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個人主義 / 集體主義與第三人效果 研究成果報告(精簡版)

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個人主義 / 集體主義與第三人效果

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摘要

本研究計畫旨在探討個人主義 / 集體主義 (individualism/collectivism) 與網路色情的第三人效果關係，主要目的有下列兩點：1.在台灣、香港、大陸三地進行比較研究，探討個人主義 / 集體主義與第三人效果認知 (third-person perception) 的關係；2.在台灣、香港、大陸三地探討個人主義 / 集體主義對第三人效果與「支持限制媒介內容」(support for restriction of media content) 間關係的影響。

本研究採用問卷調查法，抽樣方法採多階集群抽樣，分別在上海、香港、台北進行問卷調查，共訪問 3,588 位大學生。研究結果發現，三市大學生均認為網路色情對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大。此外，本研究發現個人主義/集體主義導向和第三人效果認知沒有顯著相關，但集體主義導向較高者，較傾向認為網路色情對自己及他人的負面影響較大。最後，本研究發現，個人主義導向和支持限制網路色情無顯著相關，但集體主義導向則和支持限制網路色情呈現顯著正相關。

關鍵字：個人主義、集體主義、第三人效果、網路色情、限制媒介

Individualism/Collectivism and Third-Person Effects

Abstract

This study explores the relationship between individualism/collectivism and third-person effects. Three parallel surveys of college students in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei show that the respondents perceive Internet pornography to have a greater negative influence on others than on themselves. Findings further show that collectivism is a significant predictor of perceived effect on self and others. More importantly, this study shows that collectivism is a significant predictor of support for restriction of Internet pornography. This study contributes to the third-person effect research by demonstrating that more collectivistic individuals, especially people with high vertical collectivism, are more likely to support restriction of Internet pornography.

Keywords: individualism, collectivism, third-person effect, Internet pornography, media restriction

個人主義 / 集體主義與第三人效果

壹、 研究動機與目的

本研究旨在探討個人主義 / 集體主義 (individualism/collectivism) 與網路色情的第三人效果關係，主要目的有下列兩點：1.在台灣、香港、大陸三地進行比較研究，探討個人主義 / 集體主義與網路色情第三人效果認知 (third-person perception) 的關係；2.在台灣、香港、大陸三地探討個人主義 / 集體主義對「支持限制網路色情」(support for restriction of internet pornography) 的影響。

過去探討個人主義與集體主義的相關研究，很少探討這兩個概念與媒介效果間的關係，本研究認為個人主義與集體主義會影響第三人效果認知。由於個人主義強調個人認同與個人權利，並認為個人是獨立於他人與團體的獨立個體 (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Triandis, 1995)，個人主義導向較高者，較可能具有較高的樂觀偏差與自我膨脹傾向 (Heine & Lehman, 1995; Lee & Tamborini, 2005)，因此會傾向認為網路色情對自己的影響較小，對別人的影響較大 (第三人效果認知較大)。相對而言，集體主義則強調團體認同與團體權利，並認為個人和他人及團體具有相互依賴的關係 (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Triandis, 1995)，集體主義導向較高者，樂觀偏差與自我膨脹傾向較低 (Heine & Lehman, 1995; Lee & Tamborini, 2005)，因此會認為網路色情對自己與他人的影響差距較小 (第三人效果認知較小)。

由於過去探討個人主義 / 集體主義的研究，大多在西方與東方國家進行比較研究，探討個人主義 / 集體主義對民眾認知、態度與行為的影響，很少研究嘗試探討同一文化體系，個人主義 / 集體主義對民眾認知、態度與行為的影響 (葉蓉慧、陳凌，2004)。由於個人主義與集體主義彼此並不互斥，可能共存於同一文化體系中 (Kim et al., 1994)，因此本研究的主要目的之一，即在血緣文化相同的台灣、香港、大陸進行比較研究，探討個人主義 / 集體主義對三地民眾第三人效果認知的影響。本研究除了探討個人主義 / 集體主義對網路色情第三人效果認知的影響外，也希望了解在台灣、香港、大陸三個華人地區，個人主義 / 集體主義對網路色情第三人效果認知的影響是否有所不同。

此外，本研究也認為個人主義 / 集體主義可以預測支持限制媒介內容。由於個人主義導向較高者較重視個人權利，而集體主義導向較高者較重視團體權利，因此個人主義導向較高者比較可能把收視網路色情視為個人權利，而比較不會支持限制網路色情；而集體主義導向較高者，比較重視團體規範，比較關切網路色情對大眾影響，因此比較支持限制網路色情。

本研究除了用個人主義 / 集體主義來探討網路色情第三人效果與支持限制網路色情的關係外，也嘗試了解，在台灣、香港、大陸，個人主義 / 集體主義對網路色情第三人效果與支持限制網路色情間的影響是否有所不同。由於過去相關研究，很少探討個人主義 / 集體主義與媒介效果間的關係 (Lee & Tamborini, 2005)，更沒有任何研究曾探討在相同文化的不同地區，個人主義 / 集體主義與第三人效果認知間的關係，本研究除了在研究設計上具有原創性外，研究結果將有助於擴展個人主義 / 集體主義與第三人效果研究的適用範圍，並將有助於釐清第三人效果與支持限制媒介內容的關係，對第三人效果研究在理論與應用上均會有實質的貢獻。

貳、相關文獻

一. 第三人效果

第三人效果假設是近年來傳播學者重視的研究題材，這個假設指出，大多數人會認為媒介訊息對自己的影響較小，對別人的影響較大。第三人效果包括三個主要的概念：「第一人效果」(first-person effect)、「第三人效果」(third-person effect) 及「第三人效果認知」(third-person perception)。「第一人效果」指人們認為傳播媒介對於自己的影響，又稱「媒介對自己影響的認知」(perceived effect on self)，「第三人效果」指人們認為傳播媒介對於他人的影響，又稱「媒介對別人影響的認知」(perceived effect on others)，「第三人效果認知」則是第三人效果與第一人效果的認知差距。「第三人效果認知」的成因是因為大多數人會傾向認為自己比較不容易受到媒介訊息的影響，而認為他人比較容易受到媒介訊息的影響，因此呈現出第三人效果大於第一人效果的認知差距現象 (Davison, 1983 ; Gunther & Storey, 2003; Perloff, 1993, 1999; 胡幼偉,1998) 。

近年來，國內外有關第三人效果的研究數量急速成長，依據 Perloff(1993)的分析，在 1983 至 1992 年發表的 14 篇有關第三人效果的研究，有 13 篇支持第三人效果假設。最近的相關研究更顯示，如果媒介訊息是負面的或不需要的，受訪者更會認為該訊息對別人的影響較大，對自己的影響較小(Hoffner et al., 1999; Henriksen & Flora, 1999; Paul, Salwen & Dupagne, 2000; Perloff 1999; Rojas, Shah, & Faber, 1996; Salwen & Dupagne, 1999;Shah, Faber, & Youn, 1999)。例如，Gunther(1995)的研究發現，大多數美國成年人認為色情媒介對別人的負面影響較大，對自己的負面影響較小。Rojas 等人(1996)也發現，受訪的美國大學生認為色情媒介和電視暴力內容對別人的影響較大，對自己的影響較小。即使是在澳洲、亞洲、歐洲及台灣進行的研究，也發現受訪者會認為媒介的負面內容對別人的影響，大於對自己的影響(Duck & Mullin,1995 ; Gunther & Ang,1996 ; Lo & Wei, 2002; Wei, Lo, & Lu, 2007; 羅文輝, 2000)。因此，本研究的第一個假設如下：

H1：受訪者會認為網路色情內容對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大。

二. 個人主義/集體主義與第三人效果

在跨文化研究領域，個人主義/集體主義是學者們最常探討的概念之一（Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994）。個人主義是一種文化中的價值傾向，這種價值傾向強調個人認同的重要性超越團體認同，個人權利的重要性也超過團體權利；集體主義也是一種文化價值傾向，集體主義強調「我們」“We” 認同的重要性超過「我」“T” 認同，也認為團體權利比個人權利更重要（Lee & Tamborini, 2005; Ting-Toomey, 1999）。

Triandis (1995) 認為個人主義是一種由鬆散連結的個人所組成的社會類型，這些個人視他們自己獨立於集體，個人偏好、需求與權利是他們的主要驅力，他們認為個人目標重於團體目標，強調應以理性分析和他人結交的優點與缺點。集體主義則是一種由緊密結合的個人組成的社會類型，這些個人把自己看成一個或多個集體（家庭、同事、族群、國家）的一部分，集體規範與責任是他們的重要驅力，他們把集體目標置於個人目標之上，強調和集體成員的連結。

個人主義強調個人自由與個人的重要性，Hofstede(1980)把個人主義視為一種心理特性，因此把個人主義界定為「情感上獨立於團體、組織或其他集體 (collectivities) 」 (p.221)。Waterman(1984)同意個人主義是一種心理特質，他指出個人主義具有下列幾種心理特質：

1. 個人認同之意識：了解自己是誰，自己的目標及價值。
2. 自我實現(self-realization)：努力實現「真正的自我」(true self)。
3. 內在自我控制：個人願意為個人生活快樂或悲傷負責。
4. 有節操的道德思想：具有普遍化的道德原則，而且行為亦遵循這些道德原則。

相對於個人主義，集體主義則主張個人利益應從屬於團體與社會利益。Hui 與 Triandis(1986)認為集體主義是一種和人際關切相關的感覺、情感、信念、意識型態與行動，具備下列七種特性：

1. 思考自己的決定或行動對他人的影響，
2. 分享物質資源，
3. 分享非物質資源(如時間與努力)，
4. 感受社會的影響，

5. 自我呈現與表面工作，
6. 分享成果，
7. 感受涉入他人生活。

在社會科學研究中，個人主義/集體主義常被學者採用來反映一種文化的價值與目標偏好(Schwartz,1990)。個人主義文化強調獨立、自主、自我決定，與獲得個人利益；集體主義文化則強調相互連結(interconnection)、順從團體規範、關係和諧，與保護內團體的利益(Cai, Wilson, & Drake,2000；Hofstede,1980；Hui& Triandis,1986；Schwartz,1990)。

大體而言，個人主義和集體主義有下列四點主要的差異（Triandis, 1995: 43-44）：

1. 自我的定義：個人主義強調獨立的自我（independent self），集體主義強調互賴的自我（interdependent self）。
2. 個人與集體目標：個人主義較重視個人目標，集體主義較重視團體目標。
3. 認知：個人主義以個人需求與權利引導社會行爲，集體主義以規範、義務、責任引導社會行爲。
4. 關係：個人主義強調用理性分析維持關係的優缺點，集體主義重視關係。

雖然個人主義文化與集體主義文化的價值與目標偏好有顯著的差異，但個人主義與集體主義並不互斥，而是可能共同存在於一文化體系中(Kim et al.,1994)。Triandis (1995)指出個人主義與集體主義傾向存在於每一個人及每一種文化中。在同一文化中，某些人個人主義導向較強，集體主義導向較弱；某些人則集體主義導向較強，個人主義導向較弱。同樣地，在某些文化中，個人主義導向(orientation)較強，集體主義導向較弱；某些文化中，則集體主義導向較強，個人主義導向較弱。過去的研究顯示，個人主義導向較高的主要是美國及英語系國家，集體主義導向較高的主要在部份歐洲與大部份亞洲、非洲、及拉丁美洲國家(Kim et al.,1994；Hofstede,1980,2001)。

個人主義與集體主義最大的差異在於個人如何界定自我(self)(Lee& Tamborini, 2005)。在個人主義文化中，人們認為自己獨立於他人與團體，每個人都是獨立的個體；相對地，在集體主義文化中，人們認為自己和他人、團體相互依存，個人是團體中的一個層面(aspect)(Guzley, Araki,& Chalmers,1998)。

Triandis (1995)認為自我可以分成下列四類：獨立或互賴自我，相同或不同（same or different）自我，依照這四種自我可以更進一步把個人主義 / 集體主義分爲：水平個人主義（horizontal individualism），包含獨立與相同自我；垂直

個人主義 (vertical individualism)，獨立與不同自我；水平集體主義 (horizontal collectivism)，互賴與相同自我；垂直集體主義 (vertical collectivism)，互賴與不同自我 (見圖一)。

水平個人主義的特色，是個人具有獨立自我構念，會自行其事，但視其他人的地位相對平等，不見得會拿自己和他人作比較，也不希望出類拔萃。垂直個人主義則認為自己具有獨立自我，但認為自己是不同於他人的個體，特別會和他人相比，希望自己最為出色，並在競爭中獲勝 (Triandis, 1995; Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998; Chen, 2007)。

在水平集體主義中，個人具有互賴自我，視自己為內團體的互賴成員，但並不認為自己隸屬於內團體，認為內團體中人與人之間大致平等；垂直集體主義也擁有互賴自我，但認為內團體中的成員並不相等，承認某些成員具有較高的地位，個人遵從內團體規範，願意為內團體犧牲奉獻。

Triandis (1995) 認為無論在個人主義或集體主義文化中，垂直面向都代表接受人與人之間並不平等，承認階級地位的存在，因此垂直反映的是不同自我。相對而言，水平面向強調人們在大多數特性上相似，人們的社會地位大致平等，因此水平反映的是相同自我。Triandis (1995) 認為水平個人主義和垂直集體主義是世界上最典型的類型，大多數個人主義文化屬於水平個人主義，而大多數集體主義文化是垂直集體主義。但他同時指出，這四種類型可能同時存在於每一種文化中，只是在各文化中，這四種類型所佔的比重不同。

	獨立自我	互賴自我
相同自我	水平個人主義	水平集體主義
不同自我	垂直個人主義	垂直集體主義

圖一：四種自我組成之四種個人主義 / 集體主義類型 (作者依據 Triandis, 1995 的類別自行建構)

個人如何界定自我可能影響人們如何評估自己及他人。當人們認為自己獨立於他人與團體，個人是特殊、獨特的個體時，就比較可能產生樂觀偏差 (optimistic bias) 或是自我膨脹 (self-enhancement)，認為自己比其他人聰明，也比其他人優秀，進而認為媒介內容對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大。過去的第三人效

果相關研究顯示，樂觀偏差與自我膨脹是造成第三人效果的重要原因(Chapin,2000；Henriksen & Flora,1999；Gunther & Mundy,1993)。

反之，當人們認為自己和他人具有相互依存的關係，就比較可能認為自己和他人相似，因而較不會發生樂觀偏差或自我膨脹，也比較不會認為媒介對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大。

過去在樂觀偏差與自我膨脹方面的研究顯示，在不同文化中，人們的樂觀偏差程度與自我膨脹傾向顯著不同(Kashima & Triandis, 1986; Takata,1992)。例如，Markus 與 Kitayama(1991)就發現日本人並不認為自己具備獨特的才能，也不認為自己比其他人優秀。Heine 與 Lehman(1995)在一項比較加拿大人和日本人的跨文化研究中，則發現個人主義／集體主義和樂觀偏差與自我膨脹有顯著的相關；個人主義導向較多的加拿大人所展現的樂觀偏差與自我膨脹偏差，遠高於集體主義導向較高的日本人。Heine 與 Lehman 認為，相較於個人主義文化，集體主義文化中的人，其自我膨脹偏差相對較低。

上述這些研究發現顯示，個人主義與集體主義導向可能影響樂觀偏差與自我膨脹，個人主義導向較高者，較可能具有較高的樂觀偏差與自我膨脹傾向，也較可能認為媒介負面內容對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大；集體主義導向較高者，樂觀偏差與自我膨脹傾向較低，也因而比較不會產生較大的第三人效果認知。此外，就 Triandis (1995) 指出的四種個人主義 / 集體主義類型而言，垂直個人主義除了具有獨立自我外，也會認為自己不同於他人，特別可能把自己和他人作一比較，並希望自己最為出色，在競爭中脫穎而出，因此最可能具有較高的樂觀偏差與自我膨脹傾向，也最可能認為媒介對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大。相對而言，水平集體主義除了具有互賴自我外，也最可能認為人們大致平等，最不會拿自己和他人相比，因此樂觀偏差與自我膨脹傾向較低，也最可能認為媒介對自己和他人的影響差距不大。基於上述分析，本研究提出下列假設：

H2：受訪者的垂直個人主義導向越高，第三人效果認知（第一人效果和第三人效果差距）越大。

H3：受訪者的水平集體主義導向越高，第三人效果認知越小。

臺灣、香港和大陸三地民眾同文同種，源自相同的文化，但政治、社會與媒介制度均有很大的差異。臺灣在解除戒嚴前屬於威權體制，但在解除戒嚴後，已逐漸朝民主政治發展，媒介制度開放而多元，享有相當高程度的新聞自由。香港是西化程度較高的華人社會，儘管歷經英國殖民統治及回歸中國的轉型變遷，香港一直是自由開放的經濟體系，媒介體制開放而多元，市場是重要調節機制。大陸則奉行社會主義，雖然近三十多年的開放改革政策，無論社會文化或經濟發展

都受到西方的影響，但嚴格的國家控制方興未艾，媒介兼具爭取市場利潤與扮演黨政喉舌的角色。

由於過去的研究顯示，香港民眾的個人主義導向比台灣與大陸民眾高，台灣與大陸民眾的集體主義導向比香港民眾高(Hofstede,1980;2001;Smith,Peterson, & Schwartz,2002)；至於台灣與大陸民眾在個人主義與集體主義導向上的差距較不明確，唯一的相關研究顯示（葉蓉慧、陳凌，2004），台灣大專學生在代表個人主義導向的獨立自我構念(*independent self*)上與大陸大專學生並無顯著差異，但台灣大專學生在代表集體主義導向的互賴自我構念(*interdependent self*)上的平均數高於大陸大專學生。由於過去沒有任何研究比較台灣、香港與大陸民眾的第三人效果認知，更沒有任何研究比較三地民眾的個人主義／集體主義導向與第三人效果認知的關係，針對三地民眾的比較，本研究擬提出下列研究問題：

研究問題 1：上海、香港、台北受訪者的第三人效果認知是否有顯著的差異？

研究問題 2：在上海、香港、台北三地，受訪者的垂直個人主義與水平集體主義導向是否和第三人效果認知具有顯著的相關？

三、個人主義 / 集體主義、第三人效果與支持現制媒介內容

此外，此外，本研究也認為個人主義 / 集體主義可以用於探討第三人效果與支持限制媒介內容的關係。第三人效果廣受傳播學者重視，是因為第三人效果可能產生行為層面的影響力 (Davison, 1983; Gunther, 1991; 1995; Gunther & Storey, 2003)。Davison (1983) 認為第三人效果是造成某些行為的主要原因。他指出，當閱聽人聽到某種物質短缺的報導，便會擔心這項報導可能促使其他的人搶購該物資，因而造成閱聽人自己採取行動搶購該物資。此外，審查資訊的人 (censor) 查禁某些資訊的主要理由，是為了保護大眾不受這些不良資訊的影響。事實上，審查資訊的人本身並未受這些被查禁資訊的影響，他們的親友也未受影響。但審查資訊的人卻仍然認為這些被查禁的資訊，可能會對大眾的道德、信仰產生不良的影響。

在第三人效果對行為的影響方面，以 Gunther (1995) 的研究最具影響力，他的研究採隨機抽樣，並用電話訪問 648 位 18 歲以上的美國成年人，以探討第三人效果與支持限制色情媒介間的關係。結果發現，大多數受訪者認為色情媒介對別人的不良影響較大，對自己的不良影響較小。

為了分析第三人效果對行為的影響，Gunther 用「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」(第三人效果認知)，來預測人們對限制色情媒介的支持程度。Gunther

認為是「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」，導致某些態度和行為的反應。他認為，當人們覺得媒介內容對「自己的負面效果」和對「他人的負面效果」間的距離加大，便會認為媒介內容的負面社會效果擴大，因而覺得必須採取行動限制媒介內容。因此，他認為是「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」促使人們採取行動，來限制媒介內容。

爲了更進一步分析「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」對支持限制媒介的影響力，他選擇樣本中認為色情媒介對別人的影響比對自己的影響大的受訪者，進行迴歸分析，結果發現，在所有的預測變項中，「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」是預測支持限制色情媒介的最有力變項。在 Gunther 發表這篇論文後，後續研究幾乎全部用「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」來預測支持限制媒介的態度與行為 (Lo & Wei, 2002)。

但過去的相關研究，在探討第三人效果與支持限制媒介的關係時，研究發現有若干不一致之處。有些研究發現「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」是預測支持限制媒介的顯著變項 (Gunther, 1995; Gunther & Ang, 1996; McLeod et al., 1997; Rojas et al., 1996)，有些研究則發現「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」並非預測支持限制媒介的顯著變項 (Lo & Paddon, 2001; Salwen & Driscoll, 1997)。

Lo 與 Wei (2002) 則認為，「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」並非預測支持限制媒介的適當變項。因為「第一人效果和第三人效果的認知差距」無法有效區分下列兩類受訪者：第一類是認為媒介對自己及其他人都有很大負面影響的受訪者，另一類是認為媒介對自己及他人都沒有太大影響的受訪者。

因此，Lo 與 Wei (2002) 建議未來的研究應避免採用「第一人效果和第三人效果認知差距」，而應改用「對自己影響的認知」與「對別人影響的認知」做爲預測變項，以預測第三人效果所引發的態度或行為反應。過去大多數的研究顯示，「對自己影響的認知」與「對別人影響的認知」是預測支持限制媒介內容的顯著變項，主要爲保護自己及別人不受這些媒介內容的影響 (Lo & Wei, 2002, 2007; McLeod et al., 1997; Salwen, 1998)。本研究依循這樣的研究傳統，但更進一步認為個人主義 / 集體主義可以用於探討第三人效果和支持限制媒介內容的關係。

由於個人主義強調個人自由與個人的重要性，對個人權利的重視程度超過他人及團體利益，而個人主義導向較高者，比較會以自己爲焦點 (self-focused)，比較重視個人的需求、權利與能力 (Triandis, 1994, 1995)，也比較可能嘗試改變情境來適應自己 (Diaz-Guerrero, 1979)。換言之，個人主義傾向較高者比較

可能把收看媒介負面內容視為個人的權利，因而較不支持限制網路色情。此外，由於個人主義傾向較高者有較高的樂觀偏差，比較可能認為媒介對自己的影響較小。過去的研究顯示，對自己的影響認知是預測支持限制負面媒介內容的顯著變項，因此個人主義傾向較高者，也可能比較不會支持限制網路色情。尤其是垂直個人主義導向較高者，特別強調獨立自我，重視自我利益，也比較會突顯自己與他人的不同，因此垂直個人主義導向較高者，比較可能為個人權利與需求而較不支持限制網路色情。相對而言，集體主義導向較高者，較重視團體與社會利益，並認為一切言論與行動應以社會、團體利益為重、個人為輕。此外，集體主義導向較高者，比較會以他人為焦點(other-focused)，也比較重視團體的需求(Triandis, 1994, 1995)。集體主義導向較高者比較可能為團體利益與社會規範而支持限制媒介負面內容。由於集體主義導向較高者，樂觀偏差程度較低，比較可能認為網路色情對自己影響較大，因而比較可能支持限制網路色情。尤其是垂直集體主義導向較高者，除了具有互賴自我外，特別可能遵從內團體規範，並且願意為他人及團體犧牲奉獻，因此本研究認為垂直集體主義導向較高者，較可能為團體利益與社會規範支持限制網路色情。基於上述分析，本研究提出下列假設與研究問題：

H4：受訪者的個人主義導向越高，越不支持限制網路色情。

H5：受訪者的垂直個人主義導向越高，越不支持限制網路色情。

H6：受訪者的集體主義導向越高，越支持限制網路色情。

H7：受訪者的垂直集體主義導向越高，越支持限制網路色情。

研究問題 3：上海、香港、台北三地受訪者的個人主義 / 集體主義導向與支持限制網路色情的關係是否有所不同？

由於過去的研究從未用個人主義 / 集體主義來探討第三人效果與支持限制媒介內容的關係，本研究在這方面研究的設計不僅具有原創性，更可以擴展第三人效果研究的理論意涵，幫助了解第三人效果認知層面與行為層面的關連，對個人主義 / 集體主義及第三人效果的研究取向的擴展均會有相當的貢獻。

參、研究方法

一、問卷調查

本研究擬採問卷調查法，抽樣方法採多階集群抽樣，分別在上海、台北二市所有的大學中隨機各抽出五所大學，在香港則在所有的大學中，隨機抽選出六所大學，每所大學抽出三班學生進行訪問。共訪問 3,588 位大學生，其中上海有 867

位，佔 24.2%；香港有 1,573 位，佔 43.8%；台北有 1,148 位，佔 32%。

二、研究變項

本研究擬採用的研究變項包括人口變項、個人主義 / 集體主義、第三人效果變項及支持限制媒介內容等，茲分別說明如下：

1. 人口變項

本研究採用的人口變項包括：性別、年齡，這二個變項在迴歸分析中作為控制變項，因為過去的研究顯示它們會影響人們的媒介收視行為及支持限制媒介的態度（羅文輝，2000；Tiedge, Silverblatt, Havice, & Rosenfeld, 1991）。

2. 網路色情收視頻率

本研究測量受訪者網路色情收視頻率的方法，是詢問受訪者是否經常收看下列三類網路色情內容：①色情貼圖，②色情影片，③色情小說。回答方式由受訪者從①從不看，②很少看，③偶爾看，④有些常看，⑤經常看，五個答案中選擇一個答案。

主成份因素分析顯示，這三個題項清楚呈現一個因素（Eigenvalue=2.41），共可解釋 80.47%的變異量。因此，我們把這三個題項加起來除以 3 建構成「網路色情收視頻率」指標（平均數=1.75，標準差=.96，Cronbach's alpha=.92）。

3. 第三人效果變項

「對自己的負面影響」指受訪者認為收看網路色情對自己可能產生的負面影響，又稱「第一人效果」。本研究測量「對自己的負面影響」的方法，是詢問受訪者收看網路色情內容會不會對受訪者自己的下列事項產生不好的影響：①性知識，②性觀念，③性行為。

「對其他人的負面影響」指受訪者認為網路色情內容對其他人可能產生的負面影響。就大學生而言，本研究詢問受訪者收看上述三類網路色情內容會不會對其他一般人的下列事項產生不好的影響：①性知識，②性觀念，③性行為。

主成份因素分析經 Varimax 轉軸顯示，測量對自己及他人影響的六個題項呈現兩個因素，共可解釋 88.24%的變異量，其中「對他人負面影響」的三個題項落在第一因素上（Eigenvalue=2.67），可解釋 44.42%的變異量。「對自己負面影響」

的三個題項則落在第二因素上 (Eigenvalue=2.63)，可解釋 43.82% 的變異量。因此，我們把「對自己影響」的三個題項加起來除以 3 建構成「對自己的負面影響」的指標 (平均數=2.04，標準差=1.08，Cronbach's alpha=.93)，並把「對其他人影響」的三個題項也加起來除以 3，建構成網路色情「對其他人的負面影響」指標 (平均數=2.62，標準差=1.13，Cronbach's alpha=.94)。

5. 第三人效果認知

測量方法是把受訪者在上述三類網路色情內容「對其他人的負面影響」上的得分，減去受訪者在「對自己的負面影響」上的得分。相減後的分數愈高代表「第一人和第三人效果認知差距」愈大，或第三人效果認知強度愈高 (平均數=.58，標準差=.96)。

6. 支持限制網路色情

在本研究中，測量受訪者支持限制網路色情內容的方法，是分別詢問受訪者：「如果台灣各界正在討論網路色情內容對社會的影響，你會不會採取下列行動：①簽名支持要求不要開設色情網站的活動，②簽名支持禁止網路色情進入校園活動，③簽名支持立法禁止色情網站，④參加抗議色情網站的示威活動，⑤抵制不看色情網站的內容。受訪者回答的方式，是從①一定不會，②可能不會，③不確定，④可能會，⑤一定會，五個答案中選擇一個答案。

主成份因素分析顯示，這五個題項呈現一個因素，共可解釋 68.19% 的變異量 (Eigenvalue=3.41)。本研究建構「支持限制網路色情」指標的方法，是把這五個題項加起來除以 5 (平均數=2.72，標準差=1.03，Cronbach's alpha=.88)。

7. 個人主義 / 集體主義

本研究所採用測量個人主義與集體主義導向的量表，是由 Triandis 與 Gelfand (1998) 所發展的量表，這個量表共有 16 個題項 (見表一)，分別測量水平個人主義、垂直個人主義、水平集體主義與垂直集體主義，這 16 個題項的量表曾在美國、南韓、新加坡、香港、台灣等地使用 (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998; Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998; Chiou, 2001; Soh & Leong, 2002; Wang, Shi, & Huang, 2003) 具有相當高的信度與效度。受訪者回答的方式，是從①非常不同意，②有些不同意，③不確定，④有些同意，⑤非常同意，五個答案中選擇一個答案。

主成份因素分析的結果 (Varimax 轉軸) 顯示，這 16 個題項清楚呈現四個因素，共可解釋 59.51% 的變異量。從表一中可以看出，題項 2、1、3、4 集中在第

一因素 (Eigenvalue=3.98)，可解釋 24.85% 的變異量；題項 11、10、9、12 集中在第二因素 (Eigenvalue=2.92)，可解釋 18.26% 的變異量；題項 15、14、13、16 落在第三因素上 (Eigenvalue=1.40)，可解釋 8.78% 的變異量；題項 6、7、8、5 落在第四因素上 (Eigenvalue=1.22)，可解釋 7.63% 的變異量。基於因素分析的結果，我們把題項 1、2、3、4 加起來除以 4 組成「水平個人主義導向」指標 (平均數=3.60，標準差=.69，Cronbach's alpha=.71)。題項 5、6、7、8 也被加起來除以 4，建構成「垂直個人主義導向」指標 (平均數=3.37，標準差=.65，Cronbach's alpha=.72)。我們同時把題項 9、10、11、12 加起來除以 4，建構成「水平集體主義導向」指標 (平均數=3.72，標準差=.58，Cronbach's alpha=.77)。最後我們把題項 13、14、15、16 加起來除以 4，組成「垂直集體主義導向」指標 (平均數=3.86，標準差=.64，Cronbach's alpha=.76)。

表一：個人主義/集體主義測量題項的主成份因素分析（Varimax 轉軸）

題項	因素負荷量			
	因素 1	因素 2	因素 3	因素 4
水平個人主義				
2. 我大多數時候依靠自己，很少依靠別人。	.81	-.02	.05	.07
1. 我寧可依靠自己也不依靠他人。	.80	.01	.02	.09
3. 我常常做自己的事情。	.77	.04	.05	.17
4. 做一個獨特的個體對我很重要。	.68	.10	-.02	.27
水平集體主義				
11. 花時間和他人在一起對我來說是一種快樂。	-.03	.75	.23	.09
10. 同事的健康與幸福對我來講很重要。	.08	.75	.18	.00
9. 如果一位同事得到獎勵，我會感到自豪。	.07	.74	.09	.01
12. 和他人合作時，我感到愉快。	-.01	.71	.30	.03
垂直集體主義				
15. 不管需要作出何種犧牲，家庭成員都應團結一氣。	.06	.13	.83	.06
14. 儘管有時我不得不放棄自己的追求，但照顧好家庭是我的職責。	.05	.11	.81	.04
13. 父母和孩子必須盡可能多在一起相處。	.04	.28	.68	.03
16. 尊重集體作出的決定對我很重要。	.04	.30	.58	.08
垂直個人主義				
6. 勝利重於一切。	-.04	-.17	.01	.75
7. 競爭是一種自然法則。	.08	.05	.09	.74
8. 當別人做得比我好時，我會有緊迫感並受到鞭策。	.12	.21	.08	.69
5. 把工作做得比別人好對我很重要。	.40	.06	.04	.64
Eigenvalue	3.98	2.92	1.40	1.22
可解釋變異量	24.85%	18.26%	8.78%	7.63%
Cronbach's alpha	.71	.72	.77	.76

肆、資料分析

一、假設驗證

本研究第一個假設預測受訪者會認為網路色情內容對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大。爲了驗證這個假設，本研究進行了系列成對 t 檢定 (paired t-tests)，表 2 呈現成對 t 檢定的結果。可以看出，無論是上海受訪者 ($t=12.01, p<.001$)、香港受訪者 ($t=23.94, p<.001$)、台北受訪者 ($t=24.42$) 或全部受訪者 ($t=35.53, p<.001$)，「對自己的影響」均小於對「他人的影響」。換言之，三地受訪者均認為收看網路色情內容對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大，本研究的第一個假設獲得有力的支持。

本研究的第二個假設預測受訪者的垂直個人主義導向越高，第三人效果認知越大；第三個假設預測受訪者的水平集體主義導向越高，第三人效果認知越小。爲了驗證這兩個假設，本研究進行系列淨相關分析 (partial correlations)。表三顯示，在控制性別、年齡及網路色情收視頻率等變項後，垂直個人主義導向和第三人效果認知沒有顯著相關 ($pr=-.02, p>.05$)，水平集體主義導向和第三人效果認知也沒有顯著相關 ($pr=.01, p>.05$)。假設 2 與假設 3 均未獲得支持。但表三顯示，水平集體主義導向較高者，較傾向認為網路色情對自己的影響較大 ($pr=.06, p<.05$)；垂直集體主義導向較高者，較傾向認為網路色情對自己 ($pr=.07, p<.05$) 與對他人 ($pr=.11, p<.001$) 的影響較大。

本研究的假設 4 至假設 7 主要檢視個人主義/集體主義與支持限制網路色情的關係，爲了驗證這四個假設，本研究進行了系列淨相關分析，表三呈現淨相關分析的結果，以下依據淨相關分析的結果進行假設驗證。

本研究第四個假設預測受訪者的個人主義導向越高，越不支持限制網路色情；第五個假設預測垂直個人主義導向越高，越不支持限制網路色情。表三顯示，在控制性別、年齡及網路色情的收視頻率後，無論是全部受訪者，或大陸、香港、臺灣受訪者，水平個人主義導向和支持限制網路色情沒有顯著相關；垂直個人主義導向也和支持限制網路色情沒有顯著相關，因此本研究的第四個及第五個假設也未獲支持。

本研究第六個假設預測受訪者的集體主義導向越高，越支持限制網路色情；第七個假設預測垂直集體主義導向越高，越支持限制網路色情。表三顯示，在控制性別、年齡及網路色情收視頻率後，無論就全體受訪者、香港受訪者及台北受訪者而言，水平集體主義和支持限制網路色情呈現顯著正相關 (淨相關係數介於.11 至.15 之間, $p<.001$)；垂直集體主義也和支持限制網

路色情是顯著正相關（淨相關係數介於.12 至.19 之間， $p<.001$ ）。只有上海受訪者，無論水平集體主義（ $pr=.02, p>.05$ ）與垂直集體主義（ $pr=-.02, p>.05$ ）均和支持限制網路色情沒有顯著關係。因此，本研究的第六個及第七個假設大致獲得支持。

二、研究問題探析

本研究第一個研究問題探討上海、香港、台北三地受訪者的第三人效果認知的差異。表四顯示三地受訪者的第三人效果認知有明顯差距。其中以台北受訪者的第三人效果認知差異最大（平均數=.72），其次為香港受訪者（平均數=.59），第三人效果認知差異最小的是上海受訪者（平均數=.35）。變異數分析顯示（見表五），三地受訪者的第三人效果認知差距達顯著水準（ $F=37.13, p<.001$ ）。Scheffe 檢定顯示，無論是上海受訪者和香港以及臺灣受訪者的第三人效果認知差距，或香港和臺灣受訪者的第三人效果認知差距都達顯著水準。

本研究第二個研究問題探討三地受訪者的垂直個人主義與水平集體主義導向是否和第三人效果認知具有顯著的相關。表三顯示，無論是上海、香港或台北受訪者，垂直個人主義與水平集體主義導向均和第三人效果認知沒有顯著相關。

本研究第三個研究問題探討三地受訪者個人主義/集體主義導向與支持限制網路色情的關係是否有所不同？表三顯示，無論是水平個人主義（ $pr=-.02, p>.05$ ）或垂直個人主義（ $pr=.00, p>.05$ ）均與支持限制網路色情沒有顯著相關；但水平集體主義（ $pr=.11, p<.001$ ）和垂直集體主義（ $pr=.12, p<.001$ ）均和支持限制網路色情呈現顯著正相關。但上海受訪者的水平個人主義（ $pr=-.01, p>.05$ ）、垂直個人主義（ $pr=.03, p>.05$ ）、水平集體主義（ $pr=.02, p>.05$ ）、及垂直集體主義（ $pr=-.02, p>.05$ ）均和支持限制網路色情沒有顯著關係。香港與台北受訪者的情形則非常相似，兩地受訪者的水平個人主義與垂直個人主義傾向和支持限制網路色情沒有關係；但兩地受訪者的水平與垂直集體主義傾向均和支持限制網路色情呈現顯著正相關。

表二：收看網路色情對自己與對他人影響認知的成對 t 檢定

題項	N=	對自己影響	對他人影響	差距	t 值
性知識	3556	1.93 (1.08)	2.49 (1.17)	.56	33.19***
性觀念	3557	2.14 (1.20)	2.70 (1.21)	.56	30.84***
性行爲	3556	2.05 (1.19)	2.66 (1.20)	.60	32.18***
合併指標	3552	2.04 (1.08)	2.62 (1.13)	.57	35.53***

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

表三：個人主義/集體主義、第三人效果變項與支持限制網路色情的淨相關矩陣

一、全部受訪者

變項	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 水平個人主義							
2 垂直個人主義	.42***						
3 水平集體主義	.09***	.12***					
4 垂直集體主義	.08***	.15***	.50***				
5 對自己影響	.00	.02	.05**	.04*			
6 對他人影響	.00	.01	.05**	.07***	.62***		
7 第三人效果認知	.00	-.02	.01	.04*	-.41***	.47***	
8 支持限制網路色情	-.02	.00	.11***	.12***	.37***	.39***	.04*

註：表中數字為控制性別、年齡、網路色情收視頻率等變項後的淨相關。N=3,448

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

二、上海受訪者

變項	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 水平個人主義							
2 垂直個人主義	.47***						
3 水平集體主義	.30***	.39***					
4 垂直集體主義	.18***	.35***	.48***				
5 對自己影響	-.01	.08*	.04	-.05			
6 對他人影響	.04	.06	.05	-.02	.66***		
7 第三人效果認知	.06	-.02	.01	.04	-.37***	.45***	
8 支持限制網路色情	-.01	.03	.02	-.02	.39***	.39***	.01

N=824

三、香港受訪者

變項	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 水平個人主義							
2 垂直個人主義	.33***						
3 水平集體主義	.07**	.08**					
4 垂直集體主義	.11***	.17***	.49***				
5 對自己影響	-.00	.02	.03	.07**			
6 對他人影響	-.01	.05	.06*	.11***	.63***		
7 第三人效果認知	-.00	.03	.03	.04	-.47***	.40***	
8 支持限制網路色情	-.00	.02	.14***	.16***	.36***	.38***	.01

N=1,491

四、台北受訪者

變項	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 水平個人主義							
2 垂直個人主義	.46***						
3 水平集體主義	-.07	-.04					
4 垂直集體主義	-.03	-.00	.53***				
5 對自己影響	.03	-.02	.05	.05			
6 對他人影響	.02	-.05	.02	.08*	.56***		
7 第三人效果認知	-.01	-.04	-.02	.03	-.42***	.52***	
8 支持限制網路色情	.01	-.01	.15***	.19***	.34***	.32***	.00

N=1,123

表四：上海、香港、台北受訪者認為收看網路色情對自己及他人影響的成對 t 檢定

地區	N	對自己影響	對他人影響	差距	t 值
上海	861	1.84 (1.03)	2.19 (1.08)	.35	12.01***
香港	1552	2.16 (1.15)	2.75 (1.11)	.59	23.94***
台北	1139	2.04 (1.01)	2.76 (1.09)	.72	24.42***
全體	3552	2.04 (1.08)	2.62 (1.13)	.58	35.53***

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

表五：上海、香港、台北受訪者的個人主義/集體主義導向，及受訪者認為收看網路色情對自己、他人影響及第三人效果認知的變異數分析

地區	全體	上海	香港	台北	F 值
變項	平均數 樣本數	平均數 樣本數	平均數 樣本數	平均數 樣本數	
1 水平個人主義	3.60	3.64	3.64	3.51	14.21***
	N=3570	N=863	N=1560	N=1147	
2 垂直個人主義	3.38	3.41	3.38	3.35	2.37
	N=3558	N=859	N=1555	N=1144	
3 水平集體主義	3.72	3.66	3.76	3.72	7.49***
	N=3570	N=861	N=1563	N=1146	
4 垂直集體主義	3.86	3.85	3.87	3.86	.35
	N=3564	N=857	N=1561	N=1146	
5 對自己影響	2.04	1.84	2.16	2.04	24.86***
	N=3557	N=863	N=1554	N=1145	
6 對他人影響	2.62	2.47	2.75	2.76	86.54***
	N=3571	N=864	N=1562	N=1145	
7 第三人效果認知	.58	.35	.59	.72	37.13***
	N=3552	N=861	N=1552	N=1139	
8 支持限制網路色情	2.72	2.47	2.76	2.85	37.06***
	N=3562	N=857	N=1561	N=1144	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

伍、結論與建議

本研究的主要目的之一在探討對個人主義/集體主義與第三人效果的關係。資料分析的結果顯示，無論個人主義導向或集體主義導向均和第三人效果認知無顯著的相關，但集體主義導向較高者，較傾向認為網路色情對自己及他人的負面影響較大。這樣的研究發現顯示，集體主義導向較高者，可能由於自我膨脹傾向較低，比較不會認為自己比其他人優秀，也比較不認為自己比他人更能拒抗網路色情的負面影響，因此較傾向認為網路色情對自己及他人的影響較大。

在第三人效果方面，本研究發現無論是上海、香港或台北的受訪者，均認為網路色情對自己的影響較小，對他人的影響較大。這樣的研究發現證實，網路色情的第三人效果同時存在於兩岸三市的大學生中。

本研究比較有趣的研究發現是，台北受訪者的第三人效果認知差距最大，其次是香港受訪者，上海受訪者的第三人效果認知差距最小。造成三市受訪者第三人效果認知差距的原因之一，可能由於三地大學生的自我膨脹傾向或樂觀偏差不同，台北大學生的自我膨脹或樂觀偏差傾向可能最大，上海大學生的自我膨脹或樂觀偏差傾向可能最小。另一種可能的原因，是上海大學生的性態度與性行為較為開放，相對而言，香港與台北大學生的性態度與性行為較為保守，因此上海大學生的第三人效果認知差距較小。當然，上述論點只是作者的推論，實際情形為何，尚待未來的研究驗證。

本研究最有趣的研究發現，是個人主義導向和支持限制網路色情無顯著相關，但集體主義導向卻和支持限制網路色情呈現顯著相關。集體主義導向較高者，較重視團體利益，比較可能思考自己的決定或行動對團體的影響，也比較可能保護團體利益，並較重視團體規範、義務與責任，因此集體主義導向較高者，比較可能為團體利益與保護他人不受網路色情的負面影響，而支持限制網路色情。

此外，本研究也發現兩岸三市大學生對網路色情的態度存有若干差異，其中較難解釋的研究發現，是在香港與台北受訪者中，集體主義導向與支持限制網路色情呈現顯著正相關；但在上海的受訪者中，集體主義導向卻和支持限制網路色情無顯著相關。造成這種現象的可能原因之一，是大陸對媒介內容的管制較嚴，大學生可能較不支持政府限制媒介內容。此外，過去研究顯示，性態度與性行為可能影響支持限制網路色情的態度。而上海大學生的性態度與性行為較為開放，因此無論集體主義傾向高或低的上海受訪者均較不支持限制網路色情（見表五）。當然，這些解釋也是作者的推測，未來的研究值得繼續探討個人主義/集體主義與支持限制媒介內容的關係。

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**The influence of individualism and collectivism
on Internet pornography exposure, sexual attitudes and
sexual behavior among college students**

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Abstract

This study examined associations between individualism/collectivism and exposure to Internet pornography, sexual attitudes and behaviors. Three parallel surveys of college students in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei show that collectivism correlated more strongly and negatively than individualism with exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex, and sexual permissive behavior. More importantly, our study found that more collectivistic individuals, especially people with high vertical collectivism, were less likely to accept premarital and extramarital sex and engage in sexually permissive behavior.

Keywords: individualism, collectivism, Internet pornography, premarital sex, extramarital sex, sexual attitudes

The influence of individualism and collectivism on Internet pornography exposure, sexual attitudes and sexual behavior

This study examined associations between individualism/collectivism and exposure to Internet, sexual attitudes and behaviors. Previous cross-cultural research has examined the effects of individualism and collectivism on individuals (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Triandis, 1995; Zucker & Weiner, 1993; Yamaguchi, 1994), interpersonal relations (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990), intergroup relations (Lalonde & Cameron, 1993), and social institutions (Erez & Early, 1993). However, no systematic study has attempted to assess the effects of individualism and collectivism on Internet pornography exposure, sexual attitudes and behavior. This study was designed to fill the gap in the individualism and collectivism literature and help show that individualism and collectivism are important factors influencing online pornography use, premarital and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior.

Individualism stresses individual identity, individual rights and individual needs (Triandis, 1995; Ting-Toomey, 1999). Individualists are especially concerned with pleasure and personal goals (Triandis, 1995). On the contrary, collectivism emphasizes group identity, group rights, and in-group-oriented needs (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Collectivists have an interdependent self and emphasize the interdependence between individuals and groups (Triandis, 1995). In individualistic cultures, people tend to make choices on a purposive, utilitarian basis according to personal preferences. In collectivist cultures, people tend to emphasize the views, needs, and goals of the in-group (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1994). In individualistic cultures, deviation from norms and

group goals is tolerated much more than in collectivist cultures. In collectivist cultures, however, people are expected to behave according to norms, as little deviation from normative behavior is tolerated (Triandis, 1994). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that individuals with a high level of collectivism are less likely than individuals with a high level of individualism to violate group norms and to engage in socially disapproved behaviors such as exposure to Internet pornography, premarital and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior.

Most past research examining the influences of individualism and collectivism focused on comparisons between western and eastern countries; very little research has been done to look at the influences within one cultural system (Yeh & Chen, 2003). According to Triandis (1995), most cultures include a mixture of individualistic and collectivistic elements. In the same culture, most people have both individualistic and collectivistic tendencies (Triandis, 1994). That is, individualism and collectivism coexist in the same cultural system (Kim et al., 1994). Within any culture there are people who are more individualistic and others who are more collectivistic (Triandis, 1995). In the present study, we examined the influences of individualism and collectivism on young adult's exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex and sexually permissive behavior in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. The three Chinese societies share the same historical origin, language, and cultural resources. The present study represents a systematic attempt to empirically examine the influences of individualism and collectivism on individuals' Internet pornography exposure, sexual attitudes and behaviors in the three Chinese societies. Such a comparative study will not only expand the scope of literature on Internet pornography exposure, sexually attitudes

and behavior, but also contribute to the theorization of effects of individualism and collectivism in the era of Internet communication.

Literature Review and Hypotheses

Individualism and Collectivism

Individualism and collectivism are the most widely studied constructs in cross-cultural research (Lee & Tamborini, 2005; Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994). Hofstede (2001) describes individualism and collectivism as the relationship between the individual and the collectivity that prevails in a given society. Triandis (1995:2) defines individualism as “a social pattern that consists of loosely connected individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives; are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, and contracts they have established with others.” Individualism, as a broad tendency of a culture, emphasizes the importance of individual identity over group identity and gives priority to individual goals over group goals (Lee & Tamborini, 2005; Triandis, 1995).

Collectivism is defined as “a set of feelings, beliefs, behavioral intentions, and behaviors related to solidarity and concern for others” (Hui, 1988). Collectivists respect collective regulations and obligations and give priority to collective goals over individual goals (Lee & Tamborini, 2005; Ting-Toomey, 1999; Triandis, 1995).

Individualism values personal preferences and individual rights. Waterman (1984) viewed individualism as a person’s psychological characteristics that are comprised of the following qualities: (1) awareness of self identity, (2) self-realization, (3) internal self control, (4) principled moral reasoning.

On the contrary, the emphasis of collectivism is on collective and social benefits rather than the rights of individuals. According to Hui (1988: 19), collectivism embodies the following psychological characteristics: (1) consideration of implications of one's own decisions and/or actions for other people, (2) sharing material resources, (3) sharing non-material resources, (4) susceptibility to social influences, (5) engaging in self-presentation and face-work, (6) sharing outcomes, and (7) feelings of involvement in others' lives.

In the social sciences, individualism and collectivism are a cultural value orientation (Schwartz, 1990). Individualist cultures emphasize independence, freedom and self-determination, and puts individual interests over the others. Collective cultures emphasize interconnection, conformity to collective rules, harmonious relationship, and the protection of collective interests (Cai, Wilson, & Drake, 2000; Hofstede, 1980; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Schwartz, 1990).

In general, Triandis (1995: 43-44) proposed four major differences between individualism and collectivism:

1. Definition of the self: individualism emphasizes the independent self, while collectivism emphasizes the interdependent self.
2. Personal goals: for individualists, personal goals are put ahead of collective goals, but collectivists attach more importance to collective goals.
3. Cognition: for individualists, their social behaviors tend to be guided by personal needs and rights; for collectivists, the social behaviors tend to be guided by norms, obligations, duties and responsibilities.

4. Relationships: individualists prefer to rationally compute the costs and benefits of relationships, while collectivists give priority to relationship itself.

Despite the obvious differences in value orientations of individualism and collectivism, individualism and collectivism are still compatible within one cultural system (Kim et al., 1994). Triandis (1995) argued that individualism and collectivism coexisted within every individual and every culture. In the same culture, some people are more individualism-oriented, while some are more collectivism-oriented. In other words, individualism and collectivism coexist at the individual level, and levels of individualism and collectivism vary across persons. From this perspective, individualism and collectivism are two distinct constructs. It may be inappropriate to treat them as two opposite constructs on two ends of a continuum at the individual level (Alavi & McCormick, 2004; Triandis, 1995).

Effects of Individualism and Collectivism on Sexual Attitudes and Behavior

Although the individualism and collectivism constructs had been examined in many contexts, little was known about their effects on sexual attitudes and behavior. In the present study, we argue that individualism and collectivism will potentially influence a range of sex-related attitudes and behavior such as exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex and sexually permissive behavior. This expectation is based on the attributes of individualism and collectivism and previous studies on sexual attitudes and behavior.

Chinese cultural and family values have often viewed pornographic materials as taboo (Lo, Neilan, Sun, & Chiang, 1999). One of the main concerns about the effects of

pornography on individuals' sexually permissive attitudes and behavior is that they may undermine family-taught values against premarital and extramarital sex (Lo, Neilan, Sun, & Chiang, 1999). A number of studies have examined associations between exposure to Internet pornography and sexual attitudes and behavior (Barak & Fisher, 1997; Barak, Fisher, Belfry, & Lashambe; Lo & Wei, 2005). Most past research found that exposure to Internet pornography had a strong influence on young people's sexually permissive attitudes and behavior. For example, a large-scale survey of 2,001 Taiwan high school and middle school students found that exposure to pornographic media was a significant predictor of sexually permissive attitudes and behavior (Lo & Wei, 2005). In addition, their study found that Internet pornography exposure was a stronger correlate of sexually permissive attitudes and behavior than exposure to traditional forms of pornography. Moreover, experimental research also indicates that accidental exposure to Internet pornography resulted in more negative perceptions of the world and people (Kalyanaraman, Sundar, & Oliver, 2000). Concerns over the excessive growth of Internet pornography have led parents and society's leaders to condemn Internet pornography as causing greater social harm than traditional pornography.

Although young Chinese are more accepting of premarital sex and sex primarily for pleasure (Pan, 1995; Zhang, Li, Li, & Beck, 1999), in most of the Chinese societies, premarital sex and sexually permissive behavior are still a taboo, particularly for females. Extramarital sex is viewed as sinful, criminal, or immoral. Not surprisingly, most Chinese people disapproved of extramarital sex (Lo & Wei, 2005).

In individualistic cultures, people are more concerned with individual rights and individual needs (Triandis, 1995; Ting-Toomey, 1999). Individualists are

especially concerned with pleasure and personal goals and place individual goals above group goals (Triandis, 1995). On the contrary, in collectivistic cultures, people are more concerned with group rights and in-group-oriented needs (Ting-Toomey, 1999).

Collectivists emphasize the views, needs, and goals of the in-group and tend to weigh group goals more heavily than individual goals (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1994). In individualistic cultures, people value pleasure, freedom and autonomy and tend to focus on their own needs, rights and capacity (Triandis, 1995). In collectivist cultures, people value security, obedience, duty and in-group harmony and are concerned about group norms and virtuous action (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1994). In individualistic cultures, people are less willing to self-sacrifice for group interests. Deviation from norms and group goals is tolerated much more than in collectivist cultures. In collectivist cultures, people are more willing to self-sacrifice for group interests and are expected to behave according to norms. Little deviation from normative behavior is tolerated (Triandis, 1994). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that more collectivistic individuals would be less likely than more individualistic individuals to accept socially disapproved behaviors such as exposure to Internet pornography, premarital and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior. Based on the above discussion, we predict the following:

H1: Collectivism will be correlated more strongly and negatively with exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness, attitudes toward extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior than will individualism.

Types of Individualism and Collectivism

The major difference between individualism and collectivism lies in the definition of self (Triandis, 1995). For individualists, the self is independent from the others and groups, but collectivists take the self as interdependent with the others and individuals are only one aspect of collectivities (Guzley, Araki, & Chalmers, 1998). Triandis (1995) identified four types of self based on two dimensions: 1) independent or interdependent self, and 2) the same or a different self. Figure 1 depicts a combinations of these four types that are categorized by Triandis (1995) as horizontal individualism (independent and same self), vertical individualism (independent and different self), horizontal collectivism (interdependent and same self), and vertical collectivism (interdependent and different self).

Triandis (1995) argued that both individualism and collectivism may be horizontal or vertical. The horizontal and vertical distinction is based on an individual's acceptance of inequality or hierarchy (Chen, 2007). In both individualistic and collectivist cultures, the vertical dimension accepts inequality. In contrast, the horizontal dimension emphasizes equality (Triandis, 1995). In horizontal individualism, people have an independent self and want to be unique and distinct from groups. In vertical individualism, people also have an independent self, but want to become distinguished and acquire status (Triandis, 1995; Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998; Chen, 2007). In horizontal collectivism, people have an interdependent self and see themselves as being similar to others. In vertical collectivism, people are interdependent but accept that some group members have higher status than others, and are willing to sacrifice their needs for the in-group.

Triandis (1995) argued that horizontal individualism and vertical collectivism were the most typical types in the world. Most individualistic cultures were horizontal and most collectivist cultures were vertical. He also posited that these four types could coexist in the same culture, simply weighing differently.

	Independent Self	Interdependent Self
Same Self	Horizontal individualism	Horizontal collectivism
Different Self	Vertical individualism	Vertical collectivism

Figure 1: Triandis' (1995) four types of individualism/collectivism

According to Triandis (1995), vertical individualists tend to have a strong independent self and believe themselves as being different from others. They perceive themselves as superior to others and tend to have higher optimistic bias and self-enhancement. With their emphasis on independence, freedom and competition, vertical individualists tend to focus on their own needs, rights and desires and are less likely to conform to the group norms. By contrast, vertical collectivists are more interdependent within their in-group and give priority to their goals and interests (Alavi & McCormick, 2004). They are more likely to sacrifice their self-interests and conform to the group norms for the sake of group interests. In the light of these considerations, we predict the following:

H2: Horizontal individualism and vertical individualism will be correlated positively with exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness, attitudes toward extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior.

H3: Horizontal collectivism and vertical collectivism will be correlated negatively with exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness, attitudes toward extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior.

H4: Respondents who are high on vertical individualism will have a higher level of exposure to Internet pornography, are more likely to accept premarital sexual permissiveness and extramarital sex, and exhibit a higher level of sexually permissive behavior than others who are high on vertical collectivism.

Individualism and Collectivism in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan

People of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan share the same historical origin, language, and the cultural resources. However, the three Chinese societies have taken very different paths of development. China has been under the Communist authoritarian rule since 1949. But since 1979, it has been going through unprecedented economic reforms and social changes under continued political control by the Communist Party. China's cultural and economic development has also been greatly influenced by the West. Hong Kong is a highly westernized Chinese society. Despite China's takeover of Hong Kong from the British colonists, Hong Kong has maintained its market-oriented society with open economic and media systems. Hong Kong was virtually a free port for

information. With the exception of Radio Television Hong Kong, all the media in Hong Kong are privately owned. Although market-driven journalism has become increasingly influential in recent years (So, 1996), direct interference in media content from the government has been minimal in practice (Chan & Lee, 1991; So, Chan, & Lee, 2000). Taiwan has a long history of authoritarian rule. Before the end of martial law, all news media in Taiwan were under direct or indirect control of the government. After the lifting of martial law, Taiwan has gradually developed into a democratic society. The media in Taiwan have entered a new phase marked by unprecedented competition and broader freedom in news coverage.

Past studies show that Hong Kong is more individualistic than China and Taiwan, while China and Taiwan are more collectivistic than Hong Kong (Hofstede, 1980; 2001; Smith, Peterson, & Schwartz, 2002). However, a recent study by Yeh and Chen (2003) found that there was no difference in the value of independent self-construal among China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, but the three societies were significantly different in the value of interdependent self-construal. An examination of previous studies shows that no research has been done on the differences in individualism and collectivism in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. In addition, no previous research on people's sexually attitudes and behavior has been conducted in the three Chinese societies. Given the lack of empirical findings, two research questions were raised:

RQ1: Are there any differences in individualism and collectivism among respondents from the three Chinese societies?

RQ2: Are there any differences in the frequency of exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior among respondents from the three Chinese societies?

RQ3: Will the relationships between individualism/collectivism and exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness, attitudes toward extramarital sex and sexually permissive behavior vary across the three Chinese Societies?

Methods

The sample

This study is based on three parallel surveys of college students in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei. A standardized questionnaire was used in each of the three surveys. In each city, the survey used a multistage sampling plan. In Shanghai and Taipei, the sample was drawn from five randomly selected universities. In Hong Kong, the sample was drawn from six randomly selected universities. Three classes were randomly chosen from each university in the three cities. The self-administered questionnaires were distributed during a six-week period from March to May of 2009. Because of the sensitive nature of the study, respondents were assured of complete anonymity and that participation was completely voluntary. The completed sample totaled 3,588 including 867 (24.2%) from Shanghai, 1,573 (43.8%) from Hong Kong and 1,148 (32%) from Taipei.

Of the sample, 1,341 (37.6%) were males and 2,225 (62.4%) were females. The average age was 20.64 years. Among the 3,588 respondents, 30.6% were freshman, 36.6% were sophomore, 21.7% were junior, and 11% were senior.

Variables

Individualism and Collectivism. In order to measure individualism and collectivism, we used a 16-item scale constructed by Triandis and Gelfand (1998). Respondents were asked to indicate their agreement (5 = strongly agree, 1 = strongly disagree) with these statements. Results of a principal component factor analysis yielded four factors using Varimax rotation (see Table 1). The four-factor solution accounted for 59.51% of the total variance. The first factor, horizontal individualism, accounted for 24.85% of the variance. It contained four items including “I rely on myself most of time; I rarely rely on others,” “I’d rather depend on myself than others,” “I often do my own things,” and “My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.” (eigenvalue = 3.98). Thus, the four items were combined to form an index of “horizontal individualism” (mean = 3.60; SD = .69; alpha = .71).

The second factor, horizontal collectivism, contained four items including “To me, pleasure is spending time with others,” “The well-being of my coworkers is important to me,” “If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud,” and “I feel good when I cooperate with others.” (eigenvalue = 2.92; accounting for 18.26% of variance). A measure of “horizontal collectivism” was created by adding the four items and dividing by four (mean = 3.72; SD = .58; alpha = .72).

Vertical collectivism is the third factor and it included four items including “Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required,” “It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want,” “Parents and children must stay together as much as possible,” “It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups.” (eigenvalue= 1.40; accounting for 8.78% of variance). A

measure of “vertical collectivism” was created by adding the four items and dividing the sum by four (mean = 3.86, SD = .64, alpha = .77).

The fourth factor, vertical individualism, consisted of four items including “Winning is everything,” “Competition is the law of nature,” “When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused,” and “It is important that I do my job better than others.” (eigenvalue = 1.22; accounting for 7.63% of variance). Thus, the four items were combined to form an index of “vertical individualism” (mean = 3.38; SD = .65; alpha = .76).

Exposure to Internet Pornography. Respondents were asked how often they had viewed pornographic pictures, pornographic films and pornographic stories on the Internet. The response categories were (1) never, (2) seldom, (3) sometimes, and (4) often. Results of a principal component factor analysis showed that the three items were grouped in a single factor, indicating that they measured the same underlying concept. The single factor solution accounted for 80.47% of the total variance (eigenvalue = 2.41). A composite measure of “Internet pornography exposure” was created by adding the three items and dividing the sum by three (mean = 1.75, SD = .96, alpha = .88).

Attitudes toward Extramarital Sex. Respondents were asked to express their agreement (5 = strongly agree, 1 = strongly disagree) with the following three statements reflecting their attitudes toward extramarital sex: (1) “It is allowable for married men to have extramarital sex.” (2) “It is allowable for married women to have extramarital sex.” (3) “It is allowable for married men/women to have more than sex partner.” Principal component factor analysis showed that the three items were grouped in a single factor, measuring the same underlying concept. The one factor solution accounted for 88.82% of

the total variance (eigenvalue = 2.67; Cronbach's alpha = .94). Thus, the three items were combined to form an index of "attitudes toward extramarital sex" (mean = 1.79; SD = .95).

Attitudes toward Premarital Sexual Permissiveness. A measure of sexually permissive attitudes toward holding hands, kissing, petting, and sexual intercourse was developed for this study based upon previous research (Lo, Neilan, Sun & Chiang, 1999). Each respondent was asked to indicate his or her agreement (5=strongly agree, 1=strongly disagree) with these intimate actions by unmarried men or women with a casual partner. A principal component factor analysis shows that the items measuring sexually permissive attitudes toward a casual partner were grouped in a single factor, measuring the same underlying concept. Thus, the four items formed an attitude index. The one factor solution accounted for 80.66% of the total variance (eigenvalue = 3.23; Cronbach's alpha = .92). A measure of "attitudes toward premarital sex" was created by adding the four items and dividing by four (mean = 2.48; SD = 1.08).

Sexually Permissive Behavior. Each respondent was also asked how often he or she had experience with holding hands, kissing, petting, and sexual intercourse with a casual partner. The response categories were: (1) never, (2) seldom, (3) sometimes, and (4) often. A principal component factor analysis confirmed that the four items were loaded in a single factor and measured the same underlying concept. The one factor solution explained 74.62% of the total variance (eigenvalue = 2.99; Cronbach's alpha = .86). A measure of "sexually permissive behavior" was created by adding the four items and dividing by four (mean = 1.32; SD = 1.08).

Control variables. Respondents were asked about their gender, age, and grade point averages. In addition, respondents were asked to estimate the amount of time they spent reading newspapers (mean = 24.67 minutes, SD = 23.37), watching television (mean = 68.64 minutes, SD = 62.43), and surfing the Internet per day (mean = 148.41 minutes, SD = 70.80). These three media use variables were used as controls in the regression analyses, because previous studies indicated that media use was related to sexual attitudes and behavior (Greenberg, Brown & Buerkel-Rothfuss, 1993; Lo & Wei, 2005).

Results

Test of Hypotheses. The first stage of the analysis was to test the first three hypotheses. Pearson correlations were used to test the bivariate relationship between individualism, collectivism, exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior.

As shown in Table 2, although horizontal individualism was significantly related to attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($r = .06, p < .01$), it was not associated with Internet pornography exposure ($r = -.01, p > .05$), attitudes toward extramarital sex ($r = .00, p > .05$), and sexually permissive behavior ($r = .03, p > .05$). Vertical individualism was significantly related to Internet pornography exposure ($r = .08, p < .001$), attitudes toward extramarital sex ($r = .04, p < .05$), and sexually permissive behavior ($r = .08, p < .001$). But vertical individualism was not related to attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($r = .03, p > .05$).

Table 2 also indicates that horizontal collectivism was significantly and negatively related to Internet pornography exposure ($r = -.11, p < .001$) and attitudes toward extramarital sex ($r = -.11, p < .001$). But horizontal collectivism was not related to attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($r = -.03, p > .05$) and sexually permissive behavior ($r = -.03, p > .05$). Vertical collectivism was significantly and negatively correlated with Internet pornography exposure ($r = -.05, p < .01$), attitudes toward extramarital sex ($r = -.13, p < .001$), attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($r = -.09, p < .001$), and sexually permissive behavior ($r = -.05, p < .01$). These results partially support H1, H2, and H3.

To render a more vigorous test of the three hypotheses, three separate hierarchical regression analyses were performed to take the influence of demographics and media use into account. Table 3 summarizes the results of the hierarchical regression analyses in which gender, age, and grade point average were entered first into the equation, followed by newspaper reading, television viewing and Internet use. The final block entered individualism and collectivism. The standardized regression coefficients reflect the relative predictive power of each predictor variable while controlling for the overlapping effects of other predictor variables.

As Table 3 shows, gender was the most powerful predictor of Internet pornography exposure ($\beta = .45, p < .001$), attitudes toward extramarital sex ($\beta = .16, p < .001$), attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($\beta = .11, p < .001$), and sexually permissive behavior ($\beta = .12, p < .001$), indicating that males tended to have a greater acceptance of premarital and extramarital sex and exhibit significantly higher levels of Internet pornography exposure and sexually permissive behavior.

The results of the regression analyses also indicate that horizontal individualism was a significant predictor of Internet pornography exposure ($\beta = -.07, p < .001$) and attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($\beta = .05, p < .01$), while vertical individualism was significantly associated with Internet pornography exposure ($\beta = .08, p < .001$), attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($\beta = .06, p < .01$), and sexually permissive behavior ($\beta = .07, p < .01$). Table 3 also indicates that vertical collectivism was a significant predictor of Internet pornography exposure ($\beta = -.03, p < .05$), attitudes toward extramarital sex ($\beta = -.11, p < .001$), attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($\beta = -.11, p < .001$), and sexually permissive behavior ($\beta = -.08, p < .001$). However, horizontal collectivism was only significantly related to Internet pornography exposure ($\beta = -.07, p < .001$) and attitudes toward extramarital sex ($\beta = -.05, p < .05$). These results provided partial support for H1, H2, and H3.

H4 predicted that respondents who were high on vertical individualism would have a higher level of exposure to Internet pornography, would be more likely to accept premarital sexual permissiveness and extramarital sex, and would exhibit a higher level of sexually permissive behavior than others who were high on vertical collectivism. To test this hypothesis, a series of two-sample t-tests were performed. The results of the t-tests show that respondents who were on vertical individualism tended to have a higher level of exposure to Internet pornography ($t = 4.23, p < .001$), were less likely to accept premarital sexual permissive ($t = 4.98, p < .001$) and extramarital sex ($t = 6.60, p < .001$), and exhibited a higher level of sexually permissive behavior ($t = 2.98, p < .01$) than those who were high on vertical collectivism. H4 was supported.

Answers to Research Questions. The second stage of the analysis was to answer the two research questions. A series of one-way analyses of variance were run to answer the first two research questions. As shown in Table , the results of the analyses shows that although respondents from the three Chinese societies were more oriented towards collectivism, they did not differ much with respect to vertical individualism ($F= 2.37, p > .05$) and vertical collectivism ($F= .35, p > .05$). However, there were significant differences in horizontal individualism ($F = 14.21, p < .001$) and horizontal collectivism ($F = 7.49, p < .001$) among respondents from the three Chinese societies. The results of the Scheffe tests show that Taipei respondents appear to have lower horizontal individualism (mean = 3.51) than their counterparts from Shanghai (mean = 3.64) and Hong Kong (mean = 3.64). In terms of horizontal collectivism, Shanghai respondents (mean = 3.66) was significantly lower than their Hong Kong (mean = 3.76) and Taiwan (mean = 3.72) counterparts.

The results of the analyses also show that respondents from the three societies have shown significant differences in their exposure to Internet pornography ($F = 71.95, p < .001$), attitudes toward premarital sex ($F = 37.26, p < .001$), attitudes toward extramarital sex ($F = 13.20, p < .001$), and sexually permissive behavior ($F = 9.26, p < .001$). The results of the Scheffe tests show that Hong Kong respondents appear to have the lowest exposure to Internet pornography (mean = 1.54) and are the least likely to accept extramarital sex (mean = 1.64) and premarital sex (mean = 2.39), whereas Shanghai respondents are most likely to accept premarital sex (mean = 1.97) and tend to exhibit highest sexually permissive behavior (mean = 1.40).

The third research question explored the relationships between individualism/collectivism and exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness, attitudes toward extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior across the three Chinese societies. Twelve separate hierarchical regression analyses were performed. Table 5 summarizes the results of the hierarchical regression analyses in which gender, age, and GPA were entered first into the equation, followed by newspaper reading, television viewing and Internet use. The final block entered horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, and vertical collectivism.

As Table 5 shows, in the Shanghai sample, horizontal individualism, was significantly and negatively correlated with Internet pornography exposure ($\beta = -.08$, $p < .05$). Vertical individualism was significantly and positively correlated with Internet pornography exposure ($\beta = .19$, $p < .001$), attitudes toward extramarital sex ($\beta = .13$, $p < .001$), and sexually permissive behavior ($\beta = .16$, $p < .001$). Horizontal collectivism was significantly and positively correlated with attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($\beta = .13$, $p < .001$). Vertical collectivism was significantly and negatively related to Internet pornography exposure ($\beta = -.12$, $p < .001$), attitudes toward extramarital sex ($\beta = -.20$, $p < .001$), attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness ($\beta = -.21$, $p < .001$), and sexually permissive behavior ($\beta = -.21$, $p < .001$).

In the Hong Kong sample, the results of the regression analyses indicate that horizontal individualism was not significantly related to any of the four dependent variables. Vertical individualism was significantly and positively correlated with Internet

pornography exposure (beta = .08, $p < .01$), attitudes toward extramarital sex (beta = .09, $p < .01$), and sexually permissive behavior (beta = .06, $p < .05$). Horizontal collectivism was significantly and negatively correlated with Internet pornography exposure (beta = -.08, $p < .01$), and attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness (beta = -.05, $p < .05$), while vertical collectivism was significantly and negatively related to Internet pornography exposure (beta = -.06, $p < .05$), attitudes toward extramarital sex (beta = -.15, $p < .001$), and attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness (beta = -.09, $p < .001$).

In the Taipei sample, horizontal individualism was significantly and positively correlated with attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness (beta = .08, $p < .05$). Vertical individualism was not significantly related to any of the dependent variables. Horizontal collectivism was significantly and negatively related to Internet pornography exposure (beta = -.06, $p < .05$). Vertical collectivism was significantly and negatively correlated only with attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness (beta = -.08, $p < .05$).

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This study focuses on exploring the theoretical relationships among individualism, collectivism, exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior, an area that has not been addressed in the growing cross-cultural research.

The results of the study indicate that although respondents from the three Chinese societies were more collectivism-oriented, they exhibited both individualistic and collectivist tendencies. More importantly, they differed significantly with respect to

horizontal individualism and horizontal collectivism. Taipei respondents were the least horizontal individualism-oriented, while Shanghai respondents were less horizontal collectivism-oriented. On the other hand, Hong Kong respondents had highest score in horizontal collectivism. Consistent with previous studies (Alavi & McCormick, 2004; Hofstede, 2001; Kim et al., 1994; Triandis, 1995), these findings suggest that individualism and collectivism may coexist at the individual level because individual attitudes and behavior may vary in different contexts. These findings also suggest that college students in the three Chinese cities seem to carry all four of the horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, and vertical collectivism cognitions in different combinations.

Another aim of this study was to examine Internet pornography exposure, attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior among college students in the three Chinese societies. The results of the study found that Hong Kong respondents appear to have the lowest exposure to Internet pornography and are the least likely to accept premarital sexual permissiveness and extramarital sex, whereas Shanghai respondents are most accepting extramarital sex and tend to exhibit highest sexually permissive behavior. These findings indicate that the acceptance of premarital sex and extramarital sex is greater among young people in Shanghai than in Hong Kong and Taipei. The results also suggest that attitudes toward sexuality in China have changed. Premarital sex and extramarital sex have become more accepted among young people in Shanghai.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this study is in helping to show that collectivism correlated more strongly and negatively with exposure to Internet

pornography, attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex, and sexual permissive behavior than was individualism. More specifically, this study found that horizontal collectivism correlated more strongly with exposure to Internet pornography and attitudes toward extramarital sex than horizontal individualism, while vertical collectivism correlated more strongly with exposure to Internet pornography, attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior. More horizontal collectivism-oriented respondents tended to have a lower level of Internet pornography exposure and were less likely to accept premarital sex than less horizontal collectivism oriented respondents. In addition, more vertical collectivism oriented respondents were less likely to accept premarital and extramarital sex than less vertical collectivism oriented respondents. Taken together, these findings suggest that individualism and collectivism can help explain Internet pornography exposure, attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness and extramarital sex, and sexually permissive behavior.

Research in individualism and collectivism has indicated that individuals who are high on individualism are more concerned with individual rights and personal needs. They are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, and desires and give priority to their personal goals over the goals of others. By contrast, individuals who are high on collectivism are more concerned with group rights and group goals. They are primarily motivated by the norms and duties imposed by society and are willing to self-sacrifice for group interests. Thus, more collectivistic individuals are more likely to behave according to prevailing social norms and are less likely to accept socially disapproved behavior than more individualistic individuals. It might seem logical to conclude that people with high collectivism, especially high vertical collectivism, have

more conservative sexual attitudes and are less likely to accept premarital sexual permissiveness and extramarital sex and to engage in sexually permissive behavior.

The regression results also indicate that the predictive power of individualism and collectivism on sexual attitudes and behavior differs in the three Chinese societies. Although vertical individualism and vertical collectivism were significant predictors of Internet pornography exposure, sexually permissive behavior, attitudes toward extramarital sex, and premarital sexual permissiveness, they were not significantly correlated with the four dependent variables in the Taipei sample, except for a weak correlation between vertical collectivism and attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness. One possible explanation is that the Taiwanese respondents were less vertically individualistic than were their Hong Kong and Shanghai counterparts. It may also be the case that college students in Taipei were more interdependent (Yeh & Chen, 2003) and less competitive than were their counterparts in Hong Kong and Shanghai. These findings raise fundamental questions both for theory and research and suggest that researchers need to be more careful when examining the effects of individualism and collectivism on individual attitudes and behavior in cross-cultural research.

Although the results of this study indicate that there were significant relationships between individualism/collectivism and sexual attitudes and behavior, this study is primarily a correlational, not causal, design. The one-shot survey makes it impossible to draw any causal conclusions. Another limitation of this study lies in the sample, which was drawn from randomly selected colleges in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei. College students may differ from the general public in individualism and collectivism and in

using the Internet and surfing pornographic web sites. Thus, it remains to be seen whether the results of the study can readily be generalized to general public and other cultures.

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Table 1: Principal Component Analysis of Individualism and Collectivism Items with Varimax Rotation

Items	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Horizontal Individualism				
2. I rely on myself most of time; I rarely rely on others.	.81	-.02	.05	.07
1. I'd rather depend on myself than others.	.80	.01	.02	.09
3. I often do "my own things."	.77	.04	.05	.17
4. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.	.68	.10	-.02	.27
Horizontal Collectivism				
11. To me, pleasure is spending time with others.	-.03	.75	.23	.09
10. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me.	.08	.75	.18	.00
9. If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud.	.07	.74	.09	.01
12. I feel good when I cooperate with others.	-.01	.71	.30	.03
Vertical Collectivism				
15. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required.	.06	.13	.83	.06
14. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want.	.05	.11	.81	.04
13. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible.	.04	.28	.68	.03
16. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups.	.04	.30	.58	.08
Vertical Individualism				
6. Winning is everything.	-.04	-.17	.01	.75
7. Competition is the law of nature.	.08	.05	.09	.74
8. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.	.12	.21	.08	.69
5. It is important that I do my job better than others.	.40	.06	.04	.64
Eigenvalue	3.98	2.92	1.40	1.22
Variance Explained	24.85%	18.26%	8.78%	7.63%
Cronbach's alpha	.71	.72	.77	.76

Table 2: Correlations between Horizontal Individualism, Vertical Individualism, Horizontal Collectivism, Vertical Collectivism, Exposure to Internet Pornography, Attitudes toward Extramarital Sex, Premarital Permissive Attitudes and Sexually Permissive Behavior

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Horizontal individualism							
2 Vertical individualism	.42***						
3 Horizontal collectivism	.09***	.11***					
4 Vertical collectivism	.09***	.15***	.50***				
5 Exposure to Internet porn	-.01	.08***	-.11***	-.05**			
6 Attitudes toward extramarital sex	.00	.04*	-.11***	-.13***	.31***		
7 Sexually permissive attitudes	.06**	.03	-.03	-.09***	.2***	.49***	
8 Sexually permissive behavior	.03	.08***	-.03	-.05**	.26***	.34***	.46***
*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001							

Table 3: Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Attitudes toward Extramarital Sex, Premarital Permissive Attitudes and Sexually Permissive Behavior

Independent variables	Internet Pornography Exposure	Attitudes Toward Extramarital Sex	Sexually Permissive Attitudes	Sexually Permissive Behavior
<u>Block 1: Demographics</u>				
Gender	.45***	.16***	.11***	.12***
Age	.03*	.04*	.00	.07***
GPA	-.03*	-.05**	-.03	-.02
Adjusted R ²	.24	.04	.02	.02
<u>Block 2: Media Use</u>				
Reading newspapers	.15***	.08***	.05**	.06**
TV viewing	-.03	-.05*	-.02	.00
Internet use	.13***	.12***	.11***	.02
Incremental adjusted R ²	.03	.02	.01	.00
<u>Block 4: Individualism/Collectivism</u>				
Horizontal individualism	-.07***	-.02	.05**	-.01
Vertical individualism	.08***	.06**	.01	.07**
Horizontal collectivism	-.07***	-.05*	.02	.02
Vertical collectivism	-.03*	-.11***	-.11***	-.08***
Incremental adjusted R ²	.01	.01	.01	.01
Total adjusted R ²	.28	.08	.04	.03

Notes: Beta weights are from final regression equation with all blocks of variables in the model. N=3,274. Variables recoded as follows: gender (0=female, 1=male); GPA (1=under 59, 2= 60 to 69, 3= 70 to 79, 4= 80 to 89, 5=90 to 100).

*** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05.

Table 4: One-way Analysis of Variance for Horizontal Individualism, Vertical Individualism, Horizontal Collectivism, Vertical Collectivism, Exposure to Internet Pornography, Attitudes toward Extramarital Sex, Premarital Permissive Attitudes and Sexually Permissive Behavior in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei

Area	All Sample	Shanghai Sample	Hong Kong Sample	Taipei Sample	F value
Variables	mean	mean	mean	mean	
Horizontal individualism	3.60 N=3570	3.64 N=863	3.64 N=1560	3.51 N=1147	14.21***
Vertical individualism	3.38 N=3558	3.41 N=859	3.38 N=1555	3.35 N=1144	2.37
Horizontal collectivism	3.72 N=3570	3.66 N=861	3.76 N=1563	3.72 N=1146	7.49***
Vertical collectivism	3.86 N=3564	3.85 N=857	3.87 N=1561	3.86 N=1146	.35
Exposure to Internet pornography	2.04 N=3565	1.90 N=862	1.54 N=1561	1.94 N=1142	71.95***
Attitudes toward extramarital sex	1.79 N=3565	1.97 N=867	1.64 N=1553	1.85 N=1145	37.26***
Sexually permissive attitudes	2.48 N=3570	2.57 N=865	2.39 N=1560	2.57 N=1145	13.20***
Sexually permissive behavior	1.32 N=3557	1.40 N=862	1.30 N=1553	1.30 N=1142	9.26***

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 5: Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Attitudes toward Extramarital Sex, Attitudes toward Premarital Sexual Permissiveness and Sexually Permissive Behavior in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei

Independent variables	Internet Pornography Exposure	Attitudes Toward Extramarital Sex	Premarital Sexual Permissiveness	Sexually Permissive Behavior
<u>Shanghai Sample</u>				
Horizontal individualism	-.08*	-.06	.05	.00
Vertical individualism	.19***	.13***	.04	.16***
Horizontal collectivism	-.02	.02	.13***	.05
Vertical collectivism	-.12***	-.20***	-.21***	-.21***
Incremental adjusted R ²	.03	.03	.03	.04
Total adjusted R ²	.20	.12	.09	.14
<u>Hong Kong Sample</u>				
Horizontal individualism	.00	.00	.03	-.04
Vertical individualism	.08**	.09**	.05	.06*
Horizontal collectivism	-.08**	-.05*	-.04	-.02
Vertical collectivism	-.06*	-.15***	-.09**	-.05
Incremental adjusted R ²	.02	.03	.01	.00
Total adjusted R ²	.24	.08	.02	.01
<u>Taipei Sample</u>				
Horizontal individualism	-.04	.03	.08*	.01
Vertical individualism	.03	-.01	-.05	.02
Horizontal collectivism	-.06*	-.06	.01	-.01
Vertical collectivism	.01	-.04	-.08*	.00
Incremental adjusted R ²	.01	.01	.01	.00
Total adjusted R ²	.50	.11	.04	.01

Notes: Beta weights are from final regression equation with all blocks of variables in the model after controlling for the influence of gender, age, GPA, newspaper use, television viewing, and Internet use. Sample size: Shanghai = 828, Hong Kong = 1,340, Taipei = 1,054. Variables recoded as follows: gender (0=female, 1=male); GPA (1=under 59, 2= 60 to 69, 3= 70 to 79, 4= 80 to 89, 5=90 to 100). *** p < .001; ** p < .01; * p < .05.