

The Influence of Masculinity Scripts on Heterosexual Hispanic College Men's Perceptions of Female-Initiated Sexual Coercion

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The present study uses qualitative methods to examine the perceptions and experiences of female-initiated sexual coercion among Hispanic college men. Four categories of findings related to Hispanic college men's perceptions of female-initiated sexual coercion were analyzed: 1) beliefs about of male victimization; 2) types of female-initiated coercion; 3) appropriate responses to female-initiated coercion; and 4) messages about appropriate heteronormative masculinity. Participants found it difficult to accept that a man could be coerced by a woman unless, for example, drugs or alcohol were used. There was strong evidence in support of the proposition that men should "just go" with a woman's demands for sexual contact, whether or not it was truly desired. There was also clear support for the notion that masculinity scripts influenced attitudes toward female-initiated coercion, although participants did not see these norms and scripts as unique to Hispanic culture via machismo beliefs. The results highlight the importance of acknowledging male victimization and the influence of gender scripts in research on dating violence within Hispanic populations.

Keywords: sexual coercion, Hispanic, male victimization, intimate partner violence

Research on college women's experiences with male initiated intimate partner violence and coercion is extensive. Rightly so, as women between the ages of 20 and 24 are at the greatest risk of being victimized in nonfatal intimate violence incidents (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007), and women age 24 and under suffer from the highest rates of rape (U.S. Department of Justice, 2008) and stalking (U.S. Department of Justice, 2009). Moreover, national statistics typically show that women are generally more often the victims of sexual and intimate partner violence (IPV) than men. For example, women are four times more likely to be the victims of nonfatal IPV than men (U.S. Department of Justice, 2007), twice as likely to be killed by intimate partners as men (U.S. Department of Justice, 2009), and represent 91% of all rape or sexual assault victims (U.S. Department of Justice, 2013).

In terms of sexual coercion specifically, defined as the use of "verbal or physical means to obtain sexual activity against consent" (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004, p. 91), 25% to 33% of U.S. college women report having been victimized by a male (Anderson, 1998; Forbes & Adams, 2001; Hines, 2007; Larimer et al., 1999; O'Sullivan, Byers, & Finkelman, 1998). These statistics are supported by research showing that 20% to 69% of college men admit to using various forms of coercion to obtain sexual intercourse with an unwilling woman (DeGue & DiLillo, 2004; Forbes & Adams, 2001; O'Sullivan et al., 1998; Sable, Denis, Mauzy, & Gallagher, 2006; Zweig, Barber, & Eccles, 1997).

Although it is clearly important to continue addressing the causes and implications of this form of abuse for women, men's experiences with sexual coercion beyond their role as perpetrators are also crucial to investigate. Indeed, research over the past two decades has consistently shown that college men in the United States are becoming increasingly likely to experience sexual coercion initiated by a female (Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Hines, 2007; Krahe, Scheinberger-Olwig, & Bieneck, 2003; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1996; VanderLaan & Vasey, 2009). In fact, 20–40% of heterosexual college men have reported experiencing female-initiated sexual coercion on at least one occasion; verbally coercive tactics (12–58%) were used more often than physical coercive (1–3%) to initiate sex in these situations (Anderson, 1998; Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Hines, 2007; Krahe et al., 2003; Struckman-Johnson, 1988; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994).

Unfortunately, the number of studies addressing college males' sexual coercion victimization has remained low (Hines, 2007; Kearney, & Rochlen, 2012). In particular, research examining Hispanic men's experiences is virtually nonexistent, despite the fact that Hispanics are the largest racial/ethnic minority group attending postsecondary schools in the United States (Fry, 2011). In response to this, reviews of the effects of intimate partner violence (IPV) on men have pinpointed the need for more in-depth qualitative research focusing on abuse experienced by understudied male populations (Hines, 2007; Kearney & Rochlen, 2012; Randle & Graham, 2011; Straus, 2005). Qualitative approaches are appropriate for exploring this topic because of their ability to identify meaningful conceptual distinctions tied to individual identify factors, including gender, race, and sexuality (Few, Stephens, & Rouse, 2003). In response to this, the present research uses a qualitative approach to identify Hispanic college men's subjective perceptions and experiences of female-initiated sexual coercion via scripting theory.

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Review of the Literature

Research over the past two decades has consistently shown that 20% to 40% of college men in the United States have had at least one female-initiated coercive sexual experience (Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Hines, 2007; Krahé et al., 2003; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1996; VanderLaan & Vasey, 2009). Although most research shows that women are more often the victims of sexual coercion than men in general, some research shows equivalent rates of verbal sexual coercion victimization among both men and women attending college (Hines, 2007; O'Sullivan, Byers, & Finkelmann, 1998). There is also some controversy regarding the analysis of males' coercion and related IPV experiences, as the ways these concepts are defined and operationalized across studies vary widely and often reflect traditional beliefs about gender roles (e.g., Straus, 2005).

These concerns over defining and reporting incidents of male sexual coercion victimization become even more salient when the experiences of racial/ethnic minority men are considered. Research has traditionally framed racial/ethnic minorities' developmental trajectories in terms of difference, comparing outcomes among this group (such as sexual decision making) against similar quantitative data collected from primarily White samples (Estrada, Rigali-Oiler, Arciniega, & Tracey, 2011; Few et al., 2003). Thus, racial/ethnic populations' perceptions and experiences are often defined in terms of deviance from a "normative" sample rather than viewed as culturally unique and specific. This is troubling because Hispanic college men may embrace distinctive cultural values and norms in their sexual health decision making processes (Estrada et al., 2011; Ford, Vieira, & Villela, 2003; Kearney & Rochlen, 2012). However, few studies have explored the ways cultural messages shape Hispanic college males' perceptions of and experiences with female-initiated sexual coercion (for a review see Kearney & Rochlen, 2012).

Sexual Scripting Frameworks

One approach to understanding sexual coercion is through sexual scripting frameworks (for a review see Byers, 1996). Sexual scripts are culturally imbedded guidelines for appropriate behaviors, emotions, and cognitions for men and women in sexual experiences (Simon & Gagnon, 1987). Individuals draw upon these scripts when judging and engaging in sexual behaviors and sexual experiences. For example, the behaviors men and women should engage in on a first date in the United States are well documented, widely shared, and have been highly stable over time (Eaton & Rose, 2011). Specifically, men are expected to be proactive on dates, paying for date events and initiating date activities, whereas women are expected to be passive, merely accepting or rejecting men's suggestions and advances (Morr Serewicz & Gale, 2008; Rose & Frieze, 1989, 1993). For both women and men, attitudes and beliefs about sexual encounters are rooted in more general scripts about masculinity and femininity (Courtenay, 2000; Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Ford et al., 2003; Hines, 2007; Waldner-Haugrud & Magruder, 1995; Zweig et al., 1997). Sexual scripts are thus instrumental in the creation and support of general belief systems about sex, gender, and sexuality, and in developing attitudes about one's own and others' sexual being and identity (Simon & Gagnon, 1987).

A central concept that informs understandings of male and female sexual scripts is "heteronormativity," which refers to the belief that men and women possess naturally complimentary sexual drives, needs, and roles, and that heterosexual relationships are the normative standard against which other types of sexualities are compared (Courtenay, 2000; England, 2010). This creates a set of oppositional scripts between femininity and masculinity that support men's greater power and status in heterosexual relationships and other contexts (England, 2010; Gauchat, Kelly, & Wallace, 2012; Loscocco & Bird, 2012; Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988).

Masculinity and Machismo

In Western cultures, sexual scripts portray men as sexually invulnerable and full of bravado (Courtenay, 2000; Elder, Brooks, & Morrow, 2012; Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1996). Some specific scripting beliefs about male sexuality include the notions that men are always ready for sex, men should dominate women sexually, and sexual activity for men must end with orgasm (Amaro, 1995; Elder et al., 2012; Impett & Peplau, 2003). Further, an individual's race/ethnicity, nationality, and class identity add layers of masculinity expectations for the behaviors of men belonging to a given social group. Research specific to sexuality beliefs and scripting has examined the influence of differing cultural values on notions of gender, and their impact on behavioral outcomes. For example, using a condom during sex can be perceived as a sign of fear or weakness among subgroups of Hispanic men (Amaro, 1995; Galanti, 2003; Noar & Morokoff, 2002). Also, being able to control one's girlfriend or wife through force or fear has been viewed as acceptable and can increase a Mexican American man's prestige among his peers and other social networks, according to some studies (Galanti, 2003; Kyriakakis, Dawson, & Edmond, 2012; Sobralske, 2006b). These beliefs illustrate the culturally specific script framework researchers traditionally use to explore Hispanic men's expressions of masculinity: "machismo."

The concept of machismo is particularly powerful in sexual contexts, as it has the added expectation that Hispanic men will "prove" their masculinity through their sexuality and sexual performance in various contexts (Ford, Vieira & Villela, 2003; Galanti, 2003; Glass & Owen, 2010; Kearney, & Rochlen, 2012; Liang, Salcedo, & Miller, 2011; Sobralske, 2006b; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002). Characterized by physical prowess, aggression, toughness, being in charge, and risk taking (Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000; Falicov, 2010; Ford et al., 2003; Glass & Owen, 2010; Sobralske, 2006a, 2006b), machismo beliefs can be so influential for some Hispanic men that they persist in spite of acculturation (Sobralske, 2006a, 2006b). However, researchers have called for greater exploration of the definition and relevance of this concept, given that it is often difficult to determine the ways in which it replicates and differs from ideas of hypermasculinity already integrated into Westernized scripts about masculinity (Abreu et al., 2000; Amaro, 1995; Falicov, 2010; Ford et al., 2003; Sobralske, 2006a, 2006b).

Masculinity and Female-Initiated Coercion

Research on Westernized masculinity scripts and on the concept of machismo support the assertion that the sexual coercion of

women by men may be interpreted as a fairly normal and expected part of college males' heterosexual relationships (Abreu et al., 2000; Byers, 1996; DeGue & DiLillo, 2004; Elder, Brooks, & Morrow, 2012; Hoff, 2012; Kearney & Rochlen, 2012; O'Sullivan, Byers, & Finkelman, 1998). Indeed, several studies drawn from White populations have found that some men and women find it acceptable for a man to either continue with or insist upon sex once a woman has aroused him (Cowan, 2000; Fischer, 1986; Miller & Marshall, 1987; Weiss, 2009). How sexual scripts guide attitudes toward and interpretations of women's coercion of men is less clear. Current Westernized and Hispanic scripts about male sexuality are based upon the idea that men are not upset by female sexual coercion because the event is "sex role congruent" (Elder et al., 2012; Krahé, Bieneck, & Scheinberger-Olwig, 2007; Waldner-Haugrud & Magruder, 1995). Because these sexual scripts suppose and require that men initiate and pursue ever-increasing levels of sexual intimacy with female partners, they are incompatible with the possibility that men may be the victims of a female sexual aggressor. Male sexual scripts across all cultures also appear to require that men minimize or ignore their fear of females sexual coercion of males because women are expected to be smaller, weaker, and not as sexually eager (Elder et al., 2012; Krahé et al., 2003; Larimer et al., 1999).

The need to explore the influence these scripts about masculinity have on intimate relationships broadly, and sexual coercion specifically motivated the two main aims of this study:

- 1) To identify Hispanic college male's perceptions of female-initiated sexual coercion and their beliefs about appropriate responses.
- 2) To investigate the extent to which scripts about masculinity and male sexuality inform these perceptions and beliefs, particularly as they are relevant to "traditional" Hispanic gender role scripts about male sexuality.

Method

Participants

A total of 47 Hispanic men were recruited between August 28, 2011 and March 2012 from the psychology research pool at a large Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI); more than 65% of the student population at this university identifies as Hispanic. Individuals interested in participating were screened for eligibility based on their ethnicity, age, and gender. Inclusion criteria for this study were being a Hispanic male between the ages 18–25 years within the student population of the university. The 47 men sampled ranged in age from 18 to 24, with a mean age of 20.7 years. All participants self-identified as ethnically Hispanic and racially White. Participants listed their maternal national origins as Cuban ($n = 16$), Argentinean ($n = 5$), Colombian ($n = 4$), Hispanic American ($n = 4$), Nicaraguan ($n = 4$), Venezuelan ($n = 4$), Puerto Rican ($n = 3$), and other nationalities, including Dominican, Ecuadorian, Mexican, and Peruvian. Only seven men had lived 10 or more years outside the United States; the remaining 40 lived less than five years outside the United States.

Interviews were conducted only with men who reported having at least one sexual experience with a woman. One man who self-identified as gay and one bisexual male were eligible to participate as they reported having had sexual experiences with

women. The majority of participants ($n = 36$) were in a relationship at the time of the interview, although 10 of these reported that it was not a committed or monogamous relationship. Only 17 of the men in committed relationships described it as satisfying to very satisfying.

Data Collection

Interview methods. The Principal Investigator (PI), a Hispanic woman, and three self-identified Hispanic female undergraduate research assistants (RAs) conducted the in-person individual interviews in a university conference room at a time selected by the participant. Interview questions and accompanying prompts were developed to assess participants' subjective beliefs about and experiences with female-to-male sexual coercion. The questioning route was guided by sexual scripting theory, specifically using masculinity beliefs, heteronormative sexual coercion expectations, and "traditional" Hispanic cultural messages about gender roles that have been previously identified in sexual scripting research. To build rapport, initial questions focused on participants' own relationship ideals and the nonsexual activities they engage in with dating partners. After a series of general dating questions, the focus shifted to sexual coercion questions. Some questions included: "Is there a difference between experiencing physical, verbal or emotional sexual coercion?," "Do you look at a man who has been coerced into having sex the same way we look at a woman who has been coerced?," "Do you look at a woman who has pressured a man to have sex the same way we look at a man who pressures a woman?," and "Do you think Hispanic culture has certain messages about sexuality that inform your perceptions of sexuality and sexual coercion?" Prompts to encourage discussion and detailed responses were included (e.g., "What do you mean by that?" and "Give me an example of what you mean."). Interviews were audio taped, and lasted between 15 and 65 minutes. Immediately after the interview, the interviewers recorded their personal observations regarding participant's demeanor, body language, and other cues not captured via the audio recording. This information was noted within the interview transcriptions to enhance the level of detail and understanding of participants' discussions.

Data analysis. Data collection and analysis proceeded simultaneously, beginning with the use of the constant comparative method (Marecek, Fine, & Kidder, 1997; Patton, 1990). Specifically, the constant and comparative method guides the forming of coding categories, establishing the boundaries of the categories, assigning the segments to categories, and summarizing the content of each category. The goal of this approach is to discern conceptual similarities, to refine the discriminative power of categories, and to discover patterns (Tesch, 1990). Three RAs transcribed the interviews. The PI and two additional RAs verified the completeness of the transcripts, accuracy of the discussion content, and confirmed a high quality of transcription, that is, each checked each transcription file against the original audio file independently.

The investigators constructed a preliminary coding framework after in-depth reading of the transcripts; research on sexual scripting beliefs regarding appropriate male and female sexual behaviors were used to guide this process. Sections of text were coded by issue or theme and additional codes were added as new themes emerged. The PI first read all the transcripts and interviewer notes in their entirety, then coded and organized the data to identify key

themes related to sexual coercion, masculinity, and social norms. Two RAs independently coded the data and created a comprehensive list of themes they identified in the data. Later, the PI and RAs met as a group to discuss and further refine each set of themes, resolve differences, and reach consensus on a coding scheme. Discrepancies were resolved by first revisiting and reviewing the transcripts and interview notes, and then through group discussion. To ensure validity, all the study team members summarized, reviewed, and agreed on the key themes.

Results

The results presented here are organized around four major themes identified in the analysis: 1) perceptions of male victimization; 2) types of female-initiated coercion; 3) sexual scripting frameworks of appropriate responses to coercion; and 4) the influence of Hispanic culture on messages about appropriate heteronormative masculinity.

Perceptions of Male Victimization

Men's initial responses assumed that women were the typical victims of sexually coercive behaviors. When asked questions about sexual pressure that did not specify the sex of the victim, the majority of men implied that women were potential victims ($n = 42$). When specifically asked about men possibly being victims of sexual coercion or pressure, 44 said men could be victims of sexual coercion, whereas only 3 felt it was not possible. However, many of those asserting that males can be coerced hesitated or laughed when responding ($n = 29$); two men's comments illustrate the ways in which they found humor in these situations, despite acknowledging that sexual coercion is a serious issue.

Well . . . you know I guess that both men and women [can be coerced]. I can't picture how for men- unless it's a group of women or they drugged him. [pause] But I think it happens more for woman . . . but sometimes for certain types of guys.

Because not only girls, you know, get raped [chuckles].

The majority of men reported that they never had a woman use pressure or coercive tactics in an attempt to have sex with them ($n = 39$); only eight had experienced pressure from a woman to have sex. However, five of these eight men who experienced pressure did not initially perceive their experience as coercive. It was only after questions requiring participants to brainstorm about how they would know they were being coerced did these men recognize that they had been in a coercive situation. All of the men who acknowledged experiencing female-initiated sexual coercion viewed the encounter as awkward rather than stressful or painful. Two viewed the coercive incident as being eventually positive; despite not wanting to have sex with their female partner and regretting having given in to her pressure, both bragged about their ability to please her sexually. In four instances, the perpetrator was a female friend who they respected and whose feelings they did not want to hurt through rejection. All but one of these four men conceded to having intercourse because it was expected that males should not say no in these contexts and continuing would not be risky given the woman is consenting. Two of these men share their experiences below:

I believe there's one time I have because it was too soon after I knew her. I think it was within a month. She actually came up to me, she talked about it. To her it's serious and she actually wanted it figured out. And when she asked me straightforward, I gave her my honest opinion where I think time will tell because at the moment, I don't feel the same way as she does. I wasn't really attracted to her.

Interviewer: So, how did it make you feel?

It made me feel- how do you say . . . I was actually surprised. It felt good; I can tell you the truth. It felt good. Because I actually have someone who wants more sex than I do! But I still wasn't attracted to her later.

Like there was like a student once that she kept inviting me to like her house saying she had birthday parties. I guess that's kind of like pressuring? She was saying that she gonna be alone, she has like drinks and stuff, so I kind a like put two and two together. I just did it because she kept offering. I didn't like it . . . but she did, she was happy.

Types of Female-Initiated Coercion

The men's initial responses to questions about types of female-initiated coercion focused on physically forced sex, namely rape. They reported that female-to-male rape could occur via the use of alcohol or drugs ($n = 23$) or use of a weapon ($n = 16$). However, 37 men made the assertion that women would not be able to successfully use physically coercive tactics against men without these tools, primarily because of males' greater physical strength. Comments like the one below highlight the ways in which beliefs about physical strength shape men's perceptions of female-initiated coercion.

I think [for women] it's difficult [physically coerce a man into having sex] because. Umm . . . since there, well since she's a woman, I think she's more, like, delicate. Women can't take [on physically] a man-most men. Unless she's on steroids or something [laughter].

When probed for examples of other types of coercion that could occur, 44 men reported "milder" forms of nonviolent coercion such as verbal pressure and seduction (see Table 1). Specific examples of verbally coercive tactics listed by the men included belittling ("you aren't a real man," "you just can't handle a woman"), blackmail ("I'll tell your girlfriend you did anyway," "I'll tell your friends you were scared"), self-deprecating guilt ("you don't think I'm pretty," "I'm not a good enough woman for you"), and threats of personal harm ("I am going to walk home alone and don't care what happens," "I'm just going to get piss drunk and do it with anyone then"). In general, these tactics were viewed by the men as easy to reject.

Seduction tactics were coded specifically as sexually explicit, verbal, or physical actions, leading to intimate acts where the male was unwilling to engage sexually with the woman or at least hesitant to engage during the initial stages. Examples of seduction cues recalled by these men included sexualized verbal teasing ("I know you really want it, you're just denying yourself," "you got me all excited so I'm going to get you excited"; $n = 43$), physical teasing (touching genitals, thigh, or face, licking neck or ear, grinding against body; $n = 38$), or context set-up (bringing to dorm/bedroom to talk while lying down, dressing provocatively; $n = 16$). Often these tactics were seen as occurring simultaneously. Seduction tactics were viewed as tools used to wear down

Table 1
Female-to-Male Coercion Tactics and Responses to Coercion

	Specific tactic	% Mentioning
Coercion tactic		
Nonviolent		
Verbal	Belittling	75% (35/47)
	Blackmail	66% (31/47)
	Self-deprecating guilt	30% (14/47)
	Threats of personal harm	17% (8/47)
Seduction	Verbal teasing	91% (43/47)
	Physical teasing	81% (38/47)
	Context set-up	35% (16/47)
Violent		
Assisted	Use of a weapon	35% (16/47)
	Use of drugs alcohol	49% (23/47)
Unassisted	Physical fighting	0% (0/47)
Response		
To nonviolent coercion	Handle it oneself	91% (43/47)
	Just go with it/acquiesce	68% (32/47)
	Snub her	66% (31/47)
	Laugh it off	62% (29/47)
	Belittle her	17% (8/47)
To violent coercion	Anger	68% (32/47)
	Resentment	40% (19/47)
	Seeking revenge	17% (8/47)
	Get mental health support	40% (19/47)
	Get help (police or medical)	26% (12/47)

men's defenses ($n = 35$) or stimulate men's natural desire for sex ($n = 31$). However, the uses of these coercive seductive tactics by women were interpreted as somewhat desirable by the participants. Half of the men in the study ($n = 24$) noted that they would be receptive to a woman using seduction even if they did not desire to have sex with her. Of these men, 32 made statements that their willingness was a result of a biological drive that these women purposefully targeted. The comments by two participants below illustrate this.

Like 'cuz you know the woman is throwing herself at you or undressing herself, you know. It's harder to, you know, stop.

Well, a girl can't really hold a guy down because guys are—well usually we're stronger. So it would be more like [women] may tease you . . . they touch your leg and move their hand up and up and up [laughs]. So you get excited and can't stop when they go even further. Even if you don't want to they make it so you can't stop by talking and teasing.

Sexual Scripting Frameworks of Appropriate Responses

Men's perceptions of female-initiated coercion and reports of coercive tactics used influenced their beliefs about appropriate responses. More than 90% of the men ($n = 43$) stated that males should be able to handle these situations themselves. Overwhelmingly, the participants asserted that men should a) be strong enough to "deal with" female-initiated coercions ($n = 43$), b) should just go with the sexual act ($n = 32$), and c) not report or address these incidences ($n = 27$) (see Table 1 for a summary of responses to coercion).

The premise that men are "strong enough" to ignore or deal with female-initiated coercion was clearly embraced by the majority of

the men. When asked how to ignore a woman who is attempting to be sexually coercive, respondents tactic suggestions included snubbing the woman ("walk away," "push her off"; $n = 31$), laugh it off ("tell her she is being crazy or silly," "treat it like she is joking"; $n = 29$), and belittling her ("call her a slut," "tell her she's not all that"; $n = 8$).

The second most reported appropriate response was to accede to the coercive sex. As explained by one participant, it was simply better to "just go with it" as it meant an opportunity to have sex and could be used as a bragging point to friends that a woman wanted them so badly. Noting men "naturally" desire sex or have a "biological" trigger that can get turned on for sex, 23 participants stated that it is acceptable to "just go with it."

If a man refused to accept coercive sexual pressure, he would be viewed as being odd or not "normal" by the majority of these participants ($n = 34$). This abnormality was attributed to being "gay," meaning effeminate or does not like women, or emotionally and physical weak. The only case where a man would "get a pass" on rejecting a woman would be if she was viewed as being extremely physically unattractive or socially undesirable ($n = 9$), or was a close friend or family member of a friend (e.g., sister; $n = 18$). The questioning of a man's sexuality outside of these specific instances is evident in this comment made by a participant.

You would look down at [a man that turns down coercive sex]—like he's gay or something.

Interviewer: What do you mean by gay?

He doesn't like women—no offense. Like he just wants to have sex with other men. And like a sissy. Why would you say no? Cause guys are expected to always want [sex]. You take it if it's being thrown at you.

It should be noted that the potential risks of using tactics associated with "being strong enough" or choosing to "just go with it" were not concerning to these men. Specifically, none reported fearing that things could escalate to a point where they were uncomfortable or felt intimidated—unless the woman put them under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs. In those cases, according to these men, appropriate responses in those cases include being very angry ($n = 32$), resentful ($n = 19$), or wanting to seek revenge ($n = 8$). This was primarily because in these instances men were put in a position where they were not able to adequately defend themselves. When substances were used, 43 of the men felt that it was appropriate that men report or seek support to address female-initiated coercive experiences. In order of preference, participants listed a male best friend, an older family member (father, brother or cousin), and then a female close to their age (e.g., sister, close friend) as who they would most likely report an incident of female-initiated sexual coercion. Only if they were physically injured during a coercive act where substances were used without their consent would 12 of the participants "possibly" seek the services of the police, or medical health care providers. A larger number ($n = 19$) said they would consider getting mental health support from a counselor if they were victimized.

When asked about instances where substances were not used, the men in the study acknowledged that reporting incidents to authorities (e.g., the police, a counselor) would make a man appear weak and less masculine ($n = 38$); 16 were noted to have laughed

or smirked while responding to this question. Despite this, approximately two thirds of men reported that seeking assistance or support was an acceptable response to female-initiated coercion if the victim felt it was necessary ($n = 30$). Of those men, the primary concern was the responses of others, including male peers/family members ($n = 30$), support service workers (e.g., police, counselors; $n = 23$), and the female perpetrator ($n = 6$). These psychological barriers to reporting are illustrated by the following participants' comments:

You should tell someone. But it may be hard to walk into a police station or tell your friends you were pressured into having sex by a woman who just talked you into it. I wouldn't—even the girl would look better than you. Maybe get private counseling . . . where it is required to stay between [the counselor and victim]—but that's it.

Yeah, how many guys are going to [report female-initiated coercion]? [laughs]. Even if it did happen, what are you going to say? You will look like a punk to everyone.

Hispanic Culture Messages About Appropriate Heteronormative Masculinity

Throughout the interview, participants were asked about factors that influenced their perceptions of female-initiated sexual coercion and their beliefs about appropriate responses. During the interview process, none made direct statements about the influence of Hispanic cultural beliefs on their attitudes toward sexual coercion. Only during the last series of questions that specifically asked about their ethnic communities' beliefs about masculinity and sexuality did 36 participants give examples of the male sexual scripts and norms transmitted in Hispanic communities. Men's descriptions of these scripts included desiring multiple partners, controlling sexual situations, needing to constantly have sex, and not being scared of sexual situations—all frameworks associated with machismo. However, additional machismo beliefs also included respecting females' sexual desires, and protecting women from sexual harm.

According to these men, being an emerging adult versus middle aged or above ($n = 31$), attending college ($n = 18$), and being less entrenched in traditional Hispanic communities/contexts ($n = 17$) decreased the likelihood that a Hispanic male would embrace machismo beliefs. Despite these assertions, however, more than 70% of the participants ($n = 32$) stated that machismo beliefs and their relationship to perceptions of female-initiated coercion in Hispanic communities did not differ significantly from those beliefs about masculinity found in the United States. The men's understandings of these cultural meanings about masculinity are made clear in statements such as the following:

[In familial country of origin] is a big deal that the woman doesn't control the sex. You see it here, but mainly with guys that are new [to the country] . . . or older men. People that go to school and learn things you will think differently. There are more women than men in school and stuff like that. And they are having sex when they want—so things change. Beliefs change.

You hear it from [older generations] . . . but younger people don't think that way. You know? Like my dad—he's still in Columbia—he tells [stepsister] over there the same thing he tells me here. I mean, he's tougher on her, but he knows that man controlling stuff doesn't work now. My American . . . white . . . friends say the same [messages

about masculinity]. A lot of [machismo beliefs about sexuality] is just from a different time but the same everywhere.

Discussion

This is one of the first studies to focus exclusively on Hispanic college male's perceptions of, and experiences with, female-initiated sexual coercion. Findings clearly indicated that heterosexual sexual scripts informed their attitudes about these phenomena.

Perceptions of Male Victimization

Our male participants' attitudes toward sexual coercion reinforced traditional Western masculine scripts and machismo ideologies, such as the idea that "real" men cannot be coerced into sex (Elder et al., 2012; Turchik & Edwards, 2012). When specifically asked about males' experiences with female-initiated sexual coercion, responses often included conversational pauses and laughter. Even in cases in which men had personal experience with female-initiated sexual coercion, men's sexual script understandings buffered them from feeling negatively about themselves or the incident (Elder et al., 2012; Krahe et al., 2003; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994, 1996). In fact, these situations were found to actually enhance a man's reputation among his peers (Courtenay, 2000; Krahe et al., 2007; Zweig et al., 1997). As a result, it is possible that these men denied or minimized their victimization because traditional sexual scripts promote male self-reliance in sexual interactions (Sobral, 2006b; Turchik & Edwards, 2012). Indeed, researchers assert that reported male sexual victimization prevalence rates are significantly lower than actual rates of occurrence due to the acceptance of traditional sexual scripting beliefs (DeSouza & Hutz, 1996; Randle & Graham, 2011; Turchik & Edwards, 2012).

Types of Female-Initiated Coercion

Men reported that women could only successfully use physically coercive tactics with the assistance of intoxicating substances or weapons, because of men's greater physical strength. Instead, verbal and psychological tactics were reported as a more likely form of coercion used by women. This supports prior research that found that whereas women are estimated to use severe forms of physical coercion only 1–3% of the time (Krahe et al., 2003; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994), they are equally or more likely than men to use verbally coercive tactics (Muñoz-Rivas, Graña Gómez, O'Leary, & González Lozano, 2007; O'Sullivan et al., 1998). In fact, the rates of female-to-male verbal aggression are so pervasive it is often viewed as normative in heterosexual dating relationships (Anderson, 1998; Muñoz-Rivas et al., 2007).

Seduction was also reported as a tactic women use to coerce men. According to male sexual scripts, a man must succumb to seduction because his innate desire for sex has been "naturally turned on" (Cowan, 2000; Weiss, 2009). This is congruent with research showing that both men and women report a female victim of rape or harassment is to blame if she "provoked" his biological drive through sexual temptation or signaling (Forbes & Adams-Curtis, 2001; Meston & O'Sullivan, 2007). This perception of seduction is concerning as sexual teasing is considered a common

form of sexual communication among both women and men in college (Aronson et al., 2007; Meston & O'Sullivan, 2007). However, its impact on well-being is dependent upon multiple factors including the recipients' relationship to the perpetrator, the perceived intent of the teasing, the context in which it occurs, and the victims' prior experience (see Aronson et al., 2007).

Appropriate Responses to Female-Initiated Sexual Coercion

Male participants' assertions that ignoring and acquiescing were the most appropriate and easiest responses to female-initiated coercion are supported by masculinity scripts emphasizing male control. Related response tactics suggested by these men—snubbing, laughing it off, or belittling—also assume a male position of power. Indeed, some researchers have suggested that whichever partner is the least interested in sex has the most power in that context (Baumeister & Tice, 2001). Our findings are also consistent with research showing that whereas women's gender roles have been expanding to include masculine behaviors and traits, men continue to face highly narrow role prescriptions (England, 2010; Gauchat et al., 2012; Loscocco & Bird, 2012). For example, although women have moved into traditionally male occupations over the last 40 years, men have not moved into traditionally feminine occupations at the same rate. One reason may be that men's social role expectations and self-concepts have not become more communal (Twenge, 2001). This same trend has been noted in dating contexts in which it has become acceptable for women to initiate dates, but not for men to be sexual gatekeepers (for a review see Eaton & Rose, 2011). Future research must identify how these power shifts affect coercion practices in contexts where men seek to avoid victimization and women aim to express their sexuality.

There were three instances where acceptance of female-initiated coercion was viewed as problematic. First, when a woman is deemed socially undesirable because of physical appearance or reputation, a man may actually be ridiculed for "just going with it." Second, masculinity script expectations allow for the rejection of a woman's coercive tactics if she is a close friend or someone respected. In these scenarios, his rejection is seen as helping her to avoid ridicule from others for her sexual aggressiveness. This supports prior research showing that even when encouraged to engage in consensual sexual activity, women are at a greater risk for negative social consequences when compared to men (Meston & O'Sullivan, 2007; Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988; Randle & Graham, 2011).

Third, masculinity scripts did not support acceptance of sex initiated by a female in situations where drugs or alcohol were used (Hines, 2007; Larimer et al., 1999; Turchik & Edwards, 2012). These situations are typically described as involving a "predatory" woman who ensures that a man is inebriated and pursues him until he loses the ability to consent or control his actions (Anderson, 1998; White & Kowalski, 1994). Men's reactions to these instances clearly differed from other female-initiated coercive situations, with anger and resentment being viewed as appropriate responses (Randle & Graham, 2011; Turchik & Edwards, 2012).

Although most participants agreed that men should seek help if they experienced any form of female-initiated coercion, their will-

ingness to report incidences would be mitigated by fears of negative reactions (e.g., disbelief, blame, or homophobic innuendos; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994). This has contributed to a widely held belief among researchers and support services (e.g., police, medical services) that male victimization is not a serious problem. Men's fears are even more salient in situations in which substances or weapons were not used because this suggests the woman was able to control him psychologically (Larimer et al., 1999; Randle & Graham, 2011). This contributes to our understanding of why traditional masculinity scripts act as barriers to help-seeking. Men—particularly those with high masculinity conformity beliefs—are unlikely to report personal victimization, obtain medical treatment, and seek therapy or psychological support (Levant et al., 2003; Randle & Graham, 2011). This is problematic as the continued concealment of victimization perpetuates the culture of silence, prevents men from getting help, and minimizes the true scope of the problem.

Hispanic Culture Messages About Appropriate Heteronormative Masculinity

This study's results challenge the notion that machismo is a salient framework for Hispanic male's negotiation of sexuality-related issues. In fact, our participants acknowledged unique messages about sexuality in the Hispanic community only after being prompted. Most noted that age, education, and degree of acculturation influenced their acceptance of machismo beliefs. Further, as asserted in recent research, these men noted that most Westernized hypermasculinity frameworks were indistinguishable from those associated with machismo (see Glass & Owen, 2010; Sobralske, 2006a, 2006b). This result may be explained by studies finding that whereas some Hispanic men adhere strongly to machismo values, those more assimilated may abandon these for more egalitarian gender roles (Abreu et al., 2000; Torres et al., 2002). Highly educated men and women, for example, are more likely to perceive that decisions about sex as egalitarian (Torres et al., 2002). This has consequences, however, as women's initiation of and engagement in coercive sexual contact has increased in cultures that are less accepting of traditional gender roles (Anderson, 1998; Cross & Campbell, 2011; DeSouza & Hutz, 1996).

This opens the door for research on how sexual scripts are rearticulated across and within cultures, rather than considering ethnic populations as homogenous in their gender and intimate relationship beliefs. Further, there is clearly a need to implement research approaches that avoid normalizing Hispanic males' sexual values through a singular machismo lens. By conceptualizing Hispanic masculinity ideology within a broader framework that includes both negative (traditional machismo) and positive (caballerismo) components of masculinity (Levant et al., 2003; Liang et al., 2011), future research can better identify for the diverse factors influencing Hispanic college students' intimate relationship experiences.

Strengths and Limitations

Although this study provides foundational information about an understudied topic and population, there are limitations that must be addressed. First, the nature of qualitative research does not allow for standardized comparisons, accounting for variance, or

data collection from a large sample. As such, these findings cannot be generalized to wider populations as they are reflective of a specific group of Hispanic college men's beliefs about female-initiated coercion. Although research suggests interviewers and interviewees differing identities can enhance the interview process and increase openness (Few et al., 2003), participant and interviewer gender differences could have influenced men's willingness to fully share their sexual health beliefs and increase the likelihood they gave socially desirable responses (Larimer et al., 1999; Waldner-Haugrud & Magruder, 1995). In fact, the noted conversational pauses, laughter, and occasions of bragging may be reflective of their attempts to conform to masculinity expectations in the presence of female interviewers.

There is also a need for examination of within-group differences and experiences with sexual coercion. For example, the males this study reported lower levels of sexual coercion than has been found in previous research (e.g., 20% to 40%). It is plausible that these findings would differ if the sample were larger or more diverse (e.g., Afro-Hispanics, sexual minority men). Further, these men attended a HSI in an urban center where more than 60% of the population self-identifies as Hispanic. As such, the findings may not be applicable to those living outside the college context or region where these interviews took place. Future research must be attuned to these diverse identifications among Hispanic male populations.

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, this study provides new insights regarding Hispanic college males' experiences with and perceptions of female-initiated sexual coercion. There was clear support for the notion that masculinity scripts influenced their attitudes toward female-initiated coercion, although these men did not see these as unique to their culture via machismo beliefs. These findings enhance our knowledge about an understudied population, which constitutes one of the largest groups of ethnic minority men on campuses across the United States (Fry, 2011). This contributes to our ability to effectively critique and dismantle traditional beliefs that Hispanic males uniformly negotiate and accept machismo frameworks. Further, it identifies barriers that these men face if they desire or choose to seek support services. This information opens the door for the development of appropriate and effective sexual health empowerment programs seeking to meet the needs of both male and female Hispanic college students.

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