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Ethnicity, Culture, and Sexual Aggression: Risk and Protective Factors

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Explanatory models of sexual aggression were examined among mainland Asian American (n = 222), Hawaiian Asian American (n = 127), and European American men (n = 399). The Malamuth et al. (N. M. Malamuth, D. Linz, C. L. Heavey, G. Barnes, & M. Acker, 1995; N. M. Malamuth, R. J. Sockloskie, M. P. Koss, & J. S. Tanaka, 1991) confluence model of sexual aggression, which posits impersonal sex and hostile masculinity as paths to sexual aggression, was consistently supported. Culture-specific moderators of sexual aggression were also identified. Whereas loss of face was a protective factor against sexual aggression in the Asian American samples, it generally was not a protective factor among European Americans. These findings are not a function of actual or perceived minority status. An implication is that theoretical models may need to be augmented with cultural constructs for optimal application in certain ethnic group contexts.

Keywords: sexual aggression, confluence model, Asian Americans, loss of face

The investigation of ethnic differences in deviant behavior is laden with conceptual and social challenges as well as controversy. There is evidence that ethnicity is not a strong marker for differences in adult psychopathology (Hall, Bansal, & Lopez, 1999). However, others (e.g., Sue, 2003) believe that differences do exist, although most empirical studies of deviant behavior have not included constructs or measures that might be sensitive to ethnic differences (Hall et al., 1999). The purpose of the current studies is to more comprehensively examine the effects of culture and minority status on men's sexually aggressive behavior.

Definitions of Race, Ethnicity, Culture, and Minority Status

Some of the conceptual confusion around ethnic differences may be associated with definitional issues. Ethnicity is often equated with *race,* which involves the identification of groups on the basis of phenotypic differences (e.g., skin color, hair texture). Racial differences in psychological characteristics are assumed to be biologically based. However, the meaning of race is socially constructed, and constructs commonly associated with race are often more psychosocially than biologically based (Phinney, 1996).

Ethnicity includes race as well as cultural characteristics (Phinney, 1996). An ethnic group may share racial characteristics as well as a unique social and cultural heritage (Phinney, 1996). Ethnicity may be relatively narrowly defined (e.g., Chinese American, German American) or defined more broadly (e.g., Asian American, European American). Ethnic groups may have particular cultural practices that distinguish them from other ethnic groups. *Culture* has been defined as the interaction between the social world and people's ideas about it (Lopez & Guarnaccia, 2000). For example, concern about failing to fulfill one's social role, or losing of face, is a relevant cultural construct for many persons of East Asian ancestry (Zane & Mak, 2003). Concern about the possibility of losing face constrains behaviors that may upset interpersonal harmony.

The effects of culture within an ethnic group tend to be pervasive, both in terms of influencing many members of the group and in terms of influencing multiple domains of behavior. For example, for many Asian Americans who attempt to fulfill a social role (e.g., good son or daughter, good citizen), culturally based concerns about loss of face create norms in multiple domains, such as social and sexual behaviors. Thus, culture moderates behavior as a filter through which the appropriateness of behavior is evaluated. Such cultural effects are ethnic specific in that they are expected to influence the behavior of an ethnic group for which the cultural practice is relevant but not influence the behavior of other ethnic groups. Indeed, Asian Americans are more concerned about loss of

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face than are European Americans (Zane & Mak, 2003), and loss of face is significantly correlated with other behavioral and personality variables among Asian Americans but not among European Americans (Hall, Sue, Narang, & Lilly, 2000).

When multiple ethnic groups coexist in the same social context, one group typically becomes dominant and creates minority groups (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Minority status often results in discrimination. Some ethnic minority men may displace the negative effects of discrimination onto women in the form of abusive behavior (Comas-Diaz, 1995). Similar to culture, the effects of minority status may moderate behavior in multiple domains for many minority group members and may not influence the behavior of those who do not perceive themselves as having minority status.

Culture, Ethnicity, and Sexual Aggression

Most research on sexual aggression has not considered ethnic differences or cultural influences. However, there is some evidence of ethnic differences in the effects of cultural variables on sexual aggression (Hall et al., 2000). Hall and colleagues (2000) evaluated the cultural applicability of the Malamuth et al. (Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes, & Acker, 1995; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991) confluence model, one of the most sophisticated and comprehensive explanatory models of men's sexual aggression. This 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 hostile masculinity path is hierarchical, consisting of variables that are increasingly specific to sexual coercion, including impulsiveness, general hostility, and misogynous beliefs (i.e., negative attitudes toward women). Impersonal sex involves a willingness to engage in sexual relations without closeness or commitment. The impersonal sex path is also hierarchical and involves family violence, child sexual abuse, adolescent delinquency, and sexual promiscuity.

Hall and Barongan (1997) posited that cultural socialization in ethnic groups having an interdependent orientation may attenuate risk factors for sexual aggression, including hostile masculinity and impersonal sex. A strong sense of interconnectedness in such ethnic groups may render hostility and promiscuous sexual behavior deviant because of their potential to violate interpersonal harmony. Sexual aggression also would be deviant and an ultimate form of violating interpersonal harmony. Persons socialized to be interdependent also would be more concerned than those socialized to be independent about group sanctions against deviance. Thus, interdependent groups, such as Asian Americans, stand to lose face in their ethnic group for deviant behavior, including sexual aggression, whereas loss of face would not be expected to moderate behavior in independent groups, in which group cohesion is less crucial.

In an investigation of the cultural basis of sexually aggressive behavior among 377 European American and 91 Asian American men, differing path models of sexual aggression were identified for the two ethnic groups (Hall et al., 2000). Whereas European American men's sexual aggression was primarily determined by misogynous beliefs, a component of Malamuth et al.'s (1991, 1995) hostile masculinity construct, Asian American men's sexual aggression was determined by a combination of misogynous beliefs and concern about loss of face. Concern about loss of face generally was a protective factor against sexual aggression among Asian Americans. Concern about loss of face was not significantly associated with European American men's sexual aggression.

The Hall et al. (2000) study was the first investigation of the determinants of Asian American men's sexual aggression and provided preliminary evidence of ethnically based differences. However, the Asian American sample was relatively small and from a single location. Another limitation was that the potential role of ethnic minority status was not investigated. It is possible that ethnic minority status causes concern about losing face and that this concern is not primarily culturally based. Conversely, ethnic minority status could be a risk factor in that some ethnic minority men may displace the negative effects of discrimination onto women in the form of aggression (Comas-Diaz, 1995).

Hypotheses

In the current study, large samples from multiple sites allowed us to use multiple variables to define constructs and to use structural equation modeling. The inclusion of Asian American samples from the mainland United States and from Hawaii, where Asian Americans are part of an ethnic majority, allowed the investigation of the potential effects of ethnic minority status. There is evidence that Hawaiian Asian Americans do not perceive themselves as minorities, insofar as their perception of minority status increases when they come to the mainland United States and reside (Ichiyama, McQuarrie, & Ching, 1996). Behavioral similarities between minority (i.e., mainland) and majority (i.e., Hawaiian) Asian Americans suggest a cultural basis of behavior, if these behaviors are different from the behaviors of mainland European Americans. Behavioral similarities between Hawaiian Asian Americans and European Americans that are different from mainland Asian Americans suggest that the difference is based on minority status.

Consistent with previous research (Hall et al., 2000; Malamuth et al., 1991, 1995), we hypothesized hierarchical models of sexual aggression in which the association between general constructs (e.g., sexual dominance) and sexual aggression would be mediated by constructs more specific to sexually aggressive behavior (e.g., hostile masculinity, misogynous beliefs). It was hypothesized that ethnicity would be a moderator variable in that cultural variables would augment the general model of sexual aggression for Asian Americans. We also hypothesized that ethnic-specific effects are culturally based rather than the result of numerical minority status, which also will be examined as a moderator variable.

A theoretical framework for evaluating culturally relevant moderators of a confluence model is presented in Figure 1. The theoretical etiology of sexual aggression is presented in the center of the figure, with early risk factors of prior sexual abuse as a child and violence in the family of origin being precursors to intervening mechanisms of sexual aggression. Between-groups ethnic differences (i.e., ethnic group membership, actual minority status) and within-group ethnic differences (i.e., ethnic identity, loss of face, perceived minority status) were expected to moderate all the process relationships within the confluence model. We tested moderator effects by examining the interactions between the in-

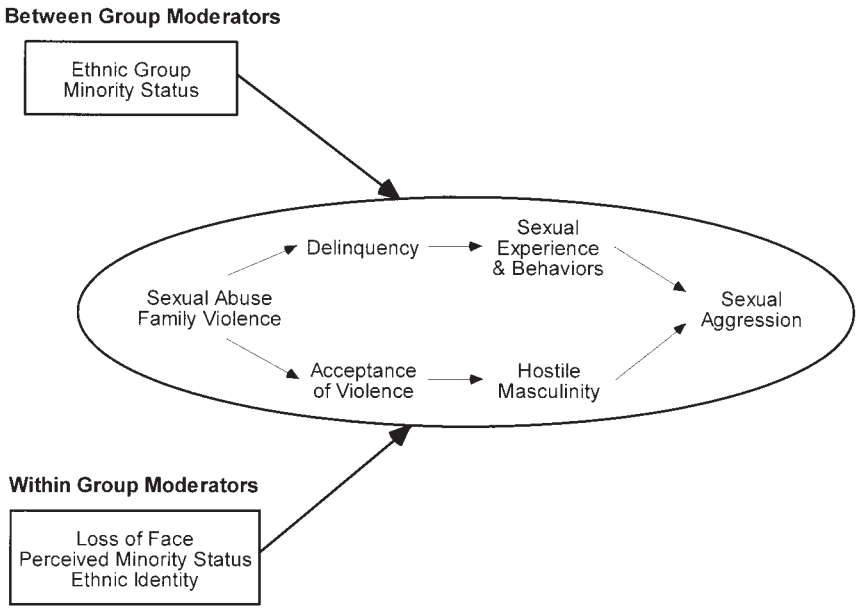

Figure 1. Hypothesized ethnic and culturally relevant moderators of the confluence model of sexual aggression.

dependent variables in the etiological model and the hypothesized moderator variables.

Method

Sample and Procedures

Asian American and European American men were recruited for the study at five universities. Seven hundred forty-eight men participated from a Northeastern university (Asian American = 41, European American = 50), a southern California university (Asian American = 62, European American = 112), a central California university (Asian American = 58, European American = 74), a Northwestern university (Asian American = 61, European American = 132), and a Hawaiian university (Asian American = 127, European American = 31). Of the total sample, 399 were European American, 92 were Chinese American, 65 were Japanese American, 38 were Filipino American, 32 were Korean American, 25 were Vietnamese American, 4 were Cambodian, 4 were Samoan, 3 were Pacific Islanders, 2 were Taiwanese, 1 was Hmong, 1 was Laotian, 1 was Punjabi, 1 was Thai, and 80 were mixed Asian American (i.e., two Asian American parents of different ethnicities such as Chinese and Japanese). Because statistically significant differences were not found on any of the measures listed below in the Measures section among the five largest Asian American groups (Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Vietnamese), the Asian American groups were combined. Of the 349 Asian Americans, 222 were from universities in the continental United States, and 127 were from Hawaii. Participants were informed that their responses were anonymous and that they were protected under the provisions of a Federal Certificate of Confidentiality.

Most undergraduate participants completed the questionnaires in this study and other questionnaires as part of psychology department participant pools for extra credit in psychology courses. Although we recruited community members to increase the representativeness of the sample, only 23 community members participated. Some college students and all nonstudents were given $25 for participation. In all, 725 undergraduates (263 paid, 462 not paid) and 23 community members (recruited via newspaper ads and all paid) participated. Of the 23 community participants, 18 were European American, 2 were Chinese American, 1 was Filipino American, 1 was Korean American, and 1 was Japanese American.

There were no significant differences between the mean ages of mainland Asian Americans (M = 20.69, SD = 3.42), Hawaiian Asian Americans (M = 22.28, SD = 7.17), or European Americans (M = 21.49, SD = 5.14). However, mainland Asian Americans had been in the United States for fewer generations than Hawaiian Asian Americans, who had been in the United States for fewer generations than European Americans (mainland Asian Americans M = 1.72, SD = 0.92; European Americans M = 4.20, SD = 1.30; Hawaiian Asian Americans M = 3.26, SD = 1.63). The first generation in the United States is immigrants, the second generation is born in the United States, the third generation is born in the United States to second generation parents, and so forth.

Measures

Dependent Variable: Sexual Aggression

The 10-item Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Gidycz, 1985) was used as a measure of sexual aggression regarding sexually coercive experiences since the age of 14. Items were answered either "yes" or "no." For each item that a participant endorsed, they were asked how many times (from 0 to 4+) the victims involved in the act were African American/Black, American Indian/Native American, Asian American/Pacific Islander, European American/Caucasian/White, or Hispanic/Latina. The total number of sexually aggressive acts was used (α = .89; Hall et al., 2000). In this study, Cronbach's alpha for the 10 scale items was .80 for European American participants, .82 for mainland Asian American participants, and .86 for Hawaiian Asian American participants.

Main Effect Predictors

Key variables for modeling the confluence model included the dependent variable of sexual aggression toward women and five risk factors, which were early risk factors, delinquency, early sexual experience, ac-

ceptance of violence, and hostile masculinity. We created composite variables in accordance with methods in prior tests of the confluence model by averaging *z* scores for subscale components of composites (see Malamuth et al., 1991, 1995).

Early risk factors. The early risk composite was formed from measures of childhood sexual abuse and violence in the family of origin. The Child Sexual Abuse Scale (Malamuth et al., 1995) assesses a history of childhood sexual abuse with 8 items endorsed "yes" or "no." Items include "Another person showed his or her sex organs to you" and "Another person fondled you in a sexual way." A summative score is computed from all items answered yes. Cronbach's alpha was .89 for European Americans and .91 among mainland and Hawaiian Asian Americans. The second measure was the Family Violence Scale (Bardis, 1973), with 17 items rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*very often*). Items include "Did your father seriously threaten physical violence against you?" and "Did your mother physically beat your father?" In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .90 among European Americans, .88 among mainland Asian Americans, and .89 among Hawaiian Asian Americans.

Delinquency. The delinquency composite was measured with the Nonconformity and Antisocial Behavior subscales of the Early Adolescent Delinquency Scale (Malamuth et al., 1995). The Nonconformity subscale contains 27 items indicating frequency of a particular activity (e.g., "About how many times have you taken things of medium value—between $2 and $50?"), with answers ranging from 0 to 9+ times. Cronbach's alpha for the Nonconformity scale in this study was .85 for European Americans, .86 among mainland Asian Americans, and .84 among Hawaiian Asian Americans. The Antisocial Behavior subscale contains 18 items; 9 items indicate frequency of a particular activity (ranging from 0 to 9+ times), and 9 items (endorsed "yes" or "no") inquire whether the individual has participated in a particular activity (e.g., "Have you ever been convicted of a crime?"). Cronbach's alpha for the antisocial behavior scale in this study was .56 among European Americans, .64 for mainland Asian Americans, and .61 among Hawaiian Asian Americans. Although the internal consistencies for the antisocial behavior scale were modest, we combined this scale with the more internally consistent nonconformity scale to create the delinquency composite.

Sexual experience and behavior. The Heterosexual Behavior Assessment 1: Males (Bentler, 1968; $\alpha = .97$) was used as a measure of sexual experience and behavior. It includes 26 items endorsed "yes" or "no" assessing heterosexual experiences, including fondling breasts, intercourse, and oral sex. Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .79 for European Americans, .86 for mainland Asian Americans, and .87 for Hawaiian Asian Americans.

Acceptance of violence. The acceptance of violence composite included two measures. The Attitudes Toward Violence Scale (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; $\alpha = .87$) contains 20 items that assess the acceptance of interpersonal violence. A 7-point Likert scale was used, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .90 for European Americans, .89 for mainland Asian Americans, and .91 for Hawaiian Asian Americans. The Rape Myth Scale (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; $\alpha = .89$) contains 19 items measuring attitudes and generally false beliefs about rape that function to deny and justify male sexual aggression. Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale, with answers ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha in this study was .93 among European Americans, .93 among mainland Asian Americans, and .94 among Hawaiian Asian Americans.

Hostile masculinity. Three measures formed this composite. The Sexual Dominance Scale ($\alpha = .77$) was used by Malamuth et al. (1995) to assess the degree to which feelings of control over one's partner motivate sexuality. Items are answered on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all important*) to 4 (*very important*). Three 8-item subscales are included in the Sexual Dominance measure: Love, Dominance, and Submissiveness. Only the Dominance scale was used in the current study, and Cronbach's alpha was .86 for European Americans, .86 for mainland Asian Americans, and .88 for Hawaiian Asian Americans. The Adversarial Heterosexual Beliefs Scale (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; $\alpha = .78$) has 15 items that measure beliefs about heterosexual relationships, the adversarial nature of male–female working relationships, platonic friendships, and the relationship between the sexes in society. Items are answered on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha in this study was .84 for European Americans, .83 for mainland Asian Americans, and .84 for Hawaiian Asian Americans. Finally, the Revised Hostility Toward Women Scale (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995) contains 10 items assessing perceptions about women on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include "I think that most women would lie just to get ahead" and "Sometimes women bother me by just being around." Cronbach's alpha in this study was .86 among European Americans, .81 among mainland Asian Americans, and .84 among Hawaiian Asian Americans.

Moderating Variables

We hypothesized four ethnic and culturally relevant variables to moderate effects of the confluence model. These were a between-groups classification of ethnic group and three within-group moderators: loss of face, ethnic identity, and perceived minority status.

Ethnic group. Participants from sites in the continental United States and whose parents were Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, or mixed Asian without European American ancestry were classified as mainland Asian Americans. Participants from Hawaii from these same Asian American categories were classified as Hawaiian Asian Americans. European Americans with no Asian ancestry from sites in Hawaii and the continental United States were classified as European Americans.

Loss of face. The 21-item Loss of Face Questionnaire (Zane & Mak, 2003; $\alpha = .83$) assesses the importance of the threat to or loss of one's social integrity (e.g., "I hesitate asking for help because I think my request will be an inconvenience to others" and "I do not criticize others because this may embarrass them") and is the most widely used measure of this construct. Participants respond on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .86 for European Americans, .89 for mainland Asian Americans, and .83 for Hawaiian Asian Americans.

Perceived minority status. This composite included two measures. The Stigma Consciousness scale (Pinel, 1999) measures of the extent to which minority groups are conscious of being stereotyped because of their perceived minority status. Ten items are answered on a 5-point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Pinel (1999) reported an internal consistency of .74 and test–retest reliability of .76. Cronbach's alpha was .71 for European Americans, .69 for mainland Asian Americans, and .57 for Hawaiian Asian Americans in the current study. Although the internal consistency of the Stigma Consciousness scale was modest for Hawaiian Asian Americans, it was part of a composite that included the following measure that was more internally consistent. Perceived minority status was also measured by a compilation of items based on the work of Phinney (1996) and Sidanius, Pratto, and Rabinowitz (1994). Eight items assessed perceived minority status and were answered on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Items included "I think of myself as a member of an ethnic minority group" and "The police mistreat members of my ethnic group." Cronbach's alpha in this study was .78 for European Americans, .76 for mainland Asian Americans, and .78 for Hawaiian Asian Americans.

Ethnic identity. This composite was formed from two measures. The 15-item Phinney (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; $\alpha = .90$) assesses the process of exploring and resolving ethnic identity issues and positive ethnic attitudes for multiple ethnic groups, and it is one of the most commonly used measures of ethnic identity. The theoretical basis of the measure is that ethnicity is not categorical but is dimensional and varies within and between ethnic groups. The MEIM has twelve 4-point Likert

scale items (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group" and "I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs"), with responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). The remaining three items offer seven choices for self, mother's, and father's ethnicity. The measure is associated with positive ingroup and intergroup attitudes among ethnic minority persons and with self-esteem among minority and majority persons. In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .91 for European Americans, .93 for mainland Asian Americans, and .92 for Hawaiian Asian Americans.

The Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (Stephenson, 2000) assesses the level of immersion one experiences in ethnic and dominant societies. The conceptual basis of the scale is that acculturation is not necessarily a linear process but that a person can be simultaneously immersed in more than one culture. Only the 17-item Ethnic Society Immersion scale (ESI; $\alpha = .94$) was used here. Items refer to participation in activities that are associated with one's native culture (e.g., "I attend social functions with people from my native country" and "I know how to speak my native language"). All items are rated on a 4-point scale from 1 (*false*) to 4 (*true*). The ESI has been demonstrated to have convergent and discriminant validity with respect to other measures of acculturation. In this study, Cronbach's alpha for the ESI was .83 for European Americans, .67 for mainland Asian Americans, and .81 for Hawaiian Asian Americans.

Overview of Analytic Plan and Procedures

The main analyses were conducted in three stages. First, descriptive data and correlations were presented for the main study variables. Between-groups mean comparisons were conducted by use of multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) for the composite variables used in the multivariate analyses. Significant differences were examined with univariate *F* tests and post hoc Scheffé tests.

Second, we specified structural equation path models to test the generalizability of the main confluence model across the study samples. Structural equation modeling (SEM) enables one to evaluate the statistical equivalence of path coefficients in the model using multiple group analyses and equality constraints, thereby providing specific tests of between-group moderators of the theoretical process. In addition, path analyses can test whether specified intervening mechanisms mediate direct effects of more exogenous predictors (see Holmbeck, 1997, for a discussion).

Finally, to evaluate within-group cultural moderators of the confluence model, the goal was to identify amplifying or attenuating impact of cultural variables on the main effects of the confluence mode. Therefore, ordinary least squares regression models were conducted following methods outlined for testing statistical interactions (Cohen & Cohen, 1983; Holmbeck, 1997). First, for main effects, we entered theoretical blocks of centered first-order predictors regressed on sexual aggression. Second, we entered the ethnic moderators as second-order product terms of the first-order centered variables.

Results

Descriptive Data

Means and standard deviations for the individual measures and composite construct scores are provided in Table 1 for each sample. Percentages of respondents reporting at least one act of

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Individual Measures Used in Composite Variables

Measure	EA ($n = 399$)		ML ($n = 222$)		HW ($n = 127$)		Significant contrasts
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Ethnic identity							EA > ML, HW
Ethnic Society Immersion scale	37.94	8.87	29.09	7.42	26.97	8.60	
Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure	21.15	8.16	22.84	7.68	22.35	7.09	
Minority status							ML > HW > EA
Perceived minority status	8.73	5.72	17.03	5.08	15.06	5.23	
Stigma Consciousness scale	17.52	6.74	20.64	5.37	18.47	4.40	
Loss of Face Questionnaire	41.17	10.79	47.18	12.05	47.08	10.45	ML, HW > EA
Early risk factors							
Family Violence Scale	3.89	5.74	5.55	6.09	5.36	6.03	
Child Sexual Abuse Scale	1.96	2.48	1.52	2.39	1.29	2.25	
Delinquency							EA > ML, HW
Antisocial Behavior subscale	10.78	7.55	8.26	6.75	9.71	8.58	
Nonconformity subscale	45.34	29.90	32.51	26.95	30.95	25.97	
Heterosexual Behavior Assessment 1: Males	11.64	4.60	9.78	5.49	10.16	5.91	EA > ML, HW
Acceptance of violence							ML, HW > EA
Attitudes Toward Violence Scale	36.73	17.93	40.88	17.50	43.37	18.40	
Rape Myth Scale	22.08	17.71	29.38	19.69	27.22	19.40	
Hostile masculinity							ML > EA
Revised Hostility Toward Women Scale	22.53	9.58	23.49	8.15	22.65	8.41	
Sexual Dominance Scale	8.18	5.17	9.16	5.31	8.79	5.01	
Adversarial Heterosexual Beliefs Scale	26.25	12.59	31.09	12.81	29.97	12.75	
Sexual Experiences Survey: Victimization of women by group							
African American	0.43	2.33	0.38	2.31	0.55	2.16	
American Indian	0.36	2.18	0.31	2.26	0.47	2.41	
Asian American	0.48	2.74	1.11	2.92	1.65	3.26	
European American	1.22	3.58	0.63	2.49	0.63	2.25	
Hispanic	0.43	2.11	0.41	2.02	0.58	2.12	

Note. EA = European American; ML = mainland Asian American; HW = Hawaiian Asian American.

sexual aggression were similar across ethnicity: 32% among mainland Asian Americans, 31% among Hawaiian Asian Americans, and 29% among European Americans. Mainland and Hawaiian Asian Americans victimized a greater percentage of Asian American women than did European Americans. Among European Americans, 25% reported victimizing European American women, and 17% reported victimizing non-European American women. Among mainland Asian Americans, 26% reported victimizing Asian American women and 24% reported victimizing non-Asian American women. Thirty-three percent of the Hawaiian Asian American men reported victimizing Asian American women, and 28% reported victimizing non-Asian American women.

A MANOVA revealed several differences between ethnic groups, Pillai's $F(18, 1440) = 0.42$, $p < .001$. The three ethnic groups were not significantly different on measures of early risk factors for sexual aggression, but there were significant differences between the other composite variables specified in the confluence model. Univariate F tests showed that the significant MANOVA was driven by differences on measures of delinquency, $F(2, 727) = 19.16$, $p < .001$; acceptance of violence, $F(2, 727) = 13.20$, $p < .001$; hostile masculinity, $F(2, 727) = 7.68$, $p < .001$; sexual experiences, $F(2, 727) = 10.30$, $p < .001$; loss of face, $F(2, 727) = 28.49$, $p < .001$; ethnic identity, $F(2, 727) = 31.55$, $p < .001$; and perceived minority status, $F(2, 727) = 130.08$, $p < .001$. Scheffé post hoc comparisons showed that European Americans scored higher ($p < .05$) than both Asian groups on measures of delinquency, sexual experiences, and ethnic identity. Both Asian groups scored higher than European Americans on measures of acceptance of violence and loss of face. All groups differed on measures of perceived minority status, with mainland Asian Americans scoring highest and European Americans scoring lowest. Mainland Asian Americans also scored significantly higher than European Americans on measures of hostile masculinity.

In summary, European Americans scored higher on delinquency and sexual behaviors relative to both Asian American groups. As expected, both Asian American groups scored higher on loss of face but also scored higher on acceptance of violence compared with European Americans. Mainland Asian Americans were higher on hostile masculinity relative to European Americans. As expected, mainland Asian Americans had the highest perceived minority status, Hawaiians the next highest, and European Americans the lowest. European Americans scored higher than both Asian American groups on the ethnic identity composite.

College student and community participants differed on some variables, Pillai's $F(19, 680) = 2.31$, $p < .001$. Community participants reported more childhood sexual abuse, $F(1, 698) = 3.84$, $p < .05$, and adolescent delinquency, $F(1, 698) = 9.83$, $p < .002$, whereas college students reported greater acceptance of violence, $F(1, 698) = 9.79$, $p < .002$; rape myths, $F(1, 698) = 6.47$, $p < .011$; adversarial heterosexual beliefs, $F(1, 698) = 4.40$, $p < .036$; and hostility toward women, $F(1, 698) = 6.83$, $p < .009$. Thus, community participants had more deviant histories, but college students had more deviant attitudes. Although college students were more concerned about loss of face, $F(1, 698) = 4.30$, $p < .038$, they did not differ from the community participants on ethnic identity or perceived minority status measures.

SEM of the Confluence Model

In the next step of the analyses, we estimated SEM path models specifying a confluence model of sexual aggression. We specified a saturated path model, meaning all paths from exogenous predictors to endogenous variables in the model were freely estimated. We freed these paths for two reasons. First, we wanted to systematically evaluate cultural influences on each of the specific components in the confluence process model because there is limited prior literature on these processes. Second, the confluence model specifies early risk factors of sexual abuse and family violence as precursors to sexual aggression that are expected to be mediated through intervening and more proximal mechanisms (e.g., delinquency, violent and misogynous attitudes). However, the Malamuth et al. (1995) data retained a significant direct effect of early risk factors to sexual aggression in the presence of hypothesized mediators, suggesting both direct and indirect effects of early risk on sexual aggression, as shown in Figure 1. Therefore, we explored potential indirect influences of early risk in the models.

Results using standardized coefficients for the unconstrained path model are presented in Figure 2. Multiple group analyses tested for any differences in the main confluence model (i.e., testing between-groups moderators). The path models were estimated with full information maximum likelihood. Assuming the data are missing completely at random (MCAR), full information maximum likelihood is more statistically efficient than listwise or pairwise deletion methods for SEM (Wothke, 2000). Little's missing data analysis indicated the data were MCAR. MCAR tests for estimated means and covariances were $\chi^2(8, N = 222) = 5.67$, $p = .68$, for mainland Asian Americans; $\chi^2(8, N = 399) = 6.78$, $p = .56$, for European Americans; and $\chi^2(10, N = 127) = 3.69$, $p = .96$, for Hawaiian Asian Americans. In Figure 2, from left to right, parameters are for European Americans, mainland Asian Americans in parentheses, and Hawaiian Asian American men in brackets. The unconstrained stacked groups models are saturated and, therefore, the chi-square minimization obtains perfect fit to the data. For visual clarity, residual covariance paths are not displayed but were estimated among the intervening variables in the model.

Overall there was good support for the confluence model across each sample. Most notably, the standardized effects of early risk to delinquency, delinquency to sexual experience, and acceptance of violence to hostile masculinity were strikingly similar and modest to strong in relationship. Constraining these paths to be equal was an acceptable assumption and did not significantly worsen the fit, $\Delta\chi^2(6, N = 748) = 7.67$, $p = .26$. For the path from early risk factors to acceptance of violence, all paths were in the expected direction and significant for two of the three groups. In fact, constraining this path to be equal across the groups did not worsen the fit, $\Delta\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 2.57$, $p = .27$, providing evidence that this significant association generalizes across ethnicity (fixed $\beta = .18$, $p < .001$). Similarly, the effects of hostile masculinity to sexual aggression were in the expected direction but were not consistently predictive across groups. Constraint tests suggest that the effect of hostile masculinity was equal across Asian American men (fixed $\beta = .20$, $p < .01$) but was not significant for European American men. Contrary to expectations, the effects of sexual experience and hostile masculinity were not consistently predictive across all three ethnic groups. For both European American men

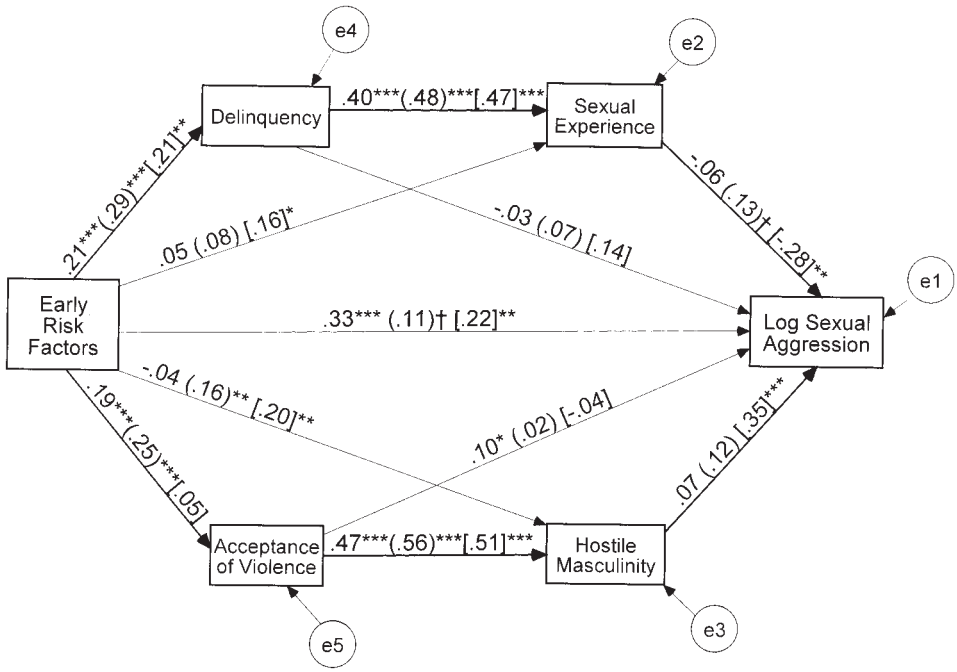

Figure 2. Structural equation path model testing ethnic group differences in the main confluence process model. Standardized path coefficients from left to right are for European Americans, mainland Asian Americans in parentheses, and Hawaiian Asian Americans in brackets. e = residual variance for each predicted variable in the regression. †$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .001$. ***$p < .0001$.

and Hawaiian Asian American men, the association between early sexual experience and sexual aggression was negative.

Specifying equality constraints across ethnicity for the inner paths in Figure 2 significantly worsened the fit, meaning the intervening indirect associations of early risk to sexual aggression differed across groups. For example, constraining the direct path from early risk to sexual aggression as equal across all three groups worsened the fit, $\Delta\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 8.59$, $p = .01$. Concerning that specific path, we also note that bivariate correlations showed a significant association between early risk and sexual aggression for each group. After we specified the intervening mechanisms, early risk retained a direct effect for European American men ($\beta = .33$, $p < .001$) and for Hawaiian Asian American men ($\beta = .17$, $p < .05$) but not for mainland Asian American men. This meant that the effect of early risk factors for mainland Asian American men was mediated by the intervening variables.

Finally, we used path analysis to examine whether direct effects of delinquency or acceptance of violence were mediated by the specified intervening variables. Exogenous predictors were mediated by the specified intervening variables. It was determined that for mainland Asian Americans, a significant direct effect of delinquency was mediated by sexual experience, and for European Americans, a direct effect of acceptance of violence was mediated by hostile masculinity.

Cultural Moderators of the Confluence Model

Given overall general support for the confluence model but some evidence of between-group differences, we next tested ethnic variation related to culturally relevant moderators on the process focusing on loss of face, perceived minority status, and ethnic identity. We tested the general hypothesis with hierarchical regression models, entering main effects of the confluence predictors and then entering interaction terms. Results are presented in Table 2.

In the first row, sexual aggression was regressed on early risk factors for each group. The main effect was stronger for European Americans. Entering confluence risk factors significantly increased explained variance but did so most notably for the Hawaiian Asian American men. Consistent with the path models, sexual experience for Hawaiian men was negatively associated with sexual aggression.

The third block of variables focused on the main effects of culturally relevant predictors. The first aspect to note is that entering culturally relevant variables significantly increased explained variance for both Asian American ethnic groups but not for European Americans. Loss of face was a main effects protective factor for both mainland Asian Americans ($\beta = -.20$, $p < .01$) and for Hawaiian Asian American men ($\beta = -.23$, $p < .05$). Similarly, the effect of perceived minority status also showed a significant protective effect for mainland Asian Americans ($\beta = -.08$, $p < .05$) but was not significant for the other two groups.

In the final step, two-way interaction terms were entered for confluence risk factors and culturally relevant variables. Significant increases in explained variance were obtained for all ethnic groups. Respectively, the explained variance increased by 10% for mainland Asian Americans, 14% for European Americans, and 20% for the Hawaiian Asian American men.

Table 2
Standardized Beta Coefficients for Log Sexual Aggression Regressed on Within-Group Cultural Moderators of the Confluence Model by Ethnic Group

	European American			Mainland Asian			Hawaiian Asian		
Variable	β	R^2	ΔR^2	β	R^2	ΔR^2	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Early risk factors	.34***	.12***	.12***	.18**	.03**	.03*	.22**	.05**	.05**
Delinquency	.01			.12			.24**		
Sexual experience	−.09			.06			−.36***		
Acceptance of violence	.12*			−.01			−.07		
Hostile masculinity	.06	.14***	.02*	.16†	.09**	.06**	.37***	.22***	.17***
Loss of face	−.03			−.20**			−.23*		
Ethnic identity	.07			−.03			−.03		
Minority status	−.07	.15***	.01	−.08*	.14***	.05**	−.09	.28***	.07**
Early Risk × Loss of Face	−.01			−.16*			−.23*		
Delinquency × Loss of Face	.08			−.02			−.28*		
Sexual Exp. × Loss of Face	−.06			−.01			.28*		
Acceptance × Loss of Face	−.11*			−.01			.23†		
Hostile × Loss of Face	.11			−.06			.02		
Early Risk × Minority	.09†			−.14			.09		
Delinquency × Minority	.02			−.05			.05		
Sexual Exp. × Minority	−.27***			.05			−.23		
Acceptance × Minority	−.09			.16			−.05		
Hostile × Minority	.28**			.02			.16		
Early Risk × Ethnic Id.	−.28**			−.17*			−.17†		
Delinquency × Ethnic Id.	.02			−.08			−.14		
Sexual Exp. × Ethnic Id.	.17***			−.03			.33*		
Acceptance × Ethnic Id.	.08			.15†			.23*		
Hostile × Ethnic Id.	−.18**	.29***	.14***	.02	.24***	.10*	−.03	.49***	.20**

Note. Sexual Exp. = sexual experience; Ethnic Id. = ethnic identity.
† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$. *** $p < .0001$.

For mainland Asian American men, the effect of early risk factors was significantly conditioned by loss of face ($\beta = -.16$, $p < .05$) and ethnic identity ($\beta = -.17$, $p < .05$). This means that for mainland Asian American men with high levels of early risk factors, those with high levels of loss of face and ethnic identity are less likely to commit acts of sexual aggression. For the remaining two ethnic groups in general, perceived minority status and ethnic identity showed greater moderation for European Americans, and loss of face showed greater moderation of risk factors for the Hawaiian Asian American men.

For European Americans, four significant associations indicated that cultural variables served as protective factors against sexual aggression: Loss of Face × Acceptance of Violence ($\beta = -.11$, $p < .05$), Perceived Minority Status × Sexual Experience ($\beta = -.27$, $p < .001$), Ethnic Identity × Early Risk ($\beta = -.28$, $p < .05$), and hostile masculinity ($\beta = -.18$, $p < .01$). Two of the interactions with cultural predictors were associated with increased risk: Perceived Minority Status × Hostile Masculinity and Ethnic Identity × Sexual Experience.

For Hawaiian Asian Americans, in addition to the main protective effect, loss of face additionally conditioned the effects of early risk ($\beta = -.23$, $p < .05$) and delinquency ($\beta = -.28$, $p < .05$) such that higher levels of loss of face were associated with lower levels of sexual aggression for high-risk men. In terms of amplified risk, sexual experience significantly interacted with perceived loss of face and ethnic identity for the Hawaiian Asian Americans, as did ethnic identity with acceptance of violence.

We next conducted final diagnostic tests regarding the robustness of interactions using regression diagnostics and visual data analysis (Cleveland, 1993). Specifically, we examined Cook's distance and standardized difference betas as measures of influence by extreme cases in the distributions of regression coefficients. According to diagnostic criteria, results indicated no biases due to outliers. In summary, the addition of main and moderating effects of culturally relevant predictors increased the explained variance by 15% for mainland Asian Americans, 15% for European Americans, and 27% for the Hawaiian Asian American men.

Discussion

The results provide support for the confluence model as well as for culture-specific models of men's sexual aggression. The confluence model accounted for a significant portion of the variance in sexual aggression for mainland Asian American, Hawaiian Asian American, and European American subsamples. Nevertheless, the addition of culturally relevant variables to the confluence model more than doubled the increased amount of variance explained in sexual aggression for all three subsamples. Unlike the Malamuth et al. (1991, 1995) models, in which the components of the impersonal sex and hostile masculinity paths were separate, early risk factors, a component of the impersonal sex path, was associated with acceptance of violence in the current results. This finding is consistent with Malamuth and colleagues' (1991, 1995) conceptualization of the impersonal sex and hostile masculinity paths as

interacting rather than independent in their influence on sexual aggression.

Loss of Face

A major finding is that loss of face was a protective factor against sexual aggression in the Asian American subsamples. Asian American men generally were more concerned than were European American men about loss of face, and there was not a main effect for loss of face on sexual aggression among European Americans. The only instance in which loss of face functioned as a protective factor for European Americans was that it attenuated acceptance of violence as a risk factor for sexual aggression. Thus, loss of face is a protective factor that is generally more relevant to Asian Americans, who have interdependent cultural origins, than to European Americans, whose culture is independent.

Loss of face appears to be a cultural variable rather than a function of actual or perceived minority status, in that loss of face influenced Asian American majority (Hawaiian) and minority (mainland) groups, and it was not significantly correlated with perceived minority status in either Asian American group. Moreover, loss of face was positively and significantly correlated with ethnic identity among the Asian American groups but not among European Americans, which suggests that the effects of loss of face may be most salient among ethnically identified Asian Americans. Among mainland Asian American men, the risk factor of early abuse experiences was attenuated by a concern about loss of face. Those Asian American men who are sexually or physically abused as children and learn the cultural value of loss of face may become aware that abusive relationships are nonnormative. These men may not become perpetrators of abuse because they do not want to engage in behavior that is deviant and would result in loss of face.

It could be contended that loss of face is influential among minority groups because of their group distinctiveness and the salience of their behavior to the majority (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). A minority group member who engages in a deviant act might be stereotyped by the majority as being typical of all members of the group. Thus, a deviant act by an individual minority group member could bring shame to the whole group and thereby result in loss of face for that individual. The results of the current study, however, suggest that loss of face and minority status are orthogonal. Loss of face was not significantly associated with perceived minority status in any of the subsamples. Moreover, loss of face served as a protective factor among both minority (mainland) and majority (Hawaiian) Asian Americans.

Asian Americans live in a nation in which the majority culture is independent, and they may experience pressure to acculturate and thereby become less interdependent. Whereas loss of face serves to preserve interpersonal harmony and is valued in interdependent cultures, such as those having origins in East Asia, interpersonal harmony is less valued in independent cultures, such as those having origins in Western Europe, including the United States (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Yet, a characteristic associated with interdependence, loss of face, is a protective factor against sexual aggression for Asians in the United States. Thus, fostering awareness and concern about one's behavior relative to social norms could constitute a form of clinical intervention or prevention against sexual aggression for Asian American men.

Minority Status

Consistent with their numerical status, mainland Asian Americans perceived themselves as having minority status more so than did Hawaiian Asian Americans. Although Asian Americans are a majority group in Hawaii, they perceived themselves as having minority status more so than did European Americans. There was no main effect for perceived minority status for Hawaiian American or European American men. Perceived minority status was significantly negatively associated with sexual aggression among Asian American men, which suggests that perceived minority status is a protective factor. It is possible that men who perceive themselves as part of a distinctive minority group may also perceive their deviant behavior as salient to the majority group. Such group distinctiveness and behavioral salience may cause men to refrain from deviant behavior out of fear of punishment.

Among European American men, perceived minority status attenuated the risk factor of multiple sexual experiences and amplified the risk of hostile masculinity. The meaning of minority status for a majority group is difficult to interpret, although the distinctiveness (Pollak & Niemann, 1998) and displacement (Comas-Diaz, 1995) models of minority status may be relevant. There is some evidence that European Americans perceive themselves as distinctive in certain situations when they are the numerical minority (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). Similar to the protective effects of perceived minority status among Asian Americans, it is possible that European American men who perceive themselves as part of a distinctive minority group may refrain from deviant behavior out of fear of punishment. Alternatively, European American men who perceive themselves as having minority status and also have hostile masculinity may displace aggression onto women, similar to the displacement process among ethnic minority men. Nevertheless, European American men were the only group in which perceived minority status functioned as a moderator. It is possible that these findings are a function of Type I error, and the findings would need to be replicated before they could be interpreted with confidence.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity moderated early abuse experiences for sexual aggression for mainland Asian Americans and for European Americans. Among European Americans, ethnic identity also attenuated hostile masculinity. These findings are consistent with other data on the positive effects of ethnic identity for all groups (Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997). A strong ethnic identity may lead to positive perceptions not only of one's own ethnic group but also of those outside one's ethnic group (Phinney et al., 1997). Such positive perceptions may include a sense of empathy that may be a protective factor against perpetrating aggression. However, among European Americans and Hawaiian Asian Americans, the interaction between ethnic identity and multiple sexual experiences was a risk factor for sexual aggression. The measures of ethnic identity in the current study involved, in part, social contact with persons in one's ethnic group. Most sexual aggression in this study involved perpetrators and victims of the same ethnicity. Those who have multiple social contacts and multiple sexual experiences may have more opportunities for sexual aggression than those having fewer social contacts and sexual experiences. A

similar explanation may apply to the interaction between ethnic identity and acceptance of interpersonal violence that was a risk factor among Hawaiian Asian Americans. For those who accept violence, multiple social contacts in one's ethnic group may increase the risk of sexual aggression.

A finding that was unique to the Hawaiian Asian American sample was the significant negative association between multiple sexual experiences and sexual aggression, which means that men with greater numbers of sexual experiences were at lower risk to become sexually aggressive. Multiple sexual experiences previously have been found to be a risk factor for sexual aggression (Malamuth et al., 1991, 1995). It is possible that some men having multiple sexual experiences are less motivated to be sexually aggressive because consensual sexual relationships are available. Nevertheless, it is unclear why multiple sexual experiences are a protective factor for Hawaiian Asian Americans but not for the other groups. The protective effect of multiple sexual experiences for Hawaiian Asian Americans was attenuated by ethnic identity, as discussed above, and by concern about loss of face. Hawaiian Asian American men who have had multiple sexual experiences and are concerned about loss of face may perceive a loss of face when they are not sexually aggressive. Similar to the counterintuitive findings concerning perceived minority status among European Americans discussed above, it is possible that these findings specific to Hawaiian Asian Americans are a function of Type I error, and the findings would need to be replicated before they could be interpreted with confidence.

Study Limitations

The current study of Asian American men's sexual aggression is the largest to date, and the samples are from multiple sites. However, most of the participants in the studies were college students. Although it has been reported that as many as 88% of Asian Americans of college age attend college (Hsia & Peng, 1998), the current European American college samples may be less representative of young European American men, insofar as 68% of European American high school graduates immediately enroll in college (National Center for Education Statistics, 2005). Although the direct applicability of the current findings to ethnic groups not included in this study is unknown, it is likely that culturally based constructs are particularly relevant in ethnic groups that identify with more than one culture. Nevertheless, from a global perspective, persons from the Asian cultures included in this study represent nearly one third of the world population.

Another possible limitation of the current studies is the sole use of self-report. Partner reports have been used in an effort to corroborate men's self-report of their abusive behavior. There is evidence of acceptable levels of correspondence between the self-reports of men and their partners of abusive behavior (*r*s from .53 to .65; Malamuth et al., 1995; Moffitt et al., 1997). Given this correspondence, it has been contended that self-reports are suitable for research on aggression (Moffitt et al., 1997). Moreover, a partner may be unaware of all the abusive behavior that their partner perpetrates. From an ethical perspective, eliciting negative information from someone about their abusive partner may be undesirable insofar as it could provoke further abuse if the partner felt that they were being unfairly portrayed.

It could be contended that the current findings are a function of socially desirable responding. The results, however, do not suggest such a general socially desirable response bias. For example, loss of face was correlated in the current findings with socially desirable behaviors (lower levels of sexual aggression) as well as socially undesirable behaviors (acceptance of violence, hostile masculinity) among mainland and Hawaiian Asian Americans. Among European Americans, loss of face also was correlated with socially desirable behaviors (lower levels of delinquency) and socially undesirable behaviors (acceptance of violence, hostile masculinity).

This study was cross-sectional. Although our models are structured to include antecedents of sexual aggression, it is possible that these antecedents are effects of sexual aggression. Nevertheless, the culture-specific models of sexual aggression fit the data quite well. Moreover, we are currently conducting a longitudinal study of sexual aggression among Asian American and European American men.

Clinical Implications and Conclusions

It is encouraging that there was support for the confluence model in each of the three ethnic groups in this study. These findings imply that clinical interventions found to be effective in reducing sexual aggression that target hostile masculinity and impersonal sex (Hall, 1995) may be useful across ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the current results further suggest that optimally effective clinical interventions may need to be specifically tailored to ethnic groups. Unlike the individual focus of most existing clinical interventions, social and cultural context is critical in interventions with members of interdependent ethnic groups (Hall, 2003). Greater identification with and integration into the group would be desirable, assuming the ethnic group espouses prosocial norms. In cases in which the group's norms are antisocial, the goal would be disidentification with the group and a new identification with a prosocial group or the more challenging task of changing the group's antisocial norms.

When ethnic heterogeneity exists within a sample, investigators should at least examine how well a model applies across ethnic groups. Ethnic group membership has sociocultural significance and is often the basis of group differences. Such ethnic group comparisons alone, however, do not reveal the specific mechanisms of ethnic differences. In addition to such global group comparisons, culturally relevant constructs that may serve as moderators should also be investigated. Our results suggest that for all ethnic groups, the addition of culturally relevant constructs improves the explanatory ability of a conceptual model and warrants further investigation.

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