., & Ponterotto, J. G. (1992). Racial/ethnic minority-specific instrumentation in counseling research: A review, critique, and recommendations. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 24*, 161-187.

- Schmidt, M. (1995). Anglo Americans and sexual child abuse. In L. A. Fontes (Ed.), *Sexual abuse in nine North American cultures* (pp. 156-175). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Seto, M. C., & Barbaree, H. E. (1995). The role of alcohol in sexual aggression. *Clinical Psychology Review, 15*, 545-566.
- Sue, S., & Morishima, J. (1982). *The mental health of Asian Americans*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Suinn, R. M., Ahuna, C., & Khoo, G. (1992). The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale: Concurrent and factorial validation. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 52*, 1041-1046.
- Suinn, R., Rickard-Figueroa, K., Lew, S., & Vigil, P. (1987). The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale: An initial report. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 47*, 401-407.
- Suzuki, B. H. (1994). Higher education issues in the Asian American community. In M. J. Justiz, R. Wilson, & L. G. Bjork (Eds.), *Minorities in higher education* (pp. 258-285). Phoenix, AZ: American Council on Education.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Uba, L. (1994). *Asian Americans: Personality patterns, identity, and mental health*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Walker, W. D., Rowe, R. C., & Quinsey, V. L. (1993). Authoritarianism and sexual aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65*, 1036-1045.
- Ward, T., Hudson, S. M., Johnston, L., & Marshall, W. L. (1997). Cognitive distortions in sex offenders: An integrative review. *Clinical Psychology Review, 17*, 479-507.
- Wolfe, D. A., Wekerle, C., Reitzel-Jaffe, D., & Lefebvre, L. (1998). Factors associated with abusive relationships among maltreated and nonmaltreated youth. *Development and Psychopathology, 10*, 61-85.
- Yoshihama, M., & Sorenson, S. B. (1994). Physical, sexual, and emotional abuse by male intimates: Experiences of women in Japan. *Violence and Victims, 9*, 125-138.
- Zane, N. (1991, August). *An empirical examination of loss of face among Asian Americans*. Paper presented at the 99th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco.