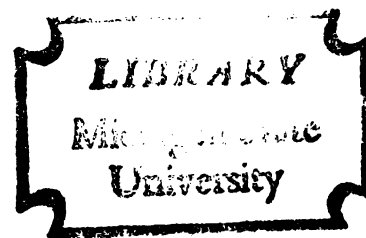THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL
COMPETENCE IN MALE ADOLESCENTS

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
PATRICIA ANN DONAHUE
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This is to certify that the

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The Development of a Sense of Heterosexual
Competence in Male Adolescents

presented by

Patricia Ann Donahue

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Margaretta Bubolz
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ABSTRACT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SENSE OF
HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE IN MALE ADOLESCENTS

By

Patricia Ann Donahue

The majority of research studies on premarital sexuality and
contraception have focused on female, often clinical samples. Because
of the lack of in-depth research on male adolescents, the present
study attempted to explore the attitudes and behaviors which contri-
bute to the general sense of competence of the freshman college male,
to generate some hypotheses, and a tentative definition of heterosexual
competence with particular emphasis on the sources of learning what
Gagnon and Simon have termed sexual scripts, sources including, perhaps,
parents, peers, and special others of the opposite sex.

The sample of eight male freshmen was selected from a population
of approximately twenty-five males recommended by their instructors
in a large public university in the Midwest for ease and articulate-
ness in verbal communication. This form of selection introduced a
bias -- if competent individuals are relatively more verbal, or
verbal individuals more competent. Since the interviews were structured,
but open-ended, this choice was considered a necessary limitation
by the researcher. Final selection was made on the basis of responses
to a questionnaire designed to elicit basic demographic information
and information about sexual and contraceptive experiences.

Each individual in the sample was interviewed on three separate occasions. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed.

The Glaser-Strauss constant comparative method was chosen for analyzing qualitative data. This approach involves coding the data, comparing codes, recoding, developing and integrating categories, and generating a developmental theory. The investigator is consistently working toward a higher level of abstraction. After the data had been coded by the investigator, one-fourth of the interviews were analyzed by a second coder and a reliability coefficient of .70 was established.

It is suggested that the individual's sense of heterosexual competence is related to his general sense of competence; the latter is defined as the sense of being able to influence the events of one's life by one's action or inaction; heterosexual competence is the sense of being able to achieve an appropriate balance between enjoyment of sexuality and responsibility for the consequences of one's acts.

It is further suggested that the development of a sense of heterosexual competence is a process. The individual accepts and labels himself as a sexual being, develops increasingly more sophisticated sexual scripts based on experience, receives social feedback for the acting out of his scripts, which influence and are affected by his general sense of competence.

The study is limited by the assumption that the subjects were accurately recalling and reporting their past and present attitudes and behaviors.

Further research is needed on general sense of competence, acceptance of sexuality, scripting behaviors, and sexual socialization. The full implications of such research can be realized only if the results are translated into action programs and communicated effectively to adolescents, their parents, and their academic and social reference groups.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SENSE OF

HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE IN MALE ADOLESCENTS

By

Patricia Ann Donahue

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Family Ecology

1976

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to the eight freshman college males who gave of their time and energy in allowing me to ask questions about a particularly sensitive area of their lives, I would also like to thank the female students at the campus birth control clinic. Their comments about their experiences with premarital sexuality and contraception seemed to indicate that those who had experienced pregnancy scares or abortions often talked about their attitudes toward sex in statements similar to those cited in the following paragraph:

> "I never thought I could get involved in premarital sex; it just happened to happen, and I guess there wasn't much I could do about it."

The investigator became intrigued by the implication that the individual seemed to think that she had no control over her destiny -- that what happened to her was not influenced by her behavior; or perhaps that she felt she possessed an unrealistic sense of control -- that she could place herself in sexual situations and not be sexual, or that she was unwilling or unable to consider the unintended consequences of her actions. These comments encouraged the investigator to undertake a competence study of males, since most of the research on premarital sexuality has been done with female samples, and since it seems probable that in the process of interaction each sex would serve as a reference for the other.

I am extremely grateful to my parents, who attempted to teach me to work and to love, and to my son, Stephen who, at the age of seven, somehow understood that this task simply had to be completed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION - CONCEPTS OF COMPETENCE

Problem and Rationale

The nature of adolescent sexual self-identification has important social-psychological implications for the individual and for society at large. In general, the challenge for professionals who study and work with teenagers and the problem posed for this research in particular is the development of a better understanding of the attitudes and behaviors characteristic of the competent adolescent insofar as these attitudes and behaviors provide insight into the way in which he labels himself as a sexual being.

The majority of research studies on premarital sexuality and contraceptive use have concentrated on female, often clinical samples. There is a general lack of information about heterosexual competence, which, if developed, could provide a theoretical framework for translating the results of research into action programs and for intervening in the important social problem of teenage pregnancy.

Cvetkovich (1975) has noted that a review of the literature failed to uncover "a single in-depth analysis of male adolescents regarding contraception" (p. 260). It seems reasonable to expect that the females' responses are at least partially influenced by current dimensions of male sexuality, because in the process of

1

interaction each sex would serve as a reference for the other. This
interaction may, indeed, be discordant:

> ...the data that are available suggest this system of exchange
> often does not work smoothly. Thus, as is partly suggested by
> Ehrmann's (1971) work and partly by our own present studies of
> college students, it is not uncommon to find, ironically, that the
> male suitor frequently becomes emotionally involved with his
> partner and correspondingly less interested in engaging in sexual
> activity with her and that the female, whose appreciation of the
> genuineness of her suitor's affection allows her to feel that
> sexual activity is now both legitimate and desireable, becomes more
> interested in engaging in sexual activity with him. (Gagnon and
> Simon, Sexual Conduct, p. 74).

Setting aside the question of whether, to what extent, or under
what conditions, females place the responsibility for contraceptive
competence with the males (by virtue of the legend of the male as the
traditional sexual initiator), the male sense of competence about
influencing the course and consequence of his own sexual activity
was investigated in this study.

A competent approach to sex involves the recognition of one's
sexuality and a decision to accept or postpone sexual relationships.
A sense of competence about being able to cope with sexual situations
influences the individual's behavior in the manner of the self-fulfilling
prophecy; a sense of heterosexual competence is related to the extent
to which the individual feels competent in other areas of his life
because a developmental history of experiences in which the individual
has learned that he can cope provides him with the confidence to script
(to define certain experiences and plan for them) -- he feels confident
about coping; this process leads to the acceptance of behaviors and
roles and, in turn, to further coping and scripting. In addition,
the competent actor allows events to occur, not in the sense of

denial or willingness to be a victim, but because he has been and is engaged in a stimulating interaction with the environment, with the knowledge that he can act at the appropriate moment when he begins to understand the course of events. M. B. Smith notes that "competence motivation involves being able to risk disapproval in order to master a task on one's own terms" (Clausen, p. 308). The height of incompetence, of course, could be the sense of wielding dominant powers which one does not possess, for example, to expect not to be sexual when advanced in the throes of passion. Competence and incompetence are viewed not as absolutes, but as degrees, manifest in different individuals, possibly according to the situation.

Objectives

The objectives of this study are three:

1. To examine the attitudes and behaviors which contribute to the general sense of competence of the freshman college male.

2. To arrive at some hypotheses and a tentative definition of heterosexual competence, to be tested in further research.

3. To examine socialization for a sense of heterosexual competence, with particular emphasis on the sources of learning what Gagnon and Simon have termed sexual scripts -- sources including, perhaps, parents, peers, and special others of the opposite sex.

General Direction and Plan of Presentation

The main goal of the study is the generation of hypotheses about heterosexual competence. The investigator sought to integrate three different conceptual areas (sense of competence, heterosexual competence, and sexual socialization), and in order to avoid confusing the reader, the literature relevant to each area will be reviewed in the appropriate chapters rather than in the more traditional introductory review. General concepts of competence will be discussed in the present chapter; the data analyses of interview I (General Sense of Competence of the Male College Freshman), interview II (Heterosexual Competence), and III (Sexual Socialization) will be integrated, respectively, with the social psychological literature of adolescent competence in chapter three, of heterosexual competence in chapter four, and of sexual socialization in chapter five. The ways in which sense of competence and heterosexual competence and selected factors of sexual socialization seem to fit together in the lives of the eight freshmen males will be the subject of chapter six.

The investigator sought to develop concepts about the meaning of competence for this sample and how it relates to sexuality. The study is limited by the extent to which the subjects were willing and able to articulate their responses to the issues being investigated.

Definitions

For the purpose of the study, sense of competence is defined as the self perception of being able to influence the course of events in

one's life by one's action or inaction; heterosexual competence is the individual expression of being able to achieve a balance between the enjoyment of sexuality and the acceptance of responsibility for the intended or unintended consequences of one's acts; acceptance of sexuality is the recognition and labelling of oneself as a sexual being. Following Gagnon and Simon, the script is defined as a rehearsal for the sexual drama. It is composed of two dimensions -- the external: "the organization of mutually shared conventions that allows two or more actors to participate in a complex act involving mutual dependence," (p. 20) and the internal: "the motivational elements that produce arousal or at least a commitment to the activity." (p. 20).

Concepts of Competence

A major contribution to the development of the competence literature was made by Robert White (1959) who urged a reconsideration of motivation theory based on primary drives, which do not account for exploratory behavior or manipulation (p. 328). He defined competence as a combination of behaviors which demonstrate effective interaction with the environment. This definition is a development of Webster's (1959), which is fitness or ability, with synonyms of "capability, capacity, efficiency, proficiency, and skill" (p. 317). White believes in the existence of a "competence motivation" which is "directed, selective, and persistent" and "is continued not because it serves primary drives, which indeed it cannot serve until it is almost perfected, but because it satisfies an intrinsic need to deal with the environment." (p. 318).

White refers to the motivational aspect of competence as "effectance" (p. 321); he does not eliminate the existence of primary drives such as hunger, sex, or aggression; he states that they do not account for all behaviors.

Effectance motivation is neurogenic, the direction of energy when the nervous cells are not maintaining a homeostatic balance; it is satisfied by seeking out and maintaining activity rather than responding passively. The pattern moves from stimulus to perception to action to effect to stimulus to perception. (p. 322). Thus, a changing organism and a changing environment are involved in constant interaction.

White provides some evidence that a strong drive is not the best way of achieving maximum effectance, which is based on familiarity with the environment. Experiments conducted by Yerkes and Dodson (1908) showed that maximum motivation, which narrows the actor's focus, is not the best level of motivation for complex tasks. Researchers in the field of cognitive psychology (Tolman, 1948; Bruner et al., 1955) support the concept of breadth of learning (White, p. 32); learning occurs in a wholistic framework over time with important forms of input occuring when the organism strives and when it is at rest.

A few years prior to White's important work, Foote and Cottrell published their work on Identity and Interpersonal Competence (1955). They defined competence as a synonym for ability (p. 36). The behavioral components of interpersonal competence were enumerated by these authors as health, intelligence, empathy, autonomy, judgment, and creativity. The development of each of these components is treated as a separate entity. There is no substantial support, however, for the author's

claim that "in any performance all six aspects of competence are manifested simultaneously" (p. 42), though they acknowledge that "one may be more obviously put to test than another" (p. 42). Their definitions also tend to be somewhat idealistic e.g., health is "more than the mere absence of disease. Rather it signifies the progressive maximization within organic limits of the ability of the organism to exercise all of its physiological functions, and to achieve its maximum of sensory acuity, strength, energy, co-ordination, dexterity, endurance, recuperative power, and immunity." (p. 52). They do not deal adequately with the interrelationships of the components and their simultaneous or independent development. It is quite conceivable that a "deviant", non-middle-class juvenile in an urban slum could survive quite competently in both functional and interpersonal spheres with a relative lack of health, due to poor nutrition, and minimal empathy, and yet demonstrate autonomy or creativity in his or her attempt to survive.

Sussman (in Kallen, 1973) defined competence as the "combination of skills, attitudes, and motivations which enable the individual to operate effectively within his environment" (p. 256). The competent individual can use alternatives to reach a goal and "work" the system to his advantage.

Inkeles approached the concept (1966) by asking what skills were needed to hold "important positions" in modern society. Though one might question whether all other members of society are to be considered incompetent, those who hold "important positions", according to Inkeles, do so because they can use available options; they possess a detailed

sense of time; a good command of language, particularly a vocabulary and cognitive style which allows them to deal with abstraction, thus fostering comprehension of new tasks and relationships; they can use mathematical symbolism, possess a relatively large amount of general information and demonstrate a cognitive style which allows them to organize events and persons beyond the framework of immediate experience; they are sensitive to the politics of interaction and aware of acting on a range of options in the environment (Sussman, in Kallen, p. 257).

The concept of competence tends to be discussed in relation to modernization (Foote and Cottrell, 1955; Hall, 1959; Inkeles, 1966; Smith, 1965), and since effectiveness is required for social progress, this may be appropriate. It is suggested, however, that at least in relation to individual performance, the effectance motivation and experience may be more complex; that the competent individual comprehends the occasional necessity of withdrawal -- or "holding the line" (e.g., due to shortage of resources), or to lower his standards; in sum, to alter a possibly unrealistic commitment to "progress."

The individual socializes and is socialized for competence. His sense of his own ability to be effective and to communicate within the environment acquires a developmental history from birth. The developing self, in its requirements for physical, emotional, cultural, and individual sustenance progressively arrives at a view of the self.

George Herbert Mead (1934) viewed mind and self as the result of social processes. When the child begins to control his own behavior according to the significant gestures of others he becomes an object to himself and develops a conscious mind. In play he takes on the

attitudes of others and in games he experiences the generalized other.
The use of language is important to Mead's approach. An example might
be the delight of the toddler in repeating a word he has recently
learned (bird, bird, bird) until a significant other says "Yes, bird."
According to Cooley, the feeling aspect of the self is the most decisive
sign of reality. People are people as they exist in our imaginations.
The social self is a system of ideas, and society and the individual
are two aspects of the same thing (Cooley, 1922).

The interaction between the individual and society and thus the
potentialities for feedback about "the competent self" begin in infancy
when the person begins to learn how to cope with his environment. When
the infant cries and influences his mother to respond to that cry he is
coping. When he uses his cry to influence her to feed or cuddle him, he
develops competence and a sense of himself as an effective communicator.
The relationship is reciprocal, depending in part on the characteristics
of the mother and of the child. Ainsworth et al. (1971) found that
maternal promptness and effectiveness in response reduced crying by
late infancy. Non-crying modes of communication developed in relation
to the degree of maternal responsiveness to infant signals.

The child's skills are increasingly challenged and formed by
interaction with other family members and later by peers, school
authorities, and society at large; research on the continuity and
discontinuity of feedback from these references has not been done.
In all of these relationships, self-perception is probably as crucial
as actual performance for the development of a sense of competence,
though self-perception is a function, at least in part, of evaluative

feedback from others.

Gardner Murphy (1947) has suggested that current success is related to the direction of future effort; he formulated the concept of canalization -- the tendency to seek gratification in the particular modes and from the particular activities that previously have been found gratifying (in Clausen, p. 303). How does inability to perform in one area affect behavior in others? Competence could be both a situation-specific and a long-term characteristic, but it seems probable that an individual with a history of competence would behave competently more often in the specific situation. Whether sense of competence and its actual demonstration are transferable traits (e.g., once you learn Latin, French is easy) is a matter which requires further investigation. The self-fulfilling prophecy may often determine the outcome; and the history of parent-child relationships undoubtedly influences the course of competencies for which positive feedback from significant others is the crucial variable.

Following an NIMH conference of mental health professionals, Gladwin (1967) developed the concept of competence in the following way:

> Competence...develops along three major axes, all closely interrelated. First is the ability to learn or to use a variety of alternative pathways or behavioral responses in order to reach a given goal...Second, the competent individual comprehends and is able to use a variety of social systems within the society moving within these systems, and utilizing the resources they offer. Third, competence depends upon effective reality testing. Reality testing involves not merely the lack of psychopathological impairment to perception but also a positive, broad, and sophisticated understanding of the world. (Clausen, p. 274).

Thus, Gladwin integrates role status theory, in which the person performs to meet the requirements of society's structural functions, and the symbolic interactionist emphasis on process, with reference to reality testing and perception.

Based on Gladwin's report, Smith developed a circular approach to competence: the person who must invest all his energies in defending himself against threats has no energy left for "constructive coping"; "he encounters failures which make him hesitant to try" (in Clausen, p. 277): the person who receives positive feedback for his efforts is encouraged to accept challenges. This process begins in infancy and is fostered positively with the "right amount" of challenge. The classic negative example might be the frustration of an eight-month-old child whose parents are expecting and pressuring him to walk when he can barely stand on his own two feet. There is no way he can win, and perhaps he learns that significant others are disappointed in his efforts; physiologically he may be unable to please them with the expected performance at this point in time with regard to this task. If the scenario is consistently repeated for other developmental tasks, the child may come to believe that he is not effective. Though achievement motivation could be one result of such pressure, one might speculate that it would derive from a perennial lack of self-satisfaction and a sense of achievement which never culminates in a sense of competence.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Rationale

As indicated in Chapter I, the investigator became involved in
the current study because of the lack of research on males, because of
a one-sided progress-modernization perspective in competence research,
and because of the neglect of the in-depth case study approach to
adolescent sexuality. Recent studies in this area (Bauman and Wilson,
1974; Ehrmann, 1971; Kantner and Zelnick, 1973; Reiss, 1975; Vener and
Stewart, 1974) have been limited largely to cross-sectional attitudinal
studies, which never give the respondent an opportunity to reply "but,
on the other hand." Such studies, though not without predictive value,
are limited by an over-emphasis on across-group variance as opposed to
within-group variance (and thus a limiting view of the human condition);
by inadequate sample selection with limited opportunity to develop the
requisite rapport and confidence with the subject concerning a very
sensitive area of investigation into a very personal aspect of his life;
and by a lack of instrument reliability. The use of one form of
research methodology tends to isolate the responses from integration
with other social factors, and does not consider the relationship of the
sexual with other developmental variables, and the integration of sex

research within the main stream of social research. The structure of survey research has been imposed, and theories not carefully generated are being "tested."

An ecological approach to human development is an appropriate mechanism for exploring the possible links between human sexual development and other aspects of human development insofar as it may emphasize the simultaneous interaction of variables functioning in an integrated system; it is at the interface that we may discover some of the factors mediating what Simon (1973) refers to as the socio-sexual[1] (p. 75) and the sexio-social[2] (p. 75).

Lewis (1975) emphasizes that socio-emotional development must be studied via individual differences with the goal of understanding "process variables" (p. 331); otherwise, these differences and their social consequences are assumed. We must also attend to "practical significance" in the real world; in a time of burgeoning over-population, researchers have a professional responsibility to concern themselves with the social policy implications of their work particularly in terms of financial and intellectual commitments. This does not imply that research should be controlled by bureaucrats, but that a mutual interaction pattern should be established. Ideally perhaps, the results of research are translated into action programs where new

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[1]Socio-sexual: The organization of social activity and social space in order to facilitate sexual behavior. (Simon, W. "The Social, The Erotic and The Sensual: The Complexities of Sexual Scripts." Nebraska Symposium on Motivation. Lincoln, Nebraska, 1973, pp. 61-82.)

[2]Sexio-social: The organization of the sexual in order to facilitate essentially non-sexual social and personal goals. (Simon, W. Ibid.)

questions are generated and, for example, people are educated about
contraceptive techniques.

In order to elicit information concerning process variables in
the development of heterosexual competence, the researcher conducted a
series of case studies which would provide qualitative data for the
generation of hypotheses concerning the substantive themes and patterns
relevant to a sense of heterosexual competence.

Sample Selection

The sample of eight male freshmen was selected from a population
of approximately twenty-five males recommended by their instructors
in a humanities program in a large public university in the Midwest,
for ease and articulateness in verbal communication. It seemed logical
to expect that professionals in this program might be somewhat more
qualified than instructors in other university programs to evaluate
a student on the ability to communicate verbally. This form of selection
introduced a bias -- if competent individuals are relatively more verbal,
or verbal individuals more competent. Since the interviews were structured,
but open-ended, this choice was considered a necessary limitation by the
researcher. Final selection was made on the basis of responses to a
questionnaire which was administered in the respondents' dorms and
which was designed to elicit basic demographic information and infor-
mation about sexual and contraceptive experiences. Though the question-
naire also included a self-esteem scale to elicit feelings about the
self and perceived ability to influence the environment, the instrument

had not been pre-tested, validity and reliability had not been established, and this portion was disregarded as a factor in selection.

Two members of the sample were raised in a wealthy suburb outside a metropolitan area, one in a university community near an urban center; four in small cities or towns adjacent to metropolitan areas, and one in a rural setting. Two are virgins; both date -- one someone special. Two others were involved in monogamous relationships at the beginning of the study; and the remaining four date, but no one special. Of the sexually active, four use contraceptives 100 per cent of the time, one fifty per cent of the time, and one not at all.

The researcher attempted to choose a diverse sample with the goal of identifying the various themes and patterns which diversity might introduce. The sample was limited to eight individuals because this seemed a reasonable number for the completion of in-depth interviewing and analysis. Before they agreed to participate in the study, the subjects were told that the researcher was working on an NIH contraceptive study, that she was particularly interested in heterosexual competence, and that if they agreed to participate, their responses would be kept confidential. Formal written consent was obtained at this time.

Data Collection

Each individual in the sample was interviewed on three separate occasions: the first two interviews were conducted during the first eight weeks of the 1976 winter term, and the last was developed with the

insights gained by analyzing the first two, and was held during the first two weeks of the spring term of that same year.

The interviews were open-ended but structured; when the third interview was conducted, considerable rapport had developed between the investigator and most of the respondents. In almost every case the respondents seemed to provide more information in a "conversation" approach, where they were receiving feedback; the atmosphere was more relaxed and "client-centered." The probable bias of this approach is recognized and it was done consistently with each respondent during the third interview. In spite of interviewer feedback, this session was also the shortest for most subjects, partially because of the respondents' difficulties in remembering certain aspects of sexual socialization, and the investigator's impression that some of them were growing weary of involvement in the study. [This obstacle could be avoided by increasing the amount of time between interviews.] Some information was also obtained as the researcher chauffered the respondents to the office for the interview and back to the dorm. This information is so labelled when it appears in the text.

The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed; the interview schedules are provided in Appendix I. A pilot interview was conducted for each schedule; and it should also be noted that the interviewer had gained considerable experience interviewing in the same and related content areas during the previous year on a study of the contraceptive use of college students. This experience was important not only for the development of interviewing skills, but also as a preliminary source of ideas for the present study, hence reducing

the need for pilot interviews.

Average times for the three interviews were as follows:

Interview I - General sense of competence - 40 minutes (Range 50-35)

Interview II - Heterosexual competence - 35 (45-30)

Interview III - Sexual socialization - 30 (40-20)

At the beginning of each interview the respondent was told that participation was voluntary and that he could choose not to respond to any question; his responses would be kept confidential. Providing the questions of the second interview ahead of time had been considered, but it only seemed to make the pilot interviewee uncomfortable, so this procedure was not used.

Though there is no way of being certain, the interviewer perceived that the respondents were being more honest and providing more information as the interviews progressed; their honesty, of course, continues to be assumed. The third interview, particularly, is limited by retrospection:

> Another source of error is located in the existentialist insight that instead of the past determining the character of the present, the present significantly reshapes the past as we reconstruct our biographies in an effort to bring them into greater congruence with our current identities, roles, situations, and available vocabularies. (Gagnon and Simon, p. 13).

Though this is indeed a limitation of the study, we must also consider the practical significance of the importance for the future of the present scripted dialogue.

Data Analysis

In order to carry out an exploratory study with the goal of generating hypotheses, the Glaser-Strauss (1967) constant comparative method was chosen for analyzing qualitative data. In this approach the researcher codes the data, compares codes, recodes, develops and integrates categories, reduces categories and generates a developmental theory, consistently working toward a higher level of abstraction.

The analyst begins by coding each incident in the data into as many categories as possible, as categories emerge or as data emerge to fit an existing category. As incidents are constantly compared, one is soon able to begin to generate the theoretical properties of that category. As coding continues, the analyst makes a transition from comparing one incident with another to comparing incidents with properties of the category. When the theory begins to assume a form, modifications become fewer, and one is able to delimit the theory. This approach seemed particularly appropriate for investigating the individual's general sense of competence and the substantive themes and patterns in the development of heterosexual competence. It allows one to undertake an exploratory study, but with the advantage of analyzing as well as describing.

After the data had been coded by the investigator, one-fourth of the interviews (two for each topic area) were analyzed by a second coder and a reliability coefficient of .70 was established.

The second coder had been given a description of the Glaser-Strauss method and examples of interviews coded previously by the

investigator. The next time this method of analysis is employed by the researcher she will more thoroughly delimit the theory before submitting the data for analysis by a second coder. This procedure would avoid at least one of the sources of unreliability in the current study, where both coders coded for different details of the same broad area. Other sources of unreliability occurred when one coder coded the incident and the other did not, and when both coded the incident, but into different broad areas.

The third interview, which dealt primarily with influences on behavior rather than current behaviors, caused serious coding difficulties and was finally organized for presentation primarily by a description of the subjects' sources of socialization.

The codes were delimited to five end categories: the selection and use of information, interaction, flexibility (e.g., openness to new information and values), need for accomplishment, and anxiety. These categories were analyzed for each individual, but descriptions of the respondents are presented primarily in terms of the individual's most salient characteristics. Arthur, for example, is a member of the sample who does not fit the categories as clearly as some of the other subjects, but he does possess a sense of competence. In sum, though each individual was considered in relation to each dimension, the subject was neither forced in or out of the methodological mold prescribed by the literature and the experiences of the other subjects.

The coding scheme and examples are included in Appendix II.

Physical Description of The Sample

The reader is referred to the tables which follow for basic demographic information, reports of sexual and contraceptive experience, and salient characteristics of the subjects as perceived by the investigator. The table of contents is arranged so that the reader can follow each individual through each chapter as well as read about him in relation to the other subjects on the topic being discussed in each chapter.

The names of the subjects have, of course, been coded and every attempt has been made to preserve the anonymity of the respondents. They are presented in the text in the order in which they were inter-viewed.

Table 1. The Sample - Salient Characteristics

Stephen - Medium build, brownish blonde hair, casual dress, casual
          "polish", easy, confident manner, but "twitchy": would
          shake his knee while answering the more sensitive questions.
          Mother: Housewife; Father: Executive Vice President
          Main Orientation to the Study: Wanted to help
          Roommate of Peter

Peter -   Medium slender build, brown curly hair
          Very carefully, neatly, expensively dressed
          Concentrated "polish"
          Roommate (Stephen) describes him as a "Tony Randall" type
          Mother: Housewife; Father: Advertising Executive
          M.O.: Uncomfortable
          Roommate of Stephen

Alan -   Medium average build
          Black hair, flashy dark eyes
          Casual dress
          Talks and laughs easily
          Asks a lot of questions (about the study, about the med
            school buildings and programs)
          Mother: Teacher; Father: Educator administrator
          M.O.: Amusement

Phil -   Tall, average build
          Brown hair
          Communicates an air of sadness, of focusing on "what's wrong"
            in his life
          Mother: Housewife; Father: Engineer
          M.O.: Self-defense

Brian -   Short, medium build
          Curly brown hair
          Physically "attractive"
          Uncomfortable at first interview, but then relaxed
          Mother: Admission counselor; Father: M.D.
          M.O.: Seemed to be exploring and looking for responses to
            his ideas; watched the interviewer very carefully for
            any sign of confirmation or disapproval

Table 1 (cont'd.)

Ken -   Medium build, muscular
          Wears overalls
          Speaks slowly and awkwardly
          Mother: Teacher; Father: Teacher
          M.O.: Hesitation and uneasiness

Arthur - Tall, slender, blonde
          "Aesthetic-looking"
          Quiet, reserved
          Mother: Teacher; Father: Chemist, deceased
          M.O.: "Should I really be telling her this?"

Eric -   Tall, big
          Shoulder-length blonde hair
          Speaks slowly and carefully
          Always in a hurry to get to the gym
          Asks questions
          Mother: School teacher; Father: Police officer - Parents
             divorced
          M.O.: Curiosity -- about the study and the investigator.
             Wanted to know if investigator had a husband and if so
             "how does he feel about all this?"

In view of the narrative about to unfold, it may also interest the reader that Peter and Stephen, who are roommates, had a dorm room decorated in "sophisticated suburban", a style which I saw reproduced in no other dorm room when I administered the questionnaire, and that Eric's most prominent decoration was a huge spider in a glass cage.

Table 2. Sexual Activity and Current Contraceptive Use

	SEXUAL ACTIVITY	CURRENT CONTRACEPTIVE USE
STEPHEN	Date someone special No marry Intercourse - age 17	100% Previously caused a pregnancy
PETER	Date No one special Virgin	X
ALAN	Date No one special Intercourse - age 15	100%
PHIL	Date someone special Virgin	X

BRIAN	Date
	No one special
	Intercourse - Before
	  15
		50% - Increased to 100%
		  since involvement in study

KEN	Date No one special Intercourse - age 17	100%
ARTHUR	Date No one special Intercourse - age 16	100%
ERIC	Someone special No marry Intercourse - age 13	No

CHAPTER III

STYLES OF COMPETENCE AND THE MALE COLLEGE FRESHMAN

The Literature of Adolescent Competence

In this chapter the review of the competence literature will
be continued, with specific reference to the literature of adolescent
competence. The findings from the first interview of this study,
which dealt with the general sense of competence of the late adolescent
freshman male, will be discussed and integrated with findings from
other studies.

The early childhood challenges of separation from parents, and
identity formation confront the individual again in adolescence, but
in a large context, with more definitive consequences in terms of
specific life patterns. Following Dragastin and Elder (1975), human
development is viewed as a lifelong process, with adolescence as a
socially defined stage in the life course between childhood and
adulthood. In this volume, Swanson introduces the idea of "responsible
independence" for the adolescent (p. 296). He stresses the importance
of individual structuring of what one can do and is responsible
for doing in certain situations. It is the way in which the adolescent
perceives opportunity and experience.

Diana Baumrind (in Dragastin and Elder, 1975) takes the position

that one can achieve competence by circumventing the crisis of
adolescence or by emerging from them whole. It seems unlikely that
one would become genuinely competent by circumventing crises,
though avoidance of crises could result in the appearance of competence,
a superficial mask which postpones a rendez-vous with challenge until
a later time period in life course development.

In the identity formation process of the adolescent years,
Baumrind (drawing on Eriksonian theory) recognizes a kind of "psycho-
social moratorium" in which one can move toward finding one's niche
in the social worlds of love and work, or one can wallow on in
nihilism and escapism. The tasks of adolescence may not be resolved
until later in the life cycle, and it is also necessary to recognize
that "personal autonomy and individuation are not universally accepted
characteristics of the mature person." (p. 118).

In two studies of coping behavior, one with pre-college students
and another with hospitalized adolescents, Hamburg and Adams (1967)
found that the effective seeking and utilizing of information charac-
terized the group they defined as highly competent, which was also
characterized by seeking advance information about a new situation,
about new roles and future difficulties, and by using friendships
as sources of information. The highly competent could experiment
with alternatives by discussing major subjects and career plans with
friends. By presenting the subjects with ten ambiguous college
situations the investigators were attempting to elicit orientations
toward problem solving situations considered stressful for college
freshmen. Hamburg and Adams were interested in the ability to imagine

a favorable outcome, readiness to take initiative in attaining this outcome, and attitudes toward peers. The highly competent found problem situations manageable and solved them through activity; the hospitalized had few solutions. It seems reasonable, however, that this result could have occurred simply because of the environment and physical condition of the hospitalized subjects.

In a 1961 study Silber et al. attempted to find out how competent adolescents cope with the tasks presented by the transition from high school. Their sample was selected for ability to integrate competent capacities in academic work, ability to maintain interpersonal close-ness with a peer, and to participate in social activities. The study was done in a high per capita income Washington suburban community; the subjects planned to enroll in Eastern colleges. Those individuals who had difficulty establishing rapport with the interviewer were excluded from the study. The investigators found that their subjects were characterized by a tendency to reach out toward new experiences, to deal actively with challenges, and to enjoy a sense of mastery. It is also interesting to note that they sought out manageable levels of challenge. Silber et al. suggest that coping behavior has two components: "the effectiveness with which each task is accomplished," and "the cost to the individual of this effectiveness." (p. 355).

The investigators suggested that two hypotheses should be tested under controlled conditions (p. 359). These are "that active engagement with the environment is associated with effective coping, that openness of communication within the family and identification of problems aids in the development of healthy children, and that a

balance of power between parents is more often associated with
satisfaction in the family and healthy offspring." (p. 359).

Stanley King (1972) points out that the individuals in this sample
were "doers" with a limited fantasy life. They could criticize
themselves without being self-destructive and they could employ a
sense of humor to provide a "release of negative affect" (p. 356).
They assumed the responsibility for college plans and, in this process,
they demonstrated certain coping strategies. They drew on analogous
past experiences; by thinking out separation from parents, and what
would be expected of them in college, they were able to use the process
of anticipatory socialization; by learning about college life and
thinking of themselves in that context they went through a kind of
role rehearsal; they concentrated on the encouraging aspects and used
anxiety to facilitate action (p. 358).

King suggests that an overview of the findings from competence
studies indicates that other models of adolescent development are
required to balance the crisis model.[3] A summary of such studies
suggests that adolescents cope as often as not; they are able to
deal with depression and painful affect; they use humor and peer
discussion to work out feelings of anxiety; they "role rehearse"
for new experiences, draw on past experiences, and sublimate

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[3]G. Stanley Hall's crisis model of adolescence - A view which charac-
terizes personality development during adolescence and young adulthood
as having a crisis orientation. Conflict, turmoil, and rebellion are
expected as part of the process of growing up, and are required for
the ultimate achievement of maturity. (Hall, G.S. Adolescence and
Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime,
Religion and Education. Vol. 1. New York and London: D. Appleton
and Company, 1924.)

aggressive and sexual energies in sports and other social activities
(p. 363).

The Individual in Society

The individual formulation of the meaning and relevance of
society's institutions for him and the ways in which he interacts
with them is very well illustrated by the responses to the questions
"Why did you come to this university", "What did you expect of it"
and "How is it different from what you expected." One aspect which
clearly emerges is the individual's interpretation of whether or not
he "has a right" to expect anything. Where does his orientation
fit on dimensions characteristic of pre- to post-industrial man?
Does he live a personal[4] or a social[5] metaphor? Can he tolerate the
imperative of the present (Simon, 1973)? By their life styles and
attitudes toward college the respondents demonstrate both the "anomie
of affluence" and a tradition-bound self sacrifice and planning for
the future. As Simon illustrated in "Reflections on the Relationship
between The Individual and Society" (1973), Riesman's (1950)

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[4]The Personal Metaphor: A sense of commitment to personal language
being stronger than social metaphors, those who externalize the
internal; being less concerned with satisfying the world they ask
whether it can satisfy them. (Simon, W. "Reflections on the
Relationship between The Individual and Society." Human Futures.
London: SPC Science and Technology. 1973, pp. 142-3.)

[5]The Social Metaphor: Those who internalize the external, whose goal
is to meet the expectations and demands of society. (Simon, in
Op. Cit., pp. 142-3.)

" 'tradition-directed man' found himself most at home in pre-industrial societies; 'inner-directed man' being appropriate to the early and middle periods of industrial societies, while 'other-directed man' and the projected 'autonomous man' offer plausible outlines in later industrial society as well as post-industrial society." (Simon, pp. 147-8).

"The post-industrial individual's sense of his own worth will derive more from what he or she is rather than from what he or she might become. The essential value of what he or she is doing derives from the experiences intrinsic to the activity, rather than the instrumental value of that activity for the realization of other ends -- ends projected into an uncertain future." (p. 151). John Gardner's

> self-renewing man is versatile and adaptive. He is not trapped in techniques, procedures, or routines of the moment. He is not the victim of fixed habits and attitudes. He is not imprisoned by extreme specialization...In a rapidly changing world versatility is a priceless asset, and the self-renewing man has not lost that vitally important attribute. He may be a specialist but he has also retained the capacity to function as a generalist. The self-renewing man is highly motivated and respects the sources of his own energy and motivation. He knows how important it is to believe in what he is doing. He knows how important it is to pursue the things about which he has a deep conviction. Enthusiasm for the task to be accomplished lifts him out of the ruts of habit and customary procedure. Drive and conviction give him the courage to risk failure. (One of the reasons mature persons stop learning is that they become less and less willing to risk failure). And not only does he respond to challenge, but he also sees the challenge where others fail to see it... For the self-renewing man the development of his own potentialities and the process of self discovery never end. (in Rimmer, 1966, pp. 305-306).

Ralph Turner (1976) writes in the same vein, but discusses the inevitable conflict between impulse and institution:

> It is proposed that people variously recognize their real selves either in feelings and actions of an institutional nature, such as ambition, morality, and altruism, or in the experience of impulse, such as undisciplined desire and the wish to make intimate revelations to other people. A shift toward the impulse pole seems to be under way and might be plausibly explained by changing cultural definitions of reality, modified terms of social integration, shifting patterns of deprivation, or new opportunities and consequences. Many standard sociological assumptions about social control are incompatible with the new pattern of self-identification. (p. 989).

Simon (1973) points out that both competence and affluence are required to "internalize the external" and to operate on a personal and immediate level" (p. 156). It would also seem to require the kind of self-anchoring on a self-defined continuum as described by Cantril (1963): "Each individual creates for himself his own world of reality in which he assigns significance to what he perceives in terms of his life's purpose." (p. 141). It seems unlikely that he will make such assignation unless he has been socialized to the confidence of being able to influence his environment through his actions. Autonomous man requires a sense of competence.

Decision-Making Styles and The Current Study

Because the literature reviewed at the beginning of this chapter suggests that taking the responsibility for seeking information about colleges and applying to college on one's own initiative may

be one characteristic of the competent adolescent, the subjects were asked whether they sought information about college, whether they made a choice, how they have dealt with the consequences and what alternatives they are considering currently.

The data from the present study demonstrate the importance of the individual's decision-making style and the relationship between the individual and society. Whether or not the individual is satisfied with his own decisions would influence his sense of operating effectively in a series of environments and thus, his sense of competence. These factors are summarized in table form for each individual at the end of this chapter.

In the data under consideration, the influence of parents seems quite crucial in directing Peter, Stephen, and Eric toward this university. At what point does it become essential for the individual to make his own decisions and be responsible for them? Now that they are here, Peter and Stephen seem to be taking much more of a responsibility for their own future college plans.

Though no individual uses the same decision-making style for all decisions in every kind of situation, certain general styles do emerge from the data. These are think then do; do then think; think, don't do; do, don't think; don't think don't do; and think and do (Weick, 1971).

There are many variations on these themes; oftentimes decisions are not made, and in the chapter on heterosexual competence, we will see the importance of think and do. All of these styles are well illustrated in the presentation of the data on styles of competence, and they can be viewed as ways of writing a script for coping with the academic and

social challenges of the freshman college year. The process of coping also points to the relevance of retrospection -- only knowing what the individual has done after he has done it.

Think then do is defined as a decision-making style in which the actor plans the event or series of events and then follows the plan. The style is exemplified by the careful manner in which Alan weighed the costs against the benefits of attending different universities and colleges and decided to register at this university.

By contrast, "do then think" is a more retrospective style in which the actor acts out the events and then organizes them internally. Brian, for example, did not consider the advantages or disadvantages of attending college and he had not planned to apply until one day, after talking to his mother, "we just ended up writing for applications." Now that he is enrolled in the university he is assessing the costs and benefits of college life.

Some of Peter's comments illustrate "think don't do", a style in which the actor organizes the events, but doesn't act on them. Peter articulates the possible reasons for his social isolation at this university, but does not take action to change the situation.

Eric's sexual behavior prior to this year exemplifies "do don't think". The actor acts spontaneously without formulating the meaning or consequences of his actions. In the past Eric has been sexually active without the benefit of contraception, and without considering the possible consequences for himself and his partner.

The actor who "doesn't think or do" avoids thinking or planning for the events of his life. The only example of this style in the

current sample is Phil -- who is often overwhlemed by anxiety, blanks
out on tests, and feels like he's "just kind of existing here."

"Think and do" is the decision-making style of the actor who
plans the events of his life and reorganizes the plan as the event
proceeds. As he considers enrolling at another university next year,
Stephen seeks out information and talks to people, but he's also very
involved in the social and academic life here and he considers the
possibility that he may "get into the system" at this university and
decide not to leave.

There is a common thread which runs through the cited works of
Smith, White, Simon, Gardner, and Turner which illustrates the importance
of the exploratory, innovative metaphor and its possible effectiveness
in society. Smith's contention that the competent individual can risk
disapproval to master tasks on his own terms, White's conviction that
drive theory does not account for the individual's innate need to
explore the environment, Simon's personal metaphor, Gardner's self-
renewing man who is not "trapped in the procedures of the moment", and
Turner's suggestion that American society has been moving toward a
commitment to the "impulse pole."

In the works of these authors which were reviewed by the
investigator, Turner articulates the conflict between institution and
impulse more clearly than the others. Karl Weick (1971), using some-
what different terminology, relates these concepts to the possible
operations required of the individual as problem-solver. Weick refers
to Rabinowitch's review (1968) of The Double Helix to illustrate the
detective metaphor and the creator metaphor.

In assessing the work of Watson and his associates in unraveling the molecular structure of the DNA molecule, Rabinowitch makes a rather telling comment about this discovery and how it is qualitatively different from the work of men like Einstein and Planck. He uses the metaphor of the detective story to illustrate the distinction. 'The problem solved by these four young investigators, however important, was not a deep one: its solution required ingenuity and persistence, not inspiration and genius... However, such breakthroughs (as Einstein's theory of relativity) cannot be narrated as detective stories, because they are not solutions of clearly recognizable problems, to which a correct solution had to exist -- as a murderer has to exist if a murder is committed -- thinkers (such as Einstein) were confronted with apparent confusion, contradiction, and lack of logic in natural phenomena, rather than a clear-cut question; they made order out of disorder by creative thought, not by detective skill.' (p. 14). ...The emphasis in the detective metaphor is on planning, step by step covering of possibilities, sizable use of deduction, deliberateness, and systematic exploration. The creator metaphor emphasizes the indeterminacy of proper procedure and the phenomenon to be apprehended, relies more heavily on action rather than deliberation, places greater emphasis on unsystematic, quasi-random exploration as the means to discover problems and solutions, and contains a more prominent emphasis on retrospective thinking. (p. 15). ...The problem solving sequence think then do, implies the murderer metaphor; the sequence, do then think, implies the victim metaphor. (p. 15).

It is suggested that, in combination, the sequences "think then do" over the long term, and "think and do" in situation-specific behaviors, represent a plausible negotiation of the conflict between impulse and institution for some individuals. The formulation and operation of these two styles allow the individual the recognition of appropriate occasions for "do, then think." If, for example, one generally expects sexual activity to be part of one's life (think, then do), one obtains and uses contraceptives in specific situations (think, then do or think and do), then it seems infinitely more probable that one will cope successfully with unanticipated sexual situations (do, then think). Sex may be spontaneous, but it will not "just happen."

These approaches appear in the attitudes and behaviors of different

respondents in the sample to different degrees and form that individual's style and sense of competence.

Styles of Competence

Peter and Stephen are products of very wealthy families from a sophisticated suburban community outside a metropolitan center. Though Stephen talked to people about alternative college choices, both he and Peter came here because their older brothers had done so and they felt "comfortable" here (before they enrolled). Stephen claims that his parents "kept needling "him about college applications and Peter admitted that although his high school grades were good he was "too lazy to send in applications." Neither is having academic difficulty here, but their major attitude toward the university is denigration of the social life; though Stephen interacts more frequently and with more "success" with the other freshmen (according to Peter "he has more freaky friends than I do"), both regret the immaturity and rowdiness of their classmates; both are considering other schools, for Stephen "unless I get into the system here" and for Peter "unless things change." It should be noted that Stephen uses the active voice for the solution of his dissatisfaction, while Peter expects change, if it occurs, to come from the environment.

Stephen

The data from Stephen's first interview are replete with examples of seeking and utilizing information; he sometimes seems to make the
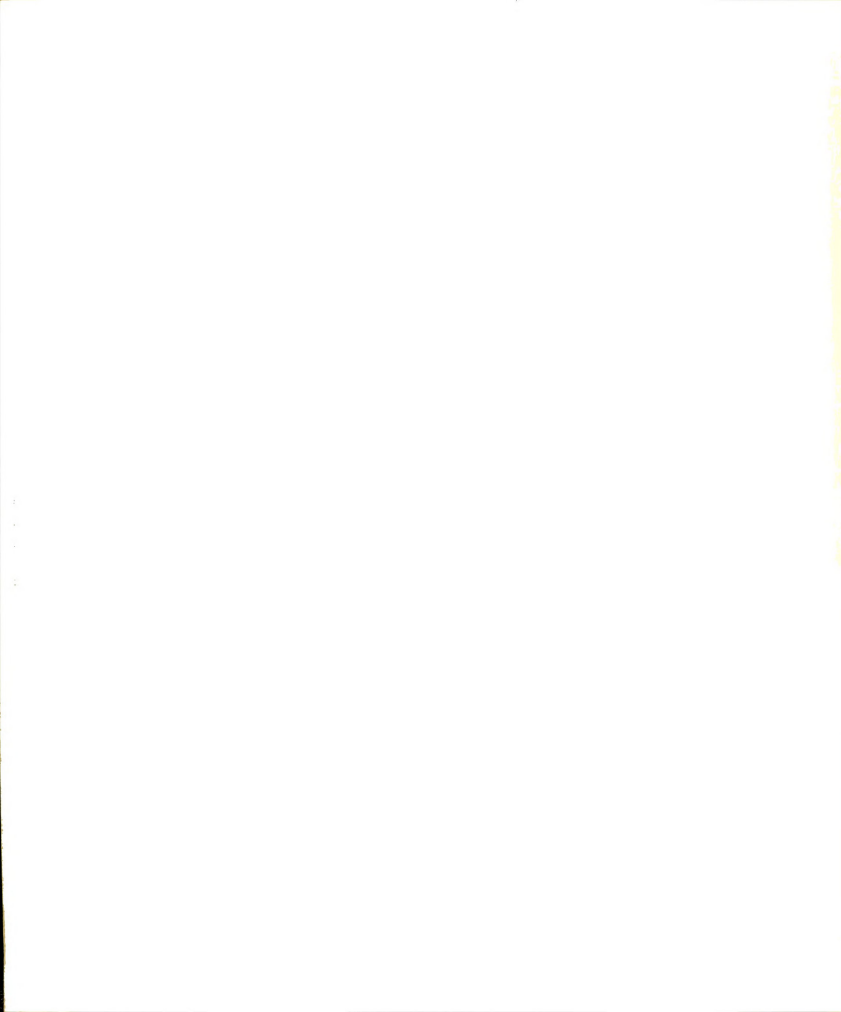
"safe" choice, as in coming here, though one suspects this choice may also have been influenced by his devotion to his high school girl friend, who is also attending an in-state college. The data support the contention that his style is do and think, over the long term; his situational behavior is influenced by the fact that he tends to become easily upset; he has "a quick hard temper which passes." He and Alan and Arthur made more of a choice than the others about coming here. Though Stephen investigated other alternatives, he made a "comfortable" choice -- he opted for the school an hour from home, the school which his brother attended, and where he already knew people; there are some indications in the second interview that although he maps out the psychological scene, he continually adjusts to the situation as it is. In his future college plans, he is considering other schools and seeking information about them at the same time that he is thinking about the possibility that he may enjoy staying here.

The do and think approach has increased Stephen's adjustment to college because he has altered his views of large universities since he started finding his way around; he now recognizes that size offers many cultural advantages as well as the disadvantages of impersonality. His sense of competence may derive partially from the fact that he "plans but always leaves room for the possibility that (his) plans will not turn out." His temper momentarily interferes. One summer during high school he and Peter were on a boat which capsized; it was Stephen's boat and the mast was destroyed. According to Peter, Stephen began to "fall apart." Peter told him to "knock it off" and they got to shore.

Stephen's sense of competence basically derives from the fact that
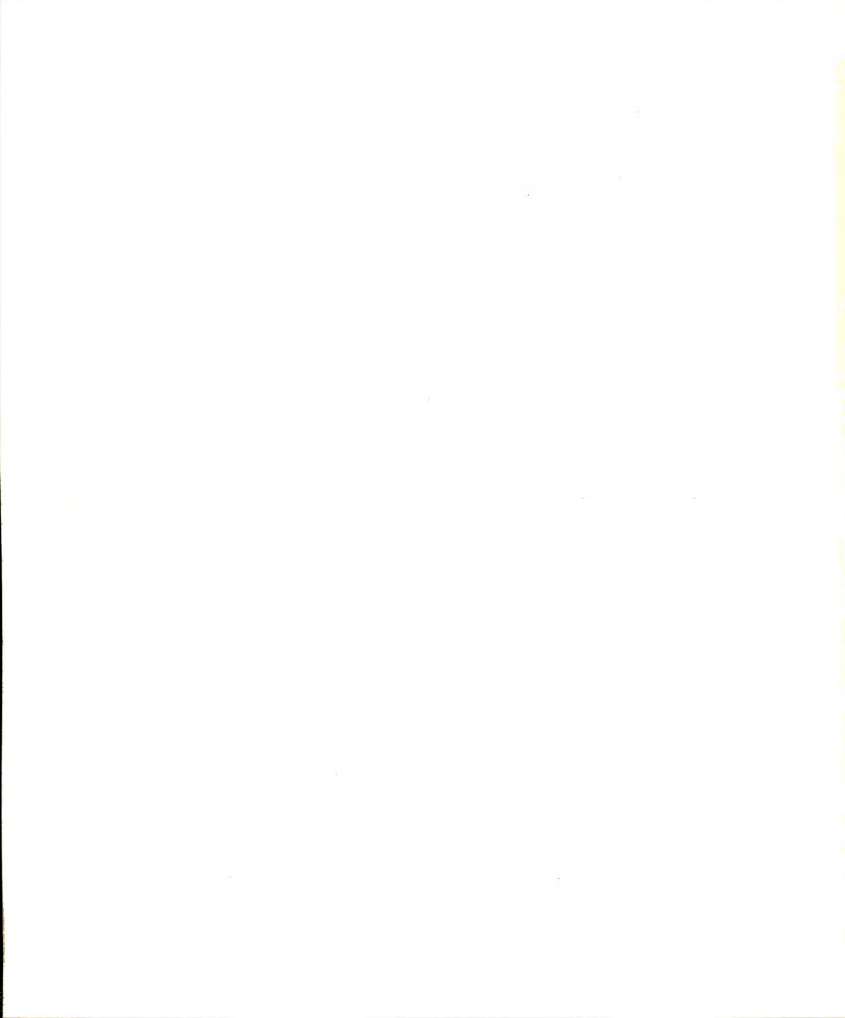
he seeks information, though he may not always use it; he considers
alternatives (I may stay, I may leave, I need to know more about the
situation before deciding); he uses a sense of humor to deal with
roommate problems; he draws on past experience (during high school he
had a few years of "do don't think" and he "pulled himself out of that");
and he seems to trust himself and his ability to "find my way around."
He states that "incompetence is directly below the point where _you_ set
your standards"; and it is important for him to do something right "when
I believe in it, in whether it's worth doing."

He claims to be a very sensitive person ("I'm always thinking about
what other people are going to think, and I get walked on"). As we will
see in the next chapter, his passion and vulnerability have had
ramifications for his sense of heterosexual competence.

Peter

For Peter the decisive issue is working out a negotiation between
his ideas about control and perfection, and adjusting to some values
which he is confronting for the first time on this campus.

He did not make a careful decision about college; his dissatisfaction
is goal-oriented, however; he is looking very carefully at colleges for
next year. He claims to "detest disorganization" and he is a
perfectionist about his physical surroundings. According to Stephen
(Peter's roommate), if Peter is writing a letter and he gets up to
answer the telephone, he puts his writing materials away; the room must
be perfectly neat before he can do homework. He seems to be very
sensitive to the physical environment; he thinks constantly about "the
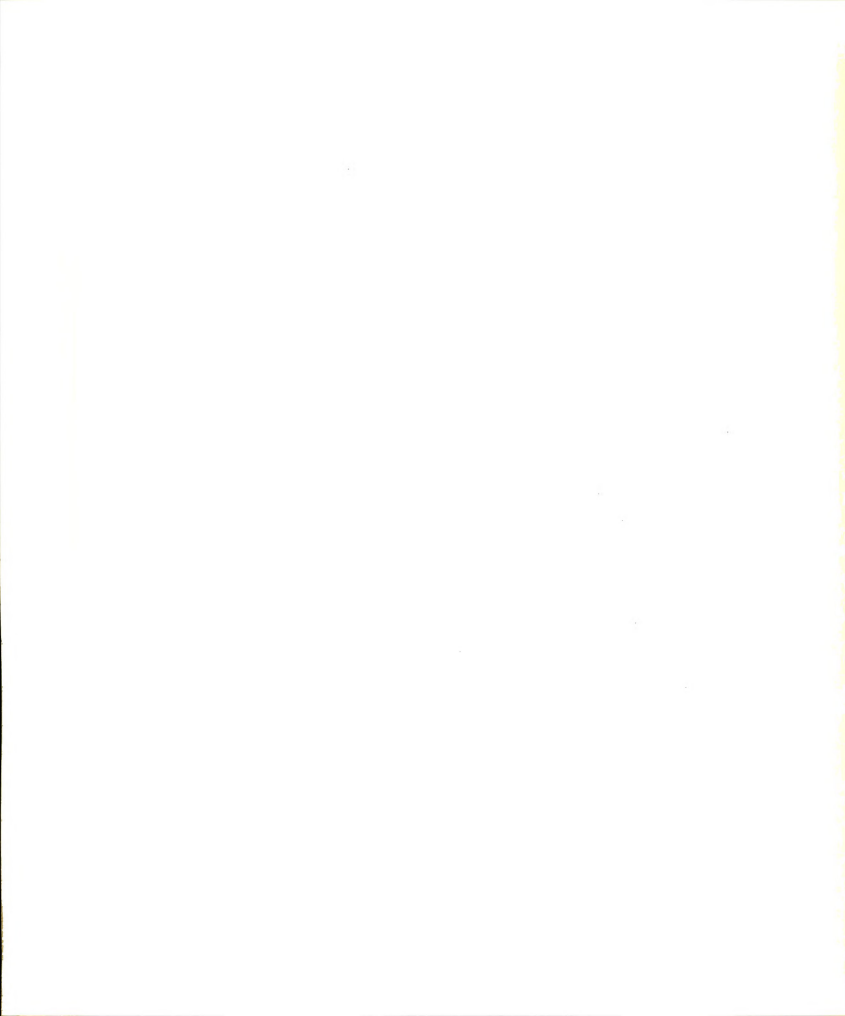
kind of house I would like to have." He plans the smallest details of
the social events in his life, but he does not plan his studying very
well; he seems proud of the fact, however, that when academic life
does become chaotic he "doesn't fall apart and say forget it"; he gets
it done. There are some indications both in this interview and the next
that Peter is so highly selective that he ignores what is not important
to him until it becomes absolutely necessary for him to face it, e.g.,
college plans, college studying, and "serious" relationships with the
opposite sex.

He dresses more formally than the freshmen here and he is a source
of amusement to his friends for that reason, but he continues to do as
he pleases. Does competence necessarily involve the alteration of one's
values? Peter believes that he will be more at home next year at a
small men's college; he presents himself as a likeable suburban snob,
and of the freshmen here he says: "I suppose there's no accounting for
taste."

Peter does not face university life with a sense of competence
because, although he is performing academically, he has not allowed
himself to experience student life here; he rejects the social environ-
ment without attempting to understand it; he goes up North every weekend;
he has "all of (his) fun on the weekends" and he becomes depressed
when it's time to return. He states:

> "It seems a lot of guys are just here for the fun of it.
> I know a lot of people who've left already; they just
> bombed out the first term; I don't know, I just have different
> ideas about things; people are constantly putting something
> in their mouths; I'm just used to a little more -- what's
> the word -- values? Manners?

and

"I'm afraid of losing my table manners here."

Peter and Stephen get along pretty well as roommates, but Peter criticizes Stephen for smoking: "It's a sign of weakness. It's dirty and it smells." He seems to put the burden of change on other people. Of his generally poor relationship with his older brother he says: "I'm patient about it as much as I can be. I would like to help him change; but he doesn"t see my point of view."

His current decision style is think don't experience, only do within the framework to which you were socialized at an earlier period. Because he has avoided involvement at this university, his interviews do not provide examples of seeking information, except in relation to planning for next year. He does not have many friends here and he clearly does not experiment with alternatives; his social life is still at home and up North; he does possess a sense of mastery, which sometimes works against him:

> "I do like to have things my way, not my way, but
> to be kind of on top of things, involved. I don't
> like feeling incompetent; it can ruin my whole day if I
> don't ski good; in golf too it's embarrassing to me. I
> think that's what kept me from doing a lot of things,
> because of a feeling that I wouldn't be good right from
> the start, which is dumb, but getting up there on the
> first tee in front of all those friends!"

It seems that Peter is afraid to try if he may fail, and this insecurity in confronting a major value change may be influencing his lack of motivation for social competence at this university; his lack of motivation increases his insecurity because it limits his
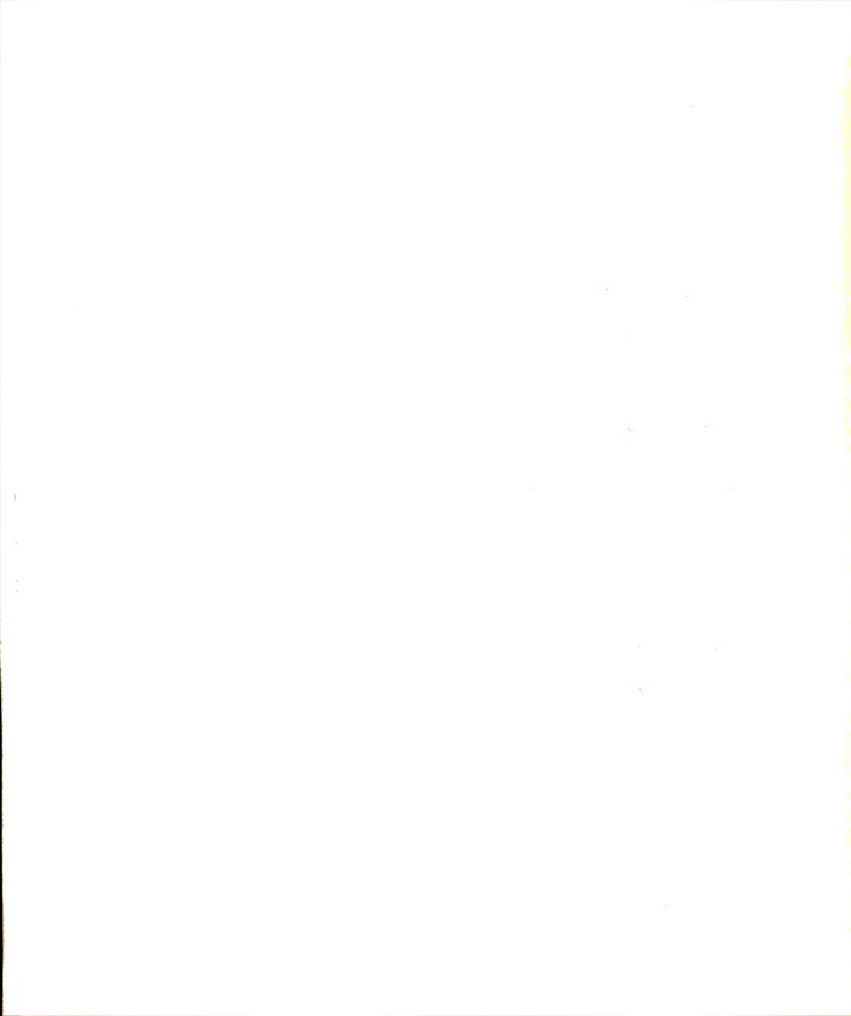
opportunities for positive social feedback.

Alan

Alan took the most thoroughly selective approach in the sample to college application and other aspects of college life; it is also interesting to note that he is the most experience-oriented. He planned very carefully for this university, weighing the costs against the benefits; he came here because he could attain more of his goals for less money; and he was initially angered at having to pay for general education courses here which he could have taken at home. Alan's style is so thoroughly (but generally, in the long range) think then do, that he has the freedom for think and do in the short range. During high school he had several experiences of do then think, which caused conflicts with school and community authorities. Perhaps Alan is an example of an individual who by coping has learned that he can cope. Even now he claims "it is more important to experience something bad than nothing at all." Alan seems to trust himself and his own judgment and to believe in his own opinion and ability to handle situations; he seems to consider the why, the meaning behind behavior; for example, he does not feel competent in math and he states "most of the time it isn't that I can't learn something. It just takes me longer. It's just a question of how hard to study."
and "When I don't do as well as I hoped I try to look at things ration-ally, it's just a grade."

He uses humor for coping when things go wrong; he seeks information from other people. "At first I had problems. I didn't make friends as

quickly as I expected to. I talked to my friends about it; most of them were in the same boat." He is open to information. Though he and his roommate have few values in common, Alan recognizes that he has learned a lot about the economics of farming from him, and realizes that he was selfish to resent his roommate's shyness at the beginning. He is empathic -- in his relationships with his roommate, with his mother, and generally in his attempts to understand human behavior; he has a way of looking at an event from more than one point of view, e.g., when he applied to Cornell he was annoyed because the application was so long but then he realized "they would know more about me."

Alan believes in rationality and he considers sex a game, as long as no one is hurt. He is similar to Stephen in that his interviews show a disproportionate number of examples of seeking information and because he makes specific plans, but then he says, "just tentative you know." He is different from Stephen, who tends to lose his temper: "I work things out on the spot. I like to try to do things even when they aren't possible. Reason with people. They expect you to get angry." Alan comes closer than anyone else in the sample to Simon's ideal of autonomous man. He seeks information, uses friendships as sources of information, experiments with alternatives, draws on past experience, and looks at the world with humor and empathy.

Phil

Phil was accepted at three schools, and he did make a decision to come to this university, but his choice was made on the basis of very little information, and he admitted that he was highly influenced by

the fact that all of his friends came here; he seems to want to make
other people responsible for his choices. His dissatisfaction is
goalless. Phil presents a very unhappy, depressed self; he has not been
involved in activities here; the Resident Assistant has encouraged him
to find some activities which interest him, but Phil has isolated him-
self with his studies. He seems so overwhelmingly concerned with _how_
he is doing that he never objectively considers what he is doing, or
if indeed that is what he wants to do. Insight into this difficulty
may be gained by reporting a conversation between the subject and the
interviewer in the car on the way to the office for the second interview.
Phil reported that his older sister and younger brother have always
been straight A students, with seemingly little work; and he has always
had to work very hard for a C or maybe a B. One can understand that
this situation might impress a growing child with the possibility of
being unable to influence or alter his universe, and a mechanism for
coping could be the statement "other people were not very helpful at
all." Another indication of his sense of ineffectiveness is the fact
that he tried not to expect anything of college and he "feels like
(he's) just kind of existing here." One is inclined to think of him as
anomic man, but that is not accurate because Phil does have norms,
rather rigid ones, and it may be that his isolation is a form of
protection against becoming marginal man. Rigid internalized values
might also be a way of imposing structure on an otherwise anomic
environment. Phil is one of two individuals in the sample who mentions
"being away from home" as a problem; his definition of competence is
"doing something without someone holding your hand."

Phil seems to question his own sense of control. He doesn't really enjoy the company of his two roommates but he decided to room with them because he knew they wouldn't give him any static. He backs off from disagreements: "If I take an aggressive stand on something I get carried away. I cope by trying not to let the incident occur. I want to control any situation where anyone would tell me what to do. I just can't have anyone dominate over me."

Because Phil had great difficulty with the second interview (heterosexual competence) and either could not or would not respond to the questions concerning sex, the interviewer allowed the subject to drift, and raised some of the issues discussed in the first interview. As part of this conversation Phil outlined the stages he has passed through in learning to cope with aggression. In the first stage he would get very angry and try to provoke somebody into provoking him. After that, if he thought there was going to be trouble, "I'd wait for them to hit me to hit them. Now if I even feel there's going to be trouble I leave." Yet in the first interview when asked about aggressiveness, Phil stated that he "has great difficulty walking away."

Phil's style is "don't think don't do", mainly, it seems, because he gets lost in overwhelming anxiety and avoidance. He blanks out on tests and does poorly as a result; he isolates himself from people: "I just couldn't stand being with too many people. I really don't enjoy their company." and in studies:

"I always took pride in making up my own little philosophies about the book. I had a disagreement with the teacher, stormed out and just

forgot it. I decided I wasn't going to do any work in there." He
lacks a sense of control over his own destiny:

"I'm afraid I might get married before I'm out of school. I don't
know if I have any control over that. I don't know if I can stop it or
not. If that was put upon me I might not be able to finish up." And
he is anxious:

"I just worry. It's one of my biggest problems. The only thing
that gets me to stop worrying is to start worrying about something else."

Ken

Ken chose to come to this university, but only because he did not
receive an appointment to one of the service academies. He communicates
a sense of being both satisfied and dissatisfied here, and he has
reapplied for admission to the academy for next year. One of his main
reasons for wanting to go there is financial stability: "If I only put
in twenty years I could come out at only 39 with a pension or any job I
wanted." Unlike autonomous man Ken is more interested in stability
and in what he can become rather than who he is.

He was raised in a rural setting by college-educated parents. In
personal appearance and mannerisms he seems unsophisticated and
threatened both academically and socially by the experience of being a
freshman here.

Though initially somewhat overwhelmed by the size of the campus and
the academic workload, Ken figured out where he had to go to get help,
even though he wasn't used to having to find somebody. He expected to
be a very minute part of the class: "Where I'm from people are really

afraid of size" and he has found that one has to go to lots of different places to find help, but it is available.

He is achieving on the athletic field and he has received positive feedback from the coaches. He also seems to feel that his success in his sport is the result of fortune rather than performance: "It just happened -- the right time, the right place, and I got some credit for it."

Socially, he finds it difficult to find dates or people who share his positive attitudes toward conservation, country bars, and country music, and it is these differences in values which make him somewhat isolated and uncomfortable here. "These people complain about destroying wildlife and the only thing they've read is a Bambi book."

Ken admits to a feeling of social incompetence: "There are some guys who can walk up to a girl and start a conversation; if you don't feel competent you can't do that because you're too worried about rejection."

He is confused by ambiguity ("Incompetent people are those who have no common sense; they say one thing and do another."). He expects people to care about him, and admits to a certain frustration about the time involved in having to look for help in so many different places. Though he does not share some of the values of the "city people" he is pleased about learning to find his way around and delighted with his success in sports.

Stephen, on the other hand, demonstrates a more sophisticated (but not necessarily more competent) approach in his comparison of a small college versus a large university.

Stephen:

"At first I was disallusioned. It's huge, my God, look
at this, yet suddenly it started interesting me because I
started finding my way around. I started getting a per-
spective about the whole thing and realizing how many
people 45,000 really is, and it's not that much...I would
never go to a small school -- in a big school there's so
much to do and so many places. If you don't feel like
going to the bar you can go to the movies -- eight movies
you can go to."

and

"You're very well hidden here and if you make a fool
of yourself in front of this guy, you can just hide in
the 45,000 students. Chances are you won't ever see him
again."

Brian

Brian demonstrates a combination of decision-making styles which

seems to vary by the kind of activity in which he is involved. As we

will see in the next chapter, his sexual scripts are more apparent

than those of any other member of the sample, and he may be using

sexual competence to substitute for a lack of a general sense of

competence. His account of how he decided to come to this university

is almost amusing. He applied late "on the spur of the moment." He

had wanted to go around the world on a freighter, but one day he was

talking to his mother (who just happens to be a college admissions

counselor) and "all of a sudden we just ended up writing for college

applications." He expected college to be more difficult academically

and socially; he expected a big school but decided he would just "take

it as it came." He claims that he is not outgoing and does not like

to put out the extra effort to meet people. According to Brian, "some

guys think when they go to college they're going to be having

intercourse all the time. It's just not that way. It's freer but it's not that frequent. Another problem is an inferiority complex about upperclassmen and dating upperclass girls."

Brian is unsure of what the word "competence" means. He's "coming on many new ideas right now" and "I can't say I'm sure about anything." In academic life "I just can't stand writing papers. I write several copies. In papers I can't express myself well. I can't even talk and express myself well. I have trouble writing what I want to say. They come out really awkward."

"I do feel I can handle situations much better now. I'm becoming more sure of myself about situations and I can deal better with them. I wasn't ever faced with these situations before. In sports I feel confident because I know what I can do and what I can't do. Socially I have an inferiority complex. I'm kind of a smaller person (physical size) meeting people." He and his roommate do not get along: "He's from a small town up North and he's always acting like a hard guy"; "He's a smart talker"; "He comes on strong with the girls." His roommate thus demonstrates some of the characteristics for which Brian himself possesses a sense of insecurity.

In Brian's first interview there are many instances of withdrawing, of not interacting, and no instances of seeking information or confronting issues. When he becomes annoyed with his roommates he lets it slide. "I hold it in, which isn't good because I get very frustrated." and "I worry a lot. I'm a constant worrier. I don't talk or let the feelings out so it just sort of builds up." and "Before finals I don't even like to study. Not because I hate studying, but because I'd rather

just take it and do good."

At least at this point in his life Brian seems to be in a kind of "holding pattern"; one gets the impression that his doing is a kind of "going along". Perhaps that is an effective coping style -- in meeting new lifestyles and ideas one waits to define the environment until enough information has been acquired. Brian's sense of competence may be limited by the fact that he seems to wait for things to happen to him rather than seeking out and using information.

Arthur

It is difficult to sort out Arthur's conflicting comments about why he came to this university. He applied to Cornell, was not accepted, and one of his reasons for applying to here was to get out of New York State and "away from my downbeat mother." He didn't seem to know much about the veterinary school here, which was, at first, his intended major. He is now undecided about a major.

Arthur is satisfied with life here; first term he "made a lot of mistakes" because he "felt kind of insecure"; he partied too much and didn't do very well on his grades. He is working harder this term.

"I always felt fairly intelligent until this term's grades came. If working this term I receive no good grades I may have to re-evaluate myself. If my grades don't improve I will probably blame it on something else."

Upon arrival at college Arthur decided that he was going to change his style of interacting. "At home I did a lot of things wrong -- alienated a lot of people. I did a lot of arguing about religion --

I don't do that anymore. I also came to not be as positive about my ideas as I was before so I don't feel good about arguing them."

Arthur's father died of cancer last October, and Arthur seems to be questioning what it means to live:

> "Right now I'm trying to plan for the future and figure out if I'll die before 40 or after. If before I'll drop out of school and go do what I really want to do now. But if I do that and I live past 40 to 65 or 50? I just see the old people who don't have any social security and nothing put away. Then I'd want to stay in school, get some sort of a job and compromise between what I want do do -- just travel around, not do much of anything and earning something to fall back on."

He does plan for the future, but not for smaller things because "that saves a lot of anxiety when you don't meet your plans." When he is really anxious he tends to respond with diffusion by visiting in dorm after dorm or "by developing psychosomatic illnesses."

His style is think then do, but apparently with a high level of anxiety. One is impressed by the way in which his sense of competence (though a little shaky at this point) seems to come from within himself. He trusts the individual's ability to self-assess, e.g., competence is "feeling good about yourself -- feeling that you're all right." He does not depend on other people to arrive at his own values, and this is clearly illustrated in the next chapter. Arthur seems to be a good example of an individual who doesn't fit the standard characteristics of competence, but he feels quite competent in his own way. Arthur compares himself with his roommate of last term:

Roommate: "He was a lot more outgoing. He was always going out and doing things and a lot of times I would stay around. I don't know how to explain it."

Himself: "I just go for a walk out away from everybody and just think and straighten things out my way. I do a lot of escaping -- I hide things from people."

Eric

Eric's mother took the major responsibility for his college plans, and it is not clear from the data whether this is because he was travelling to compete in sports during the time when college applications had to be completed. His trips certainly provide an explanation for his "grade point not being good enough for much else" (other than this campus). Because Eric has travelled every weekend for nine months of the year since age six, he was never very involved in school activities. When asked what he expected of college he replied: "I didn't know what to expect. I never expect anything socially. I didn't have time to think about it. I set it aside." Eric establishes very high standards for achievement, particularly in sports, and he has never been satisfied with his performance. He has never been able to plan for events: "Either it's spontaneous or it doesn't come off." He copes with unexpected misfortune (such as his uncooperative car) by "just sitting down and discussing it with myself." "It just wasn't going to start."

Eric's self-presentation seems confident; he has gained a certain amount of sophistication through his travelling. He likes the freedom of the university, "it's better than a working man's life"; but he is disappointed that the students are not more involved in the social

issues, as in the 60's. In spite of his apparent self-confidence, one sometimes suspects a mask; his travels still prevent him from developing long-term social relationships; one also might detect a certain hostility, possibly toward the middle class. We had both spent the previous summer in San Francisco and on comparing notes (he didn't like it, I did) he surveyed my middle class appearance and said: "I guess you wouldn't have stayed in the places I did."

It is interesting to note that while for Ken athletics is a vehicle for integration with the social system and development of a sense of competence, for Eric it becomes a limiting factor because he sets very high standards, is never satisfied with his performance and is so completely involved in the sport that his hours for developing a sense of competence in other arenas, e.g., academic ("I never expect more than a C") and social are severely limited.

The importance of context is well-illustrated by Eric, who having been at the top of his athletic teams in high school, finds himself pressured to compete successfully in college. Rosenberg (1965) has emphasized the importance of consonance and dissonance in the social context of adolescence. He identified the components of context for the individual as self-esteem, stability of the self concept, and group identification.

Contexts of dissonance which might affect the adolescent could include a later maturing male on a neighborhood block of early maturers with a passion for football, an unattractive female with very attractive college roommates, an intellectual in a group of athletes or the rural individual in a cosmopolitan college. One must also consider the

extent to which the individual can mediate the dissonance over time and achieve an appropriate balance. Rosenberg points out that consonance <u>assumes</u> dissonance, though in many situations a dissonant context prevents the confirmation of the self hypothesis. The individual who has developed a sense of competence would presumably be more able to resolve dissonance.

The main themes which emerge from Eric's data are those of self-assessment and comparison. Eric also applies the concept of context to university life in general: "In a school this size if you're used to the fact that you have an identity then you have a problem" and "you learn how to handle the challenges here by making your own decisions and learning from your mistakes." Eric's approach is think, then do, but a busy schedule becomes an avoidance of experiencing in many arenas, and his sexual behavior is a very good example of his lack of a sense of competence; he also indicates that at least on some occasions his approach is do then think: "I never plan anything. If it isn't spontaneous it doesn't come off."

The way in which one labels the self within the context is important. Stephen comments: "It's going to be different next year when I'm out of here (the freshman dorm). Also people won't be <u>freshmen</u> any more and I use that term very lightly because I'm a freshman but all my friends here are upperclassmen and I've gotten to be like them and the freshmen just seem so...and they're always talking about freshmen and what the typical freshman is, and I can see them around me, and I just don't like that atmosphere. Rowdy freshmen (be cool and impress everybody) kind of attitude. I think once people are no longer freshmen

(well some people will be freshmen all their lives I guess) and they
have been through a year of this and they're sick of it and they can
start relaxing and that will be better."

Summary

If sense of competence is the sense of dealing effectively with
the environment, then the freshman college year draws on previous
individual experience and demands adjustment and negotiation. The
challenges of discovery and adjustment permeate the data. The develop-
ment of a sense of competence is a process; because of their approaches
some people arrive at a higher point on the range sooner than others,
and maybe "some people will be freshmen all their lives", and that,
too, may be a way of coping.

The data would seem to indicate that for the current sample those
individuals who seem to possess the highest sense of competence are
those who are not "circumventing the challenges" of the freshman college
year but rather those who, for the most part, are actively engaging
with the environment as suggested by Hamburg and Adams, Silber, and
King. Each member of the sample mentions a certain degree of lack of
self-confidence upon first arriving here, though an already developed
sense of competence might have more often resulted in active engage-
ment with the environment and the further development of a sense of
competence.

Table 4 at the end of this chapter demonstrates where the
subjects generally fit on a rigidly positive-negative summary of the

end categories as they attempt to mediate the often dissonant contexts
of the freshman college year. Stephen and Alan seek, interact, and are
open to the environment; they both have a need to accomplish, but they
both plan and allow for the possibility that their plans will not work
out as expected. Those deemed generally to possess a low sense of
competence also demonstrate some similar characteristics: Peter, Phil
and Eric do not generally seek information or interact with peers.
Phil states that he copes with a conflictual situation by "trying not
to let the incident occur"; Peter admits that fear of failure often
inhibits his willingness to try, while Eric is never satisfied with
either his athletic or academic performance. Ken and Brian seem to be
in the process of developing a sense of competence in the current context,
Ken mainly through his success in sports and in learning to find his way
around, and Brian in developing confidence about coping with the social
and academic challenges of the freshman year, challenges which he
describes as "situations" which he never had to face before this year.
Both feel isolated, but Ken seeks information while Brian seems to let
it come to him. It is more important to Ken to accomplish and for
neither does level of anxiety seem to be a severe hindrance.

Arthur presents the least straightforward set of characteristics.
He is isolated, accomplishment seems important to him, and anxiety is
a problem for him at times. His data add up to a highly individualized
sense of competence. He makes his own decisions, is not afraid to be
different and has considered the possible pathways he may follow --
for example, either to work and save money, or to travel and earn as
he goes. His sense of competence seems internal and individualized,

and to a very great extent his data continue to represent an enigma for the investigator. He deals actively with the college environment, but in his own way and on his own terms.

In the interviews of Stephen, Alan, Ken, Brian, Arthur, and Eric, there is evidence of a willingness to and expectation of change. Peter and Phil expect the environment to change to meet their needs, and this year they have both come into contexts significantly discordant from those in their previous experiences; perhaps their expectation for change in the environment partially eliminates the opportunity for developing a sense of competence in the context of this university. As illustrated by the eight-month-old child referred to in an earlier chapter, the ability to walk requires not only the physical capability, but the opportunity and willingness to place one foot in front of the other.

Table 3. Decision Style and Goal Orientation

	DECISION STYLE	SATISFIED/ DISSATISFIED	GOALS/GOALLESS
STEPHEN	Do and Think	S	G
PETER	Think, Don't Experience	D	G
ALAN	Think Then Do Do and Think	S	G
PHIL	Don't Think Don't Do	D	GLS
BRIAN	Think and Go Along	S	?
KEN	Think Then Do	D	G
ARTHUR	Think Then Do	S	G
ERIC	Think Then Do	S	G

Table 4. The Categories

	SEEKING	INTERACTING	ACCOMPLISHMENT	FLEXIBILITY	ANXIETY AS A PROBLEM
STEPHEN	Yes	Yes	Medium	Yes	Sometimes
PETER	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
ALAN	Yes	Yes	Medium	Yes	No
PHIL	No	No	No	No	No
KEN	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
BRIAN	No	No	No	Yes	No
ARTHUR	Insuff. Evidence	No	Yes	Yes	Sometimes
ERIC	Insuff. Evidence	No	Yes	Yes	Insuff. Evidence

Table 5. General Sense of Competence

STEPHEN	YES
PETER	NO
ALAN	YES
PHIL	NO
KEN	NO
BRIAN	NO
ARTHUR	YES
ERIC	NO

CHAPTER IV

SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE

This chapter will focus on acceptance of sexuality and hetero-
sexual competence both as they are discussed in the literature and as
they appear in the lives of the eight subjects. By acceptance of
sexuality is meant the recognition and labelling of oneself as a
sexual being; heterosexual competence is the sense of being able to
achieve a balance between enjoyment of sexuality and responsibility
for the intended and unintended consequences of one's acts.

The major theoretical positions will be reviewed and integrated
with the data provided by the eight respondents.

Major Theoretical Positions

Competence and Sexuality in The Process of Adolescence

A competence model is one alternative possibility to G. Stanley
Hall's over-emphasized crisis model of adolescence. Its import for
this study relates to the ways in which competence in functional and
interpersonal roles may interact with scripting behaviors and
acceptance of sexuality, a life course developmental process which
does not necessarily depend on the degree of sexual experience, but
which indicates the willingness and ease with which the actor labels

himself a sexual being.

In a 1950 paper prepared for the Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, White proposed that the "child's emotional development cannot be adequately conceptualized by an exclusive libido model" and further, "when the prototypes derived from libido theory (e.g., feeding, toilet training, the Oedipal triangle) are translated into interpersonal terms they still do not constitute adequate models for development" (p. 99). White contends that these models, though necessary, direct attention away from the growth of the child's sense of competence. There is no adequate model for the latency period, when competence is the central theme; both a model and adequate measurements of competence in childhood are needed. This model would represent the significance of acting, manipulating, and exploring. White refers to the general motivational principle which underlies these behaviors as "effectance" because its most characteristic nature is seen in the production of effects upon the environment" (p. 103). Effectance can be mobilized apart from drives and can be merged with other satisfactions. In the psychosexual arena, for example, White suggests consideration of Don Juan congratulating himself on his techniques of seduction.

Competence and sense of competence affect a variety of arenas, including interaction with people and the functional environment. Heterosexual competence may encompass a history of coping, scripting, and accepting experiences in several arenas.

In his clinical work with adolescents, White discusses their plans for study, their abilities and limitations, their struggles with materials to be learned and skills to be attained, their occupational

learnings, career plans and concerns about modern society as the scene
of their future endeavors (p. 134). He comments: "In theorizing
about the subject (competence) we must not foreclose the possibility
that these developments significantly affect what happens in the erotic
and interpersonal realms (p. 134). The transferral of a male competent-
female incompetent role may be one example; traditionally, the male
patriarchial image spreads from a dominant, aggressive work role to
similar roles in the family and in bed. A passive female role was
required for the perpetuation of the myth. This may account for the
recent Miller/Simon report (1975) that the frequency of male coitus
has dropped, since it has become clear in recent years that "nice
girls" do, but usually in the context of a relationship.

White contends that good sex can free us from the doubts that
have left us unable to work, but sex and work require opposite ego
involvements. Sexuality is an essential loss of the ego, a drowning
of self in the sexual relation and he who "takes the ego to bed with
him will never get a gold star for genital primacy." (p. 135). In
work, the ego must be in control. Learning to work and learning to
love are developmental human tasks which require changing definitions
and behaviors as the individual moves through the process of
adolescence.

James Maddock (1973) laments the lack of investigation on the
"nature and significance" of sex in adolescence (p. 325). He presses
for an understanding of the sexuality of adolescence and the distinctive-
ness of adolescent sexual expression (p. 326). He considers the
latter as "closely tied up with such factors as extent of emotional

involvement, effectiveness of communication, and degree of responsi-
bility for the consequences of behavior" (p. 335). His framework
for understanding sexual expression is as follows:

Unstable physiological organism	↔	The individual in the process of becoming a mature person	↔	Complex social environment of adolescence
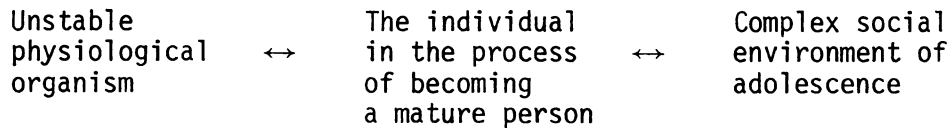
(p. 335)

Figure 1. Maddock's Framework for Sexual Expression

As the adolescent moves from childhood to adulthood, as he matures he
is at the same time subject to the necessity of dealing with the
physiological changes of his own body and changing interpersonal
relationships with peers and family. The dynamics of this internal
conflict make sex a primary focus of the adolescent agony of self-
consciousness.

Sherman Feinstein and Marjorie Ardon report a similar process in
their work on heterosexual object relationships (1973). They identify
four stages of development: (I) Stage of sexual awakening, (II) Stage
of practicing (14-17), (III) Stage of acceptance (16-19), and (IV)
Stage of permanent object choice (18-25) (p. 157). These stages reflect
the capacity for and form of heterosexual object relationships; they
represent a higher level of the separation-individuation process
which the infant experiences. As with all categorical models, one
must avoid an overly-rigid interpretation. Stages I and II, for
example, overlap. To what extent is practicing a requirement for

awakening; must identity be formed before intimacy can be established, or is the development of intimacy part of identity formation? In addition, the process could be accelerated or retarded by the values and influences of family members and peer groups.

Acceptance of Sexuality

Human sexuality .is defined as a combination of biological systems determining sexual responsiveness and functioning, and sexual attitudes and behaviors learned via the sexual script. Research on acceptance of sexuality is in the initial stages. It is hoped that the exploratory nature of these case studies will provide material for the development of theory. On the basis of the following discussion of the literature now available, one can speculate that acceptance of sexuality is the individual's recognition and acceptance of himself as a sexual being. Its components might include self acceptance, a firm gender identity[6], the ability to regard oneself as a person who can express and respond to emotions, the opportunity to interact with members of the opposite sex and to develop intimate relationships, information about sex and the capacity to be sensual. It is unlikely that all of these components are necessary for acceptance of sexuality, but the relationships among them are not yet understood; it is probable that the belief that sex is dirty would prohibit acceptance of sexuality in spite of the

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[6]The developing recognition and understanding that one is male or female and the motivation to behave according to this perception of male or female attitudes and behaviors.

individual's degree of sensuality.

In a recent article on premarital contraceptive usage (1975), Ira Reiss suggested that general acceptance of sexuality (for a group of females requesting and not requesting clinical assistance with contraception) includes a "belief in the right of sexual choice, assurance that one can make such a choice, and a dyadic commitment showing involvement pressuring toward such choice" (p. 628). Obviously, these characteristics do not suddenly appear in adolescence. It is suggested that the development of acceptance of sexuality by the individual is a process which occurs over the life cycle and is dependent on parental modeling, parental, peer and cultural socialization, age, and opportunity.

Other authors have found strong relationships between the sexual self concept and contraceptive use. Goldsmith et al. (1972) suggested that "an attitude accepting one's own sexuality is a more important correlate with contraceptive use than such other factors as exposure to sex education, knowledge of sex and contraception or religious background" (in Cvetkovich, p. 259). In Kantner and Zelnick's 1973 study those women 15-19 years of age who "thought they were highly susceptible to conception were much more likely to use contraception. Nearly 56 per cent of the women who did not use contraception at last intercourse believed that they could not conceive (Cvetkovich, p. 259).

The person who has accepted his sexuality has accepted his physical and emotional self. He can initiate sexual interaction and respond to the presentation of self of another, including an active or passive component of sexuality. He has the capacity to interact

sexually with another individual without inhibiting guilt or
embarrassment; he feels reasonably comfortable with who he is -- both
physically and emotionally. He is physically mature and possesses
an awareness of the potentiality of physiological arousal and its
often pleasureable sensations.

Acceptance of sexuality may be related in an intricate fashion to
the ability to express and receive emotional cues, and the capacity to
develop intimate relationships, though in this area one must avoid a
stereotype of affectional expressiveness or the requirement of intimacy
in a sexual exchange. Intimacy is defined as a close relationship
between two people in which one or both members of the pair demon-
strate openness in communication about what they think and do and
feel. One might suggest that trust is a necessary but not sufficient
precondition for the development of such a relationship.

‾ A person who accepts his sexuality has acquired a certain amount
of information about male/female sexual attitudes, responses, and
behavior. Sexual knowledge, however, does not result in acceptance
of sexuality, though eagerness to learn, in combination with other
social-psychological factors, may serve as an effective instigator to
its development. The person who has accepted his sexuality can discuss
sex openly, at least with some people and in some situations. He has
the capacity to be sensual (sensuality being defined as the acceptance
and enjoyment of one's responses to auditory, visual, oral, olfactory
and tactile stimulation). He has incorporated sexuality into the
rest of his life's activities as an expression of an integrated,
involved self. He does not think sex is dirty, experience guilt or

embarrassment about sexual attitudes, or give sexual thoughts undue precedence in his total lifestyle. He is not necessarily coitally active. It is probable that common themes, based on some of the characteristics mentioned above, appear in the developmental sexual histories of persons who accept their sexuality; certain threads may also run through the lives of people who do not.

Acceptance of Sexuality and Adolescent Development

In "The Creation of the Sexual in Early Adolescence", John Gagnon (in Kagan and Coles, 1972) states that adolescence represents a break with the past in the sexual as well as other areas. The individual learns sexual scripts -- the content of an interaction is erotic because the individual can define it that way; sexual happenings occur because one or both actors organize the event via a sexual script. A person can be "in love" when he or she is willing to label himself that way. Man does not become sexual all at once, but the "early years around puberty, say from eleven to fourteen, are of major significance in integrating new definitions of a potentially sexual self with prior gender role training which together are the groundwork for the sexual component in adult character structure" (p. 235). The physical changes of early adolescence serve as feedback elements to instruct the individual on how he may or may not "be doing."

For both sexes, the following elements are necessary for the development of sexual identity in early adolescence:

first societal identification as a conventional sexual performer
first overt physical sexual activity with self or others
development of sexual fantasy materials
beginning of a male/female divergence in the content of overt sexual
  activity
application of gender package to meaning of sexual acts
application of prior moral values and categories to emergent sexual
  behavior
privatization of sexual activity
same-sex peers reinforce homosocial values
family begins to lose moral control
media reinforces conventional public adult content of gender/sex roles
media attaches consumer values to gender role behavior
basic attachment to youth culture formed

(p. 235)

The importance of the situation is acknowledged by Gagnon and

Simon (Sexual Conduct) when they state "combining such elements as

desire, privacy, and a physically attractive person of the appropriate

sex, the probability of something sexual happening will, under normal

circumstances, remain exceedingly small until one or both actors

organize these behaviors into an appropriate script" (p. 13). Elaine

Walster (Intimacy, Family and Society) also points out the importance

of scripting; she states that in our culture the experience of sexual

intercourse can be accepted more easily by a female (and her parents)

if it is perpetrated in the context of love.

Acceptance of Self

Based on the work of Carl Rogers (1949), Karen Horney (1937),

Eric Fromm (1939), and Elizabeth Sheerer (1949), Emanuel Berger (1952)

at the University of Minnesota studied the relation between expressed

acceptance of self and expressed acceptance of others, and he subse-

quently developed a self acceptance scale which is used by the medical

school at the University of Minnesota's human sexuality program. Berger found "a correlation between attitudes of acceptance of the self and acceptance of others" (p. 778). This is very relevant because acceptance of oneself as a sexual being would involve acceptance of one's body, social competence and, as Maslow (in DeMartino, 1963) demonstrates, dominance and self actualization. Self rejection may be a factor in individual hostility toward groups or toward other individuals. "Fromm sees the disproportionate hostility expressed against Jews in Germany as being related to a kind of cultural self-rejection which, in turn, derived from an authoritarian tradition of upbringing that tended to suppress spontaneity" (Berger, p. 778). Alfred Adler (1921) believed that a "tendency to disparage" arises from feelings of inferiority, as an overcompensation. Horney stated that the person who does not believe himself loveable is unable to love others. Berger revised Sheerer's definition of the self-accepting person somewhat, but essentially defined him in the following way: The self-accepting person:

1. Relies primarily upon internalized standards rather than on external pressure for his behavior.

2. Has faith in his capacity to cope with life.

3. Assumes responsibility for and accepts the consequences of his own behavior.

4. Accepts praise or criticism objectively.

5. Does not attempt to deny or distort his motives, limitations, abilities. (Berger, p. 778).

The person who is accepting of others does not reject, hate or pass judgment on behavior based on other values, does not attempt to dominate others, shows an active interest in others. Berger found a high correlation between acceptance of self and other. The studies on adolescent competence discussed in Chapter III showed that "competent adolescents generally tended not to denigrate their friends but to enjoy them, to use them as sources of information and to use humor to facilitate release of negative tension."

Maslow shows a close relationship between dominance feeling (self confidence, self assurance, high evaluation of the self) and sexuality. On the basis of a study of women in their late twenties to mid-thirties Maslow concludes that for relatively insecure people sex "is a power weapon, that it is in myriad ways related to dominance-feeling and dominance-status, and indeed may be considered itself simply as a kind of dominance or subordination behavior, or at least as a channel through which dominance-subordination may be expressed" (in DeMartino, 1963, pp. 108-9). Maslow shows that for self-actualizing people, as the relationship with the other grows, there is growing intimacy and honesty and self-expression. One allows the other to see one's faults. Both love satisfaction and sex satisfaction improve with the age of the relationship; it is a matter of being deeply understood and deeply accepted.

Scripting

Because acceptance of sexuality is such a broad concept, including so many possible components, for the purposes of this research it was

studied in view of the apparent components of the individual's scripts. If we define coping as the positive active engaging with the environment, then scripting is a means of coping in the sexual environment.

Following Gagnon and Simon, the script is viewed as an internal rehearsal, a kind of organization for and of the sexual drama. With reference to the sexual, they state that the term script has two major dimensions: "One deals with the external, the interpersonal -- the script as the organization of mutually shared conventions that allows two or more actors to participate in a complex act involving mutual dependence. The second deals with the internal, the intrapsychic, the motivational elements that produce arousal or at least a commitment to the activity" (p. 20). Thus, sexual conduct derives from the integration of meaning and sexual behavior (p. 5). As the adolescent develops sexuality, his scripts become transitional interfaces between past and future experiences. With experience, one's scripts become increasingly complex media for coping in the sexual environment.

Gagnon and Simon contend that almost all human behavior can be considered scripted, and that very few events can be considered spontaneous. They state that the "vogue of using 'encounter groups' to facilitate 'spontaneous' behavior can be defined as learning the appropriate script for spontaneous behavior." (p. 19).

In the opinion of this investigator, Gagnon and Simon's best example of the importance of scripting is the following:

> Take an ordinary middle-class male, detach him from his regular social location, and place him for some business or professional reason in a large, relatively anonymous hotel. One might even endow him with an interest in sexual adventure.

Upon returning to the hotel at night, he opens his hotel door and there in the shaft of light from the hallway, he observes a nearly nude, extremely attractive female. One may assume that his initial reaction will <u>not</u> be one of sexual arousal. A few men -- the slightly more paranoid -- might begin to cast about for signs of their wife's lawyer or a private detective. Most, however, would simply beat a hasty and profoundly embarrassed retreat. Even back in the hall and with a moment's reflection to establish the correctness of the room number, the next impulse would still <u>not</u> be one of sexual arousal or activity but most probably a trip to the lobby to seek clarification -- via the affectively neutral telephone. What is lacking in this situation is an effective sexual script that would allow him to define the female as a potentially erotic actor (the mere fact of her being attractive or nearly nude is not sufficient) and the situation as potentially sexual. If these two definitional elements did exist, much of what might follow can be predicted with fair accuracy. But without such a script, little by way of sexual activity or even sexual arousal will transpire. (p. 20).

Thus, the script may be defined as the internal representation of a sequence of events to be initiated and followed through by the actor when he is able to define the situation as appropriate for such behavior. Included in the script are both the cues for determining the appropriateness of the situation for certain behavior, and a tentative series of behaviors appropriate for situations so defined.

The Sexual Context of The Male College Freshman

The context created by past socialization experiences and the ways in which the person labels himself within that context are of crucial importance.

If indeed there has been a sexual revolution in the U.S. in the 60's and 70's, and it is not the purpose of this study to answer that question, then the challenges to the heterosexual competence are escalated from a time when a first kiss could "make one feel like a

man" to the possible pressure for intercourse, with its potential costs.

Though many of the studies on adolescent sexuality suffer from methodology problems such as sample selection and unreliable research instruments, there is some evidence that adolescent sexual attitudes have become liberalized (Vener and Stewart, 1972, 1974; Kantner and Zelnick, 1972; Sorenson, 1973; Bauman and Wilson, 1974). In their 1973 study Vener and Stewart demonstrated that attitudes were influencing actual behavior: "Apparently the relative permissive sexual attitudes over the past several decades have provided the moral support base which enables the adolescent to engage in higher levels of sexuality" (p. 734). Bauman and Wilson found differences in coital rates in their two studies (1968, 1972). In the second study "both men and women were more likely to have experienced sexual intercourse" (p. 333). Carns (1973) emphasized the shifts in the meaning of sex for males and females and hoped that "the genders do not pass each other in the night, women on their part seeking the genital expression so long denied them by a sexually repressive culture, men looking for situations of affection and tenderness unalloyed by the performance principle forced upon them by the restrictions of hyper-masculinity" (p. 687). There are examples of this rhetoric in the present data, and they could account for Simon and Miller's "unanticipated finding that a substantial reduction in the incidence of male adolescent pre-marital coitus has occurred" (p. 59). Berg (1975), on the other hand, contends that it is the male "line, not the male perspective" (p. 547) which has changed, that to obtain their goals in heterosexual interaction,

men tell the "girls" what they want to hear about love and romance since this is the script in which the latter will have intercourse. This finding is not supported by the current sample since several of the subjects do not have intercourse when they are not sharing a meaningful relationship with anyone.

This combination of factors (increased opportunity for sex plus a desire for someone special) might increase the challenge for hetero-sexual competence, because the experiential possibilities are limited by the nature of the script, though most of the members of the sample claim not to be influenced by campus pressures toward sexual activity.

Styles of Heterosexual Competence

Stephen

Stephen states that he personally does not feel pressure to be sexually active, though he believes that there are pressures on people who are virgins, and he sympathizes with the plight of the male freshman who is the victim of such pressure:

"His base for thought is rooted in the idea of sex. He would be looking for a different kind of thing in a girl -- he would act different and try to get different things out of these people."

One of the reasons he doesn't feel the pressure is because he was sensitive to it during high school:

"I responded by going out and looking. I wanted to be satisfied not only that I had done it but that there was no reason for anybody to pressure me." He was anxious at the time of first intercourse because

"you want to make your partner feel good and happy and you want to feel good yourself; with a partner you're not familiar with you don't know her responses and it's kind of a nervous situation, but you don't know if she's really enjoying it as much as she may be seeming."

Stephen stated that at the time of first intercourse he and his partner were both "exceptionally lonely and kind of screwed up kids." He had been getting in trouble with his parents and she was all upset because she'd just broken up with someone she'd been going with. We liked each other's company and it was the kind of night "where you don't have to say anything." They had anticipated that intercourse might occur, but they did not discuss it ahead of time.

After first intercourse "I felt a lot better; for someone to give to me sexually was a great, great accomplishment." "I didn't know what to do but it was a warm kind of thing; it wasn't just a screw." And after that he had a lot more confidence in himself because "whew, I did it. I'm one of you now."

About half-way through high school, Stephen became very involved with someone special. After they had been dating for about a year, his partner missed a period; she checked immediately with a physician, was told she was not pregnant, and was given shots to bring on her period. About four months later the girl began to "get big in the stomach" and checking with another doctor, was told that if she wanted an abortion, it had to be done immediately. This relationship and the fact of the pregnancy have had important implications for Stephen's sense of heterosexual competence.

His involvement in the relationship was very intense, and still

is, to a certain extent, though he and his partner are "suffering the consequences" of being at different schools and meeting other people. Involvement in such a close relationship at an early stage in his dating career limited his opportunities to experiment, and channeled his movement around the stages which Feinstein describes. It also formed the nature of his scripts -- he has very definite ideas about the nature of relationships without having tried many alternatives.

He has accepted his sexuality, but in the context of a warm, tender, love relationship; he is romantic, not erotic; he is 18; he enjoys making love; he feels guilty about masturbation.

Of his current attitude toward sex Stephen remarks:

"I've got the feeling that sex is because of love, not the other way around. Just to get your rocks off kind of sex I don't enjoy, but this makes me feel guilty because it wasn't as pure as I wanted it to be. After making love (with this special other in high school), we'd get dressed and go to our respective homes. There was nowhere to go, nowhere you could even park a car."

Heterosexual competence, for Stephen, is "a feeling within yourself that stems from other kinds of competence. As I see it a lot of the problems of physical incompetence comes from mental incompetence. A lot of it is gained from exposure to lots of different books and movies, but it's mostly experience, that's really the only way to get it. You learn how to feel and how to interpret what the other one is feeling -- you are going through it emotionally and physically."

Through experience with one person over time Stephen has gained

the confidence to relax about "performance". "To begin with I was
very set on giving her an orgasm and less concerned about myself. I
would pretty much do anything to have her completely satisfied and
that was a misunderstanding on my part and this is one of the things
that comes with knowledge. She doesn't feel that she has to reach an
orgasm and that's how it's changed." He does state, however: "I think
it's important for the male because if you don't have one then you
really haven't done it." "But it really doesn't bother me any more.
Making love doesn't have a requirement of orgasm." One of the costs of
this relationship for Stephen has been the necessity to re-organize his
scripts in college. His vulnerability became a problem for him when his
girl friend established a relationship with someone at her college and
lied to him about it.

Stephen says: "I can never forgive her for what she did, and I
try so hard and it's always on my mind now. She lied to me."

"She kind of broke up with me and I was crushed. I was at the
lowest point of my life. It was the worst pain I've ever felt. I'll
try not to let that happen again."
and

"It's kind of hypocritical and I don't like my thinking this, but
I do -- if a sexual relationship develops and it seems to be more than
what I have with A, I won't turn it away."

Another cost is an inordinate concern with contraception and fear
of causing a pregnancy. The experience engenders the problem.

"We've talked about this and talked about this and talked about
this. Condoms are very, very unromantic -- I don't want her to have

to go through that extra trauma of the pill -- it's worth it for me now to wear the stupid thing. We're going to use a contraceptive no matter what because of the problem we've gotten into. We're still in the negotiating stage of what we're going to do." (Almost two years after the abortion). "She realizes my problem and how I hate condoms and I realize her problem about the pill."

"Now I worry about her and some extracurricular sex life." (Though they have "agreed" to date other people). "It is such a pure experience with us, and that would be such a diluting thing -- making it dirty almost."

"It's different when the girl does it -- she could get pregnant. The worst nightmare I have -- and it's a constant thing -- she makes love to somebody, he gets her pregnant, and then I marry her and we live with the kid."

But at other times in the interview he speaks of the relationship in the past tense: "The person I loved -- I was kind of hung up on her. I was always worrying -- oh God, what is she doing now. I could never go to a prostitute because that is sex."

Stephen has lived through the process of finding sex through love -- and that is how he writes his script. At the moment his script is not appropriate because he is moving away from a relationship, and it is not a coping mechanism. Both Stephen and Peter (Stephen's roommate) provide evidence that the first term of Stephen's freshman year was difficult for his sense of heterosexual competence partially because Stephen is sensitive and intense. His "do and think" tends to be stymied by the event of the moment. His relatively sophisticated

information about sex and his experience both limit his scripts (because he has a focused idea of what is possible and desireable) and enhance them. It would be interesting to interview him again next year to explore his ideas about sex and love following a year in the college environment. For the time being his sense of heterosexual competence is limited by the variables which prevent him from enjoying the relationship and an extreme concern for the possible consequences dominates his sexual activity.

Peter

Peter, who is a virgin "agree(s) without a doubt" that there are many pressures on college freshmen to be sexually active, and he responds to that pressure with "I think it's stupid myself" and "Personally I don't care what anyone up here thinks. All the girls I know are good Catholic girls and they don't think it's necessary to have had intercourse by the time you're 20."

Though Peter feels the pressure, he rejects it; but there are some indications that Stephen may be talking to him -- he claims to have changed some of his ideas about premarital sexuality in general since rooming with Stephen, and Stephen's difficulties this year undoubtedly make Peter aware of the costs as well as the benefits. Mainly he relies on a few friends at home for the formation of his values.

Peter is a perfectionist in his relationships as well as in his general living style: "I'm very choosy about the girls. Thus far I haven't found the combination of really good personality, people who are fun to be with and -- cause I like all the girls I go out with,

but not that seriously."

and

"Yes, I've thought about what intercourse would be like -- that's
one of the reasons I've been torn between it; generally I have a lot
of old-fashioned ideas. The honeymoon seems logical -- you're
supposed to be virgins until then. Then why not make the honeymoon
the best start of your life, but then there's the thing of experiencing
the pleasure when you want it, which makes waiting years seem stupid."

For Peter heterosexual competence means being able to satisfy
the partner physically and to be appealing to the opposite sex -- "being
pleasant and getting along well."

Peter thinks that intercourse would probably "just happen" the
first time but after that it would be basically planned. Even the
first time "I would plan for a contraceptive. I would have something
myself." It might detract from the experience but "that's the price
you have to pay. My own pleasure is not worth the pain if you get her
pregnant. I'm not a gambler."

As we will see in the chapter on sexual socialization, Peter
spends most of his time with a large group of men and women, only a
few of whom are seriously paired off. In Feinstein's stages, he is
between awakening and practicing, and in that context he feel competent --
girls are friends. In dating relationships, he has experienced sexual
interaction only in the form of kissing.

Alan

It is Alan's opinion that the "pressure" was greater in high school -- "social pressure to mess around with girls." In the beginning of high school there were cliques but later the groups got bigger and blended together with other groups.

"I was in about four or five different groups cause I was friends with the people. I liked to go around with different people, and everyone would get pissed off at me cause I was friends with other people."

When asked who in his relationships initiates sexual activity, in a wondering voice Alan responded, "I don't know. (Pause) I suppose I do."

First intercourse occurred when Alan was in the tenth grade. He had been seeing the girl for about a week. "We were over at her house, and decided to. It was more a fun relationship. Lots of goofing around, clowning around. No one was at her house, so we decided to."

They had not discussed it ahead of time with direct reference to themselves, but a week or so before on the phone they talked "about some other friends who had done it." "We both anticipated it. I don't think there was any special reason why it happened at that time. We just both had the same feelings about it. It was assumed that we were both going to do it. We kind of agreed on the phone."

For Alan it was not a particularly romantic event:

"It was fun. It wasn't an emotional thing. I don't know if it was her first time. We didn't ever talk about what it meant. We just did it and I went home." He had contraceptives available and used

them. He thinks that contraceptive use is assumed, and he "wouldn't ever have intercourse without them."

Alan expects sex to be part of his life, and he arranges certain aspects of his life to allow for sex: "It's just something you do, one of the different experiences you have."

In this context of long-range involvement and because of his contraceptive history, his sexual activity seems quite a different entity from that of some of the other people in the sample. When Alan states that on a date "sex would be spontaneous" it doesn't mean that sex "just happens to happen" in his life.

"I'd go out on a date and then I'd take her to eat and just kind of ask her. If I were asked like that I'd have the same reaction. It would be a yes or a no. You'd want it to be a yes. It seems like it would be a yes because you're in college."

Because there is an accepting self-acknowledgement of his script, he can relate to his potential partners in a relaxed fashion. Once again, for Alan, his long-range "think, then do" allows him the freedom of "think and do" in the short range. Alan's sense of hetero-sexual competence seems to be based on experience and on experimenting with alternatives. He sees sex as fun, and he takes the responsibility for contraception.

He summarizes his general attitude toward sex: "I like it. It's fun. It's not that necessary all the time. A lot of the time you could say it is." Both in sex and in other aspects of his life Alan neither enjoys the excitement of Stephen's passion, nor suffers his vulnerability.

Phil

Phil doesn't know whether or not there are college pressures toward sexual intercourse: "I don't pay much attention when they try to put pressure on me. I just push them aside. I don't care."

Phil seemed embarrassed during this interview and he had great difficulty answering the questions; he seemed to cope with it by responding to questions about sex with answers about social life.

He doesn't plan for dates -- "It's mostly spontaneous. In high school I'd find myself being very clumsy about it all. Finally in the last week of high school I really didn't care because I really wasn't going to see these people any more."

Earlier in high school he had never worked up the nerve to ask girls out. At the end, "Finally I said well you won't get another chance if you don't now. So I just kind of went on a rampage."

Phil claims to feel really uncomfortable if a girl makes sexual advances. I just feel like running and hiding. I don't know how to handle it."

He claims to develop a "tremendous guilt complex" "even if I had the slightest urge or attraction to another girl" and he claims that he wants to break up with the girl he is currently dating because of his guilt complex.

In the first interview he expresses a concern about control: "I'm not old enough to know what I want. I was going with a girl before and I did everything in my power to try to avoid making a commitment. Actually they wring it out of you; they manipulate you."

But it is usually the girl who initiates: "I usually don't make

many moves at all. I learned that by talking to some of my friends who got their faces slapped. It's better just to wait. It saves a lot of embarrassment."

For Phil, if intercourse occurred "it would just happen" and he believes that the male has the responsibility for contraception because he's less capable of making a mistake in a situation like that." If the girl became pregnant he would marry her, but "I can't see myself being that irresponsible that I would take the chance without knowing the risk."

Phil views his own attitudes toward premarital sexuality to be old-fashioned; he doesn't believe in sex before marriage and he thinks that maybe his own views are "kind of stupid. I can't say it's stupid -- well, then go out and do it, but then I feel the guilt complex coming up on me."

Ken

Ken considers it very important to keep his heterosexual activities private, and he thinks the pressure to be sexually active is considerably less intense than it was in high school; he states that the degree of pressure "depends on the group" but generally "the moral values are higher here than they were in my high school."

This comment, however, must be considered in light of the fact that Ken is having some difficulties establishing relationships here, and he has some insight into the nature of the problem: "Most of the girls here have a higher family income; they produce a girl that's a lot more aware. I don't know how to describe it. Seems like the richer the

family, the girl is much more hard to get to." Ken finds it more difficult to communicate and develop relationships with girls on this campus.

He does not plan for sexual activities but he says "here it's not hard to find the place; it's really hard to find the person." He also states, however, that because he doesn't feel self-confident about communicating with the girls here that sexual activities have to come about spontaneously -- the implication being that if he tried, he'd fail. Sexual incompetence for Ken is "not having the ability -- partly social, partly physical."

He admits to becoming anxious in sexual situations "if I'm the one that's trying to steer it on; if you really love somebody you're a lot more tense." Ken's approach is interesting also because he claims not to feel sexual attraction or energy at the beginning of a relationship -- "At the beginning it's more kind of like a crush."

His first intercourse experience is a very good example of a theme I have come to recognize as a "no-script script":

Ken: "I was in a bar in _____ and I was just down with a friend; we were just doing a little shopping during Easter vacation. I was pretty well gone. I was drinking. I asked a girl to dance. I thought she -- I don't know you just get the feeling she's quite friendly so -- I asked her for another dance. She invited us over to her table and she said she was going to drive me home, but I ended up driving back. I was staying at a motel. I just laid down and started watching TV and she did everything else, turned the lights off, everything."

Interviewer: "That must be kind of hard to discuss, if you had been drinking."

Ken: "I knew exactly what I was doing."

Ken's approach is think then do, but he has not yet achieved the self confidence and sense of heterosexual competence to accept the responsibility for sexual behaviors. He writes the script, but he doesn't direct it.

Brian

Brian presents an interesting example of heterosexual competence because of the ways in which he is similar to both Alan (in viewing sex as a game) and to Stephen ("It's more an emotional thing now -- at first it's more of a physical status thing you do; as time goes on it's more emotional.").

During the high school years he did a lot of sexual experimenting ("It was mostly one-night stands") and his scripting style is think then do, followed by think and go along.

"Yes, I do plan to a certain extent, plan where I'm going and what I'm going to do up to, it's setting the scene." He claims to have learned this approach when he was at home because "I'd have to work around my parents and my little brother."

He experienced first intercourse at age 15; he had been going with the girl for four months. "It was Saturday night and we were drinking beer and that's how it all started. It was one of the nights I didn't plan. Usually when I planned on big sexual nights they never came about." The experience provides the content for future sexual scripts.

"Before you fantasized but you didn't really know what to do. It influences how you plan for sex -- setting the mood just right. Emphasize more doing. Before I just fantasized up to intercourse."

Both he and his partner enjoyed first intercourse; they talked about it afterward. And Brian said:

"It gave me the assurance I needed, made it a deeper relationship -- we felt we knew each other better, and it lasted 2 1/2 years after that. I still date her when I go back. I still like her. It was very important in my life."

Contraceptives were used in this relationship. Brian thinks it is his responsibility to use them because of what he considers the relative ease of obtaining male contraceptives: Contraceptive use "may take a little bit away, but it also takes away the worry while you're having intercourse, if you didn't use one you'd be worried all the time; the worry would distract you."

Brian is similar to Ken in that he lacks social confidence, and he feels uncomfortable if the male always has to make the advances. "It's hard to put the first move out. When she makes the first move then it's all right." He becomes nervous if he thinks the girl is more experienced than he is. In that situation, "I worry about how I did."

Brian is unique in the sample because he's the only respondent who talks about sexual competence as elevated from isolated events. It's a series of events, of pleasure and responsibility over a period of time. Performance is important to Brian but so is "being able to handle the situation maturely, where you find joy both mentally and physically. It would be a relaxed situation."

Arthur

The existence of pressures for sexual intercourse, according to Arthur, depends "mostly on who you have for friends." His response to some pressure from his roommate of last term illustrates both his decision-making style (think then do) and the fact that his sense of competence is rather well internalized.

He had gone out with a girl a number of times fall term, and his roommate kept asking why he didn't stay overnight with her. Arthur responded that she doesn't believe in premarital intercourse, and his roommate wondered why, then, Arthur was still dating her. Arthur was somewhat irritated that his roommate "would think that would be the only reason I would have contact with a female -- to get sex."

Arthur admits that he was influenced by the pressure; he thought about it for a while and decided that he didn't agree with his roommate: "It just took a while, thinking about it." "When he first said it, I thought I'd try to get this girl to have sex, because that's what I kind of wanted, but then I realized that if she didn't want that and I pressured her, she would never forgive me."

He didn't respond to his roommate's pressure after that except to say "if that's how you feel, that's fine...I think people should follow what they want to do."

Arthur's experience with this girl also illustrates one way in which messages about sex are communicated -- the girl's roommate stayed out with her boyfriend all night and Arthur's date was shocked: "That's all she talked about all evening." "Her opinion of her roommate went down tremendously -- she was shocked and worried about

her roommate." Arthur's experience with first intercourse is yet
another example of the importance of the absence of parents and the
presence of beer. They discussed it ahead of time: "We were both
scared when we'd talk on the phone. She was always the big liberal --
on the phone."

"We had been going farther and farther all through the relationship
and one night it just happened at her house; her parents were gone; we
were both drunk." They both felt good about sex and themselves after-
wards and the relationship became closer. "We could talk openly about
anything."

She felt good about it, Arthur believes, partly because her self
image went up "she was kind of heavy, and she felt that she was ugly"
and Arthur "had always had a little bit of an inadequate feeling."
He had not associated with the "jock culture" in high school and most
of his friends dated relatively late in their high school careers.

Because of experiencing sex and talking to his partner he began
to feel "more easy with it and with (him)self." "I felt more sure of
myself in different situations not just sexual. I got rid of a lot of
my nervousness."

Arthur has always used contraceptives. He claims to have been
influenced by the fact that his mother worked at a center for young
parents where there was a premarital pregnancy. "I've always been
scared about getting a girl pregnant. I don't want to be forced into
something that I don't want."

Arthur's sense of general and heterosexual competence seem "hard
won" at times, because he works out problems on his own. In any case,

he balances the feelings and the responsibility:

"Sex is <u>great</u> as long as both partners agree, and no one feels pressured into it." "I have never had sex without contraceptives. If I did I would have so much anxiety and nervousness about getting her pregnant that it wouldn't be very enjoyable."

Eric

Eric believes that sexual pressures exist "depending on whether you let stuff like that affect you. Some people think when they go to college they're automatically supposed to become sexual, I guess. It depends on your supposed peers."

Sexual activity "just happens" and sexual competence is "completely up to your sexual partner" just as, for Eric, athletic performance demands evaluation by someone else.

It seems, however, that sexual activity "just happens" within a larger recognition of sexuality, a well-thought-out acceptance of the possibility that it will happen, but without much of a sense of responsibility for the situation. Eric, for example, was discovered <u>flagrante delecto</u> on more than one occasion by the parents of adolescent females. Eric is the only subject who pointed out that in the sexual situation one tends not to think about the appropriate balance of sensuality and responsibility. One does sex.

His comments about first intercourse, which occurred when he was 13, provide insights into his perceptions about how it occurred: "It wasn't by someone I didn't know. It took a long time to develop. We had been dating four or five months. It seemed to be a developing

thing with me. I can't have intercourse without any kind of development. We had agreed on it in advance and this just happened to be the first chance we got to be alone." In spite of the fact that it developed one does not get the impression that it was a crashing emotional experience: "It was interesting for both of us. She seemed a little more obsessed about it than I did though."

It was important to him to be close to someone and to "discuss things that you consider intimate."

First intercourse did not change his behavior in other areas, but it did change his relationships with girls: "After the first time, it was something to look forward to. It became a lot more important. You get over the barrier the first time and it's a lot easier to go into the next one."

Eric recognizes that he was exposed to sexual activity earlier than many people because of his travelling, which was done in a group of 16 and 17 year-old girls. He was aware of "values that were a little older." His travelling also prevented him from having relation-ships in high school. During his last year of high school, "which is supposed to be your most enjoyable" he was travelling from November to March.

Eric does not use contraceptives, and because he is now involved in a love relationship with a 16-year-old girl from his home community he is worried about it to the point of avoiding sex:

"She wants to adhere to the rhythm method. I don't believe in that. I refuse to take the chance with her future or mine. We avoid intercourse." There are some indications in the data that they have

discussed using the pill, and his partner does not want to take it, purportedly because it will make her fat. Eric does not like condoms.

The love relationship is so important to Eric that he is now thinking very carefully about the consequences of his acts; he thinks that the pill is the safest contraceptive and it seems that until he can convince his girlfriend to use the pill, he will emphasize the responsibility and forego the pleasure.

Summary

On the basis of the available data it is possible to assess whether the subjects have accepted their sexuality only insofar as their scripts indicate that they have accepted the validity of their sexual activity. Analysis of their scripting behavior would seem to indicate that three members of the sample -- Alan, Brian, and Arthur, and in a love relationship, Stephen -- have accepted this validity. Peter's relationships with women are friend relationships; Phil avoids involvement; Ken demonstrates some evidence for avoidance of accepting responsibility for involvement; and Eric avoids sexual activity in his current relationship.

Alan, Brian, and Arthur are heterosexually competent insofar as this represents the balance between enjoyment and responsibility; all three use contraceptives, and seem to expect and enjoy their sexual activities. They all had early and consistent sexual experience in high school without paying the cost of causing a pregnancy, as Stephen unfortunately did.

The following table attempts to integrate the samples' degree of acceptance of sexuality as interactive with the content of his scripts, and his sense of heterosexual competence.

Table 6. Sense of Heterosexual Competence

	ACCEPTANCE OF SEXUALITY	CONTENT OF SCRIPTING	SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE
STEPHEN	Yes, in a love relation-ship	First Intercourse - I responded by going out and looking Trust Love Relationship Long experience in a love relationship In process of reorganization "If a sexual relationship develops"	No Pregnancy experience Vulnerability (Concern for contraception dominates)
PETER	No Girls as friends Lack of experience	For sexual relationship wants good personality and meaningful relationships Caution Self-protection Perfectionist	No (No pleasure)
ALAN	Yes Experience Expectation of sex	Sex as fun - no one hurt The personal metaphor	Yes

Table 6 (cont'd.)

	ACCEPTANCE OF SEXUALITY	CONTENT OF SCRIPTING	SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE
PHIL	No No experience	Caution Self-protection	No (No pleasure)
KEN	?	Concern about lack of control Guilt Fear of acting Lets girl initiate Fearful of being manipulated Difficulty establishing relationships in current context Spontaneous - because he does not feel confident about communicating with girls in college context	No At present time no relationships Insufficient evidence
BRIAN	Yes	Sex as game Process of developing emotional relationships Concern for "performance" if he considers the girl more sophisticated Relaxation Lacks social confidence Wants girl to initiate	Yes

Table 6 (cont'd.)

	ACCEPTANCE OF SEXUALITY	CONTENT OF SCRIPTING	SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE
ARTHUR	Yes	Individual decisions	Yes
	Experience	No-script script	
	Doing and talking	Sex to bolster self image	
		Agreement of partners	
		No pressure	
ERIC	No	Spontaneous - just happens	No
	Limited experience	Concerns about being manipulated in current relationship	No contraception
		Competence depends on evaluation by other person	No sex currently

CHAPTER V

SELECTED FACTORS OF SEXUAL SOCIALIZATION

The Process of Becoming Heterosexually Competent

Having investigated the subjects' attitudes and behaviors in the areas of general and heterosexual competence in interviews one and two, respectively, in the last meeting with the respondents, the researcher was interested in asking questions which would elicit information which might provide insights to at least partially explain the why, the socializing frameworks for the development of these attitudes and behaviors.

As mentioned in the chapter on research methodology, the coding scheme was not entirely appropriate for these data, because the material dealt with the influences on behaviors rather than the behaviors themselves, and the data were organized primarily according to selected themes and patterns which emerged.

Four main themes seemed to be important socializing factors across almost every interview. The investigator does not intend to imply that these are exclusive themes of sexual socialization, only that these particular patterns emerged from this set of data, perhaps partially as a function of the questions asked and the experiences of these particular respondents:

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1) The lack of feasible sex education from parents or other adults, and the importance of simultaneous doing and talking about sex with peers during the adolescent years as an important part of sex education;

2) The perception of one's own physical maturity in relation to that of one's peers;

3) The guilt and fear surrounding the desire for and the act of masturbation; and

4) The type of relationship with the mother and relationships with girls as dates and as friends.

In this chapter these themes will be discussed in relation to the respondents and the appropriate selected literature in these content areas. Each theme will not be discussed in detail for each respondent because the interview was open-ended; the socializing factors were not equally important to each; the information provided in each area was not equal across the sample; and the investigator considered some of the responses more interesting and instructive than others.

Sex Education

Jane Woody (1973) has placed the development of sexual attitudes into the behavioristic framework of child development, looking at development as a consequence of learning. She is interested in how parents convey sexual attitudes and information in a positive, constructive fashion. She identifies seven attitudes, and shows how parents can incorporate them into sex education. The attitudes are:

1. Sexual organs and their functions are not inherently dirty, unsightly, or sinful.

2. There should be a consciousness about ensuring that the child's core gender identity be set to conform with his given sex at birth as shown by anatomy and chromosomes.

3. Masturbation is a normal expression of sexual need in a variety of ages and circumstances for both males and females.

4. Sex education is an ongoing process between parents and child, but before the onset of puberty the child should have accurate and complete information about sexual organs, reproduction, various sexual acts, birth control, venereal disease, and the psychological factors involved in sexual behavior.

5. The advantages and disadvantages of premarital sexual behavior must be evaluated in the context of individual differences and unique mores, values, and environment.

6. Adolescents and teens should have access to birth control information and methods.

7. Openness and clear communication about sexual matters are of great value in creating and maintaining meaningful relationships and in learning how people can relate to each other as responsible and responsive human beings. (pp. 242-245).

Graham Spanier (1975) has developed the concept of sexualization, and he states that it involves three components: "Development of a gender identity, acquisition of sexual skills, knowledge, and values, and development of sexual attitudes or dispositions to behave." (p. 35). How does the individual integrate ideas about sexuality and how and when do his ideas influence his behavior? Spanier discusses the appetitional theory of sexual motivation in which

experience with an elementary form of sexual involvement leads to more

advanced experiences. Independent reading on the subject is the

greatest source of information about sex, and initial curiosity may

be an important factor. Parents are influential in communicating

ideas about masculinity and femininity; though one's values may change

in adolescence and adulthood. Spanier concluded that

> Among most respondents the development of a love relationship,
> exposure to a new value system in the university or among a group
> of peers, a partner who is willing to advance or who insists on
> advancing to greater levels of intimacy, or the prospect of marriage,
> will take precedence over or negate all other past sexualizing
> influences. (p. 39).

The data from the current study illustrate the importance both of

available information about sex and the meaning it holds for the

adolescent while he is developing. This would seem to imply the

necessity of on-going sources of help available during adolescence.

As many of the respondents demonstrate there was a lack of communication

caused by parental foot-dragging while they waited for their children

to "ask the questions", but the off-spring felt uncomfortable or

afraid to ask the questions. Hesitation, parental embarrassment, and

lack of communication are unlikely postures for the development of

positive approaches to sexuality in children. In this vein, Cvetkovich

(p. 269) has suggested a form of birth-planning counselling which

might also apply to education about human sexuality. "One approach

that might be effective would explore with the prospective user his

own feelings and the reasons for those feelings about different

contraceptives (cf. Hawkins, 1970)". Though common themes run

through the data collected in the study, the respondents also illustrate

different structures of meaning about sex to which a differential
approach to sex education could respond.

Stephen

Of his sex education Stephen says: "I didn't learn anything from
my parents, really. I think they knew that I was learning on my own
and instead of confusing me with the facts they let me learn myself and
then when I did come to them myself they told me things that I'd already
known." In early adolescence (12, 13) he would "just sneak off to my
room and read Playboy and little books. of the Harrad Experiment he
says, "I didn't know it was a dirty book but it was in my parents'
bookshelf backwards so I took it and stuck another cover on it so
they wouldn't know."

Stephen's own imagination seems to have been an important factor
in his sexual development, and this is a fascinating area of human
sexuality which demands further investigation. It is also interesting
to note that Stephen is one of the two most verbal people in the
sample (Alan is the other): "I would fantasize about books to the
point of being involved in it while I was reading. I would substitute
characters. I'd dream. In anything I have a huge imagination. I
could do anything I'd want with my imagination and at that point it
was just developing so I could read this thing and just substitute
the author's characters with characters in my head. I'd stop and
think about how I'd react to that."

He mentions the importance of learning the street vocabulary
of sexuality -- "somewhere before fifth grade people would be saying

these words" and in order to avoid the embarrassment of not knowing
the meaning "the next time" he would find out the meaning on his own.
Even then Stephen knew how to seek and use information! By junior
high he had "learned the names of all the dirty little words --
words for the chest -- you've got 28 words and I learned all of
those."

Sex education in Stephen's high school was a "joke." They
separated the boys and girls and showed films -- "you know the sperm
goes up the little pathway."

More important to reading and peers, Stephen claims, was involvement
in an important relationship -- caring for someone and talking about
sex: "I never learned anything valuable except through myself and
through a relationship with a girl"..."the progression was from a kid
looking at magazines and dreaming to an actual participant." Sexual
fantasy, expression, and interaction are components in the process of
achieving sexual identity.

At the same time that Stephen was learning about sex he was
also learning about drugs "a little bit" and he grew his hair long.
He says, "I was screwed up."

The response of his parents is interesting. Stephen's perception
is that his mother told him not to be involved in sexual intercourse
but he claims she knew his father would say "just don't get her
pregnant."

What may be even more important for the development of a sense
of competence is Stephen's comment: "My parents knew that wasn't me --
that I had enough in me that it wouldn't be long before I realized

it so they didn't push anything on me."

Peter

Peter claims to have benefitted from sex education courses and three were available in the private Catholic schools which he attended; the first was given in the fifth grade and dealt with reproduction. The eighth grade course was a combination of sex and reproduction and in high school there was a course on marriage.

I was not able to elicit much information from Peter about the content of the sex course; for example, he could not remember whether or not masturbation was discussed. He said that the courses caused no community conflict: "I guess the parishoners must have thought that if the priests said it was okay, then it came from God."

Peter was also influenced by books and Playboy; his parents asked if he had any questions "but I didn't so...".

Alan

Alan's father "tried but it just didn't happen. He would sit down with me and have me read books. They were medical books. They didn't make sense in 6th grade." He learned about sex from his friends, older brothers and a gym teacher who alienated the principal and many of the teachers in the school by talking to his students outside of class about sex and contraceptives.

Since the experiences of learning about sex are very similar for the rest of the sample, the details for each experience will not be presented here. Suffice it to say that their histories illustrate

parental and school avoidance, from the formal lecture given by an M.D. father to Brian who responded "yeah, I understand" while he and his friends "learned together"; to Arthur "I think the teacher didn't really want to discuss it so she had a group discussion"; to Phil "Sometimes I wonder if it's still for me"; to Eric "I wouldn't say I know about sex now"; and Ken "It takes a long time if you learn by yourself."

An important aspect of the sexual socialization experience seems to be whether the adolescent considers it as part of parental experience (Peter claims he did not), whether and how he integrates that knowledge (Brian: at first I thought "my parents don't do that") and then, whether or not he thinks it will be part of his own experience. This is why it is so important to relate sexual development -- and education -- to the rest of human development -- at the time at which it begins to have meaning for the individual. As Phil says: "I didn't really care (about sex education), but a lot of the kids that matured early were quite enhanced with it."

The information provided by this sample indicates that Woody's objectives for sex education are not experienced by adolescents and their parents', that curiosity, peer discussion and relationships with significant others currently form the basis of information about sex for American adolescents to the extent that this sample represents general experience. One can speculate that adults are unable to educate their children effectively about sex unless they have adequately dealt with their own sexuality. The problem of lack of communication is cyclic insofar as the adolescents of today become the "educators"

of tomorrow.

Timing of Maturity

The respondents were asked when they matured physically in relation to their peers, and it is instructive that, in spite of the age span at which physical manifestations occurred, with the exception of Peter and Alan, the respondents all perceived that they matured later than their peers, in spite of the actual time of maturing. This perception could indicate great concern for keeping up with their peers in physical development.

The timing of physical maturity may also be important for the development of a sense of competence. In "The Social Meaning of Differential Physical and Sexual Maturation", John Clausen (in Dragastin and Elder, 1975) analyzed data from the Berkeley and Oakland Growth Studies, with the goal of understanding the relationships between physique and personal development. How is one's self image and social status affected by the timing of physical maturity? What are the social implications of achieving maturity early or late in adolescence, and how far-reaching are these factors in the adult years? To what extent does the self-fulfilling prophecy operate in this regard -- if one shows strength early in adolescence is one then expected to be strong?

Clausen found early maturing boys to be high on strength and aggression, and in later life to be dominant, self-controlled, socially responsible and concerned about making a good impression.

Late maturers were less strong and aggressive, and, in later life tended to be more dependent, rebellious, touchy, impulsive, self-indulgent and insightful.

The drawbacks to early maturing were pointed out by Clausen; early maturers seemed to respond to adolescence with more inhibition and rigidity. Among other characteristics, they were less active and less given to exploratory behavior. The early maturer may be forced into a premature identity through the public announcement and response to his early growth.

Peter and Alan are the two members of the sample who say they matured at "about the same time as their peers." It is impossible to check the accuracy of this perception because it depends partially on the immediate group with which they compare themselves. It is interesting to note, however, that these two seem to discuss the timing of maturity with greater ease than the others, and they have the least to say about it. Alan states that his sisters teased him because his voice was changing, and Peter was glad he "wasn't being left behind."

Brian and Stephen are the two physically shortest members of the sample and they both express concern about size. Though Stephen claims that he matured "mentally" before his peers and physical maturity began in 7th grade, he claims he "felt very inferior" and even now his arms are small. Brian also talked about mental maturity. "I wasn't so childish -- like playing those games that we used to play -- doing stupid things -- I started taking more responsibility." He does actually have seemed to matured somewhat later (10th grade),

and his friends teased him because he wasn't shaving; he says he had
an inferiority complex about it, and he was relieved that it didn't
"affect the family or my girl friend."

The effect of the timing of maturity on homosocial relationships
is very well illustrated by the experiences of Phil and Arthur.

By his own admission, Phil was something of a bully in elementary
school. He says he matured "later, in junior high." (That's not
later). "I don't remember much about it because I hated it. I was
pretty big for my age all through elementary school. Then in junior
high they just went right past me. Until then we were bigger guys.
In junior high I really felt inferior for a long time. I just sat
back and let it happen."

Arthur was plagued by "a really high voice -- and I got kidded
about that a lot -- it restricted who I could have as friends --
certain people won't go around with a very high-voiced kid. So I
never got into the whole jock culture and by the time my voice changed
I decided I didn't want to get into that." This experience may have
been a socializing factor in the development of Arthur's sense of
independence, and the theme which runs through his data of being
socially isolated and feeling competent.

Ken and Eric discuss maturity in relation to sports. Though
Ken began to mature in 7th grade, he wanted to be bigger; it would
have helped in sports. Success in sports, however, may be part of the
reason why he was not overly concerned about it. Eric, on the other
hand, was 5'10" in the 6th grade but once again his relatively high
standards and arenas for competence made him feel inept.

"As far as dexterity and coordination, I was very far behind. I was regarded for a long time as being clumsy. By the time I was 7 or 8 I was competing at the national level (in his sport). I was competing with kids who had their coordination earlier than most."

The data support Clausen's finding concerning the social significance of the timing of physical maturity, and they add some interesting dimensions to his conclusions about the importance of how the subject related to his peers previous to the time of maturity, the importance of not just when but <u>how</u> the subject matured, including which aspects of maturity or immaturity were obvious, and how the subject was relating to members of the opposite sex.

<u>The early maturers are Stephen, Phil, Ken, and Eric.</u> Though Stephen matured early in terms of physiological development, his maturity did not include an impressive development of physical size -- he is a comparatively smaller person -- his maturing was not readily obvious to his peers. Stephen did not and still does not feel comfortable in the presence of peer groups and his sexuality, after a period of experimentation, developed primarily in the context of a long-term monogamous relationship which began during his junior year in high school.

<u>Phil</u> demonstrates the importance of the past in relation to the present. Throughout elementary school he had been bigger than most of his peers and had been "something of a bully." Though he matured in junior high, his development did not include size and he found himself one of the shorter members of the group. He did not date until his last year in high school.

Ken wanted to be bigger because of his involvement in sports, but he received positive feedback for success in sports. Eric was tall, but clumsy and he was competing in sports at a national level with individuals chosen, in part, for fine coordination. Ken dated in high school. Eric did not.

At the other extreme are Brian and Arthur who matured later than their peers. Though Brian is physically small, it seems probable that he would be considered physically attractive by many members of the opposite sex; he was very active both socially and sexually during the high school years, and it may be important to note that even though he was aware of maturing later, both his family and girl friend provided positive feedback.

Arthur's obvious manifestation of late maturing was his high voice, which isolated him from certain peer groups; he did not date until the later high school years mainly because he lacked self-confidence and did not feel comfortable with girls.

The most important aspect of physical maturing for this sample was not only when the individual matured, but how, what aspects of maturity were available for peer evaluation and either positive or negative feedback mediated by the possible contexts within which the individual could develop a sense of competence.

Masturbation

In addition to accurate information about sex, or the lack of it, and the timing of physical maturity, other events which influence

the adolescent's developing sexuality are the recognition of one's own responses as a sexual being and various types of relationships with the opposite sex. A review of the psychological literature on masturbation (Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, and Gebhard, 1953; Hare, 1962; and Masters and Johnson, 1966), Abramson (1973) shows that "for young men, masturbation provides a regular sexual outlet which alleviates nervous tensions"..."That in many cases these young men lead more balanced lives than young men who are more sexually restrained"...but that "more information is needed in regard to its effect on personality development and adjustment in view of their conclusion that masturbation is, to a degree, an escape from reality, and that its effect upon the ultimate personality of the individual is something that needs consideration" (Kinsey et al, 1948; Abramson, p. 132).

The members of the sample began to masturbate in early adolescence, with the exception of Eric, who began in fifth grade and whose experience is particularly interesting for scripting behavior. Alan is also unique in being unable to remember feelings of guilt associated with the initial experience, which, of course, doesn't necessarily mean he didn't feel it, but he also says he enjoyed the experience. At first he wondered if everyone else felt the same way but then he figured they probably did and it's a natural thing." On eighth grade camping trips he and his friends would talk about it "jokingly."

Brian, Stephen and Arthur discuss similar themes: the fear of getting caught, and the relationship of masturbation to other sexual activities. Stephen was afraid other people would consider him "strange"

and that made him feel guilty and he felt driven by sexual tension.

> "There were times before I made love to anyone when I
> couldn't deal with it and I didn't want to go out and rape
> anybody and that (masturbation) was the way to get rid of it."

Gagnon and Simon state that his experience is intense because of the psychological states of guilt and anxiety and that we mislocate the source of the intensity ascribing it instead to the physical experience. (p. 56).

Arthur was "scared my mother would walk in on me." He says he was not guilty: he assumed that other people were doing it but, unlike Alan, did not discuss it with his friends. He also found that masturbation became boring after a while, and that his activity depended on whether or not he was having relationships with girls. Brian also found an inverse relationship between heterosexual relationships and masturbation and he claims that it took a number of years to resolve the guilt: "At first I really felt bad about it and I swore I'd never do it again. Through more experience you find out it's no big deal."

Gagnon and Simon believe that through masturbation, men develop a sense of autonomy to create their own pleasure, and this is why masturbation continues after marriage. The sense of autonomy may be a phenomenon which is temporarily broken by adolescent explorations into heterosexual activities. Arafat and Cotton (1974) found that half of their sample (half of both sexes, college students) found no need for masturbation if they were involved in other sexual activity. However, 20 per cent of the sample found no effect of sexual intercourse

on the frequency of masturbation and 17 per cent said that the
frequency decreases, but is still regular.

Peter was reluctant to discuss masturbation; he blushed his way
through the few comments he made about being curious about it, about
the church forbidding it and about reading Everything You've Always
Wanted to Know about Sex.

Phil thought "it was really something disgraceful. All the
teaching I had was that it was really something terrible. It causes
brain damage." He also wondered if other people were doing it and
now he sees it "as a phase that people go through."

Ken was also relatively uncommunicative on this topic, admitting
that he felt "kind of upset" and that "it seldom happens anymore."
Eric is particularly interesting because he was aware of a desire to
masturbate during elementary school but he did not then and still
does not label it as a sexual phenomenon. "It's just like you have
an itch. It's a matter of having a feeling and trying to get rid of
that feeling."

"I think my mother was aware of it through her own studies but she
saw that it wasn't related sexually -- which probably is the thing
which would incite most parents. I remember explaining to her that it
was because I was anticipating going to a baseball game. I really
looked forward to the game, and she realized that, and we walked
around the block and talked about the house or something and the fact
that I did have this throbbing sensation. I really don't remember
how I first related it to sex but -- I really don't know how to do it
anyway to achieve an orgasm." And "If you just wash yourself it's

the same thing." This attitude from a college freshman might indicate a certain denial of sexuality.

It is interesting to note that once again the respondents generally fall into groups with regard to masturbation which are similar to where they fit together on sense of competence and heterosexual competence.

Peter and Phil demonstrated the most negative responses -- Peter could not discuss the issue, Phil took a very negative approach (in early adolescence he thought it caused brain damage) and he also had difficulty discussing it, as did Ken, though his response may be partially due to his belief that sexuality is a private issue. Alan and Arthur possess the highest sense of heterosexual competence and neither claims to have been guilty about masturbating, though Arthur was afraid of being caught by his mother and he did not discuss it with his peers as Alan did. Eric lacks both sexual and social experience with members of the opposite sex and, though he began to masturbate well before the rest of the sample, he did not and does not label the event as sexual.

Though the data do not allow for interpretations concerning the effect of masturbation on personality development as suggested by Kinsey and Abramson, individual activity and response to the desire to masturbate seems to be an important factor in the process of sexual socialization.

Relationship with The Mother and Other Females

Having dealt with the influences of sex education and some of the physiological changes and sexual challenges of early adolescence, we turn now to relationships with significant others, and the themes which emerge are the conflicting relationships with the parents, particularly the mother, and the changing relationships with members of the opposite sex.

It is interesting to note that the members of the sample who have generally more positive relationships with their mothers at this point in time (Alan, Brian, Arthur, and Ken) regard girls both as friends and as sexual partners (for Ken and Brian, the two kinds of relationships are mutually exclusive, for Alan and Arthur they are not), and that those who downgrade their mothers (Phil, Peter, and Eric) have the least sexually sophisticated relationships with women.

Alan's conflicts in early adolescence were more with his father, who didn't trust his friends. He changed high schools junior year and his father had some of his friends for students; he knew and liked them and after that he gave Alan more freedom. He seems to have a special relationship with his mother "I like her. She's funny." (It's interesting that he also makes similar comments about the girls he enjoys dating). "I like bringing her flowers and things. I stick up for her. My sisters aren't as nice to her."

Alan claims to have set up a chart about developing male/female relationships. "First you meet a girl and spend a little money on her -- you don't know if you want to spend that much -- when you know

her better you spend more money and she starts paying and you do things that don't cost." Alan enjoys having girls as friends. The seriousness of a relationship seems to both inhibit honesty and a relaxed kind of companionship, as well as a "fun" kind of flirting. Alan seems to try out this kind of flirting in a script where he won't lose a love relationship by playing. "Sometimes both the girl and the guy know that it's just out of fun. If you know the girl you can tell. The girls on our floor are kind of like sisters. You're right next to them 24 hours a day just about. You see them every day, goof around. I go swimming with this one girl -- she's been going out with this guy. A lot of girls I take out on the floor also have boy friends."

Ken, on the other hand, views the honesty in both situations as quite similar, and feels no sexual attraction for girls who are friends. Perhaps it is in the nature of the exchange. In a dating or sexual relationship the individual is interested in the give and take, and Ken claims to have had a recent experience in which he felt manipulated. According to Ken, "with girls who are friends, the ways you can be hurt are more limited."

Brian viewed his mother as "kind of a pest" through junior high because she was always nagging him, e.g., trying to teach him table manners, but now he can talk to her and he values the relationship for that reason.

His developing interest in the opposite sex was "a three stage occurrence: From 13-15 it was a curiosity thing for sexual activity. From about 15-17 I wanted to fit in with the group -- I wanted to do it because that's what everyone's doing. They were very selfish

relationships. Now it's growing into where I want more than just the pleasure itself."

Brian wants more of an emotional relationship and physical intimacy. He "can't remember one really good friend that I was dating steady"; and he claims not to feel a sexual attraction for his female friends. "The sex is replaced by the friendship. There are strong sexual ties at first but then something happens and it's just kind of a friendship thing. If you do have sex with your friend it just wrecks everything. Then you have to go back to the beginning to develop the friendship again. With a friend you can be honest, you gotta play the big man with your girl friend."

Arthur states that his high school girl friend was always jealous of "the girl across the street" from his house. "I was sort of brought up with her. We'd go out in the street and play tennis. With girls who are friends you don't keep anything from them. She introduces me to all her boy friends as soon as they come over. One day she came running out and said 'John just asked me for a date', and she was really happy." The main change in Arthur's relationship with girls is "just a gradual losing my shyness -- a gradual getting used to being around girls." Until adolescence Arthur thought both of his parents were "perfect people." At that time he began to disagree with his mother and identify more closely with his father. He "started to realize that my mother was very puritanistic and I didn't share a lot of her views." "My father didn't say anything against my mother -- which was sort of his way -- but he gave me the impression that he sort of agreed with me." (Re: Objecting to the Vietnam War). Once

again Arthur is an exception: he downgrades his mother, but views
other females both as friends and lovers.

Phil felt rebellious during high school because when he talked
to his parents he felt "they hadn't listened to one word (I'd) said."
They also put a lot of pressure on him because his sister was first
in her class and "you know it's kind of hard to beat that." He blames
his parents for his problems: "I start looking at myself and
wondering why I'm a certain way and then I look back and I see what
happened when I was younger and I say well, there's the answer right
there." He claims not to have girls as friends and he was also
attracted to them as girls "all the way through" but he doesn't trust
girls: "There's not a girl I know that I could tell something to that
I didn't want to get out." And "I think women are becoming more self-
centered. I get the impression that a lot of times we're trying to
respect their rights and they step on my toes...I also get the
impression that a lot of them feel they're a notch above me." And
"some of them get really pushy, you know."

Eric also expresses negative feelings toward his mother: "I
don't agree with her position on life. I don't like the way she
handles things" -- which were intensified during high school when he
claims there was "no communication, but there were many conflicts over
(his) hair, (his) grades, and the way (he) talked. His mother taught
in his high school and he used to embarrass her with his "bad sense
of humor" e.g., by wearing a dress to school as a joke and by telling
his teacher he was a Communist. Since he was rather isolated from
his peers during high school this behavior could have been either an

attention-getting mechanism or a self affirmation that he was "different" from everyone else.

His masculinity was questioned by some of his peers "because I've had hair that's down my back since I was at least two years old and for a long time I had that forced against me -- whether or not I was a girl."

Eric says that he responded with contempt for the general public: "My attitude made me a smart-ass. I still do not believe in courtship and <u>it upset me that you had to be on dates.</u>" But he also does not generally view girls as friends.

<u>Peter's</u> ties to his family are very traditional -- both to his parents and grandparents. One of his projects in recent years has been the development of a family history. In spite of the fact that he could never understand someone who hated his parents, he also says "sometimes I think my mother's stupid because she's not up on a lot of the way things are changing. I mean by "changing" the current events changes -- not just the big social change. <u>I don't expect her to change.</u>"

His relationship with girls also have a family tone:

> "Last summer we had this big group. It's really strange because for a year now there are about 25 of us. Twenty-five people that just stick together like glue. From the original dating people (about 5) it's just kind of a larger group -- we never broke up. It's a lot of fun. We did things last summer -- that was my best summer ever. We'd go to a place for a picnic just for the heck of it -- or make up a dinner party -- go sailing -- so now I move with a lot of girl friends."

Summary

One of the challenges of future research in the field of human
sexuality is to study the interplay between sex education provided
by parents and peers, self factors such as the timing of physical
maturity and experiences with sexuality (e.g., masturbation) and
developmental and developing relationships with significant others.
The table at the end of this chapter attempts to locate the sample
on each of these dimensions.

Since most of the respondents learned about sex from their peers
or their own reading, parental instruction or education from other
adults cannot be considered an important issue for this study. Of
those respondents considered to possess a sense of heterosexual compe-
tence (Alan, Brian, Arthur), Arthur is the only one for whom the timing
of maturity was an obstacle which limited social interaction during high
school; only Brian was guilty about masturbating, and he came to realize
that he didn't need to feel guilty; Alan and Brian have generally
positive relationships with their mothers while Arthur's are negative,
partially because she always wanted him to be involved in sports and
thus was encouraging the activities of the high school group which
rejected Arthur; Alan and Arthur have relationships with girls as
friends and lovers, and these can be one and the same; for Brian, his
girl friends are not his lovers.

Ken and Stephen currently do not possess a sense of heterosexual
competence, but in each of their experiences one factor seems more
important than the others -- for Stephen the experience of having

caused a pregnancy, and for Ken the fact that he is at present socially uncomfortable at this university. Their lack of a sense of heterosexual competence may be a temporary phenomenon.

Peter, Phil, and Eric do not seem to possess a sense of heterosexual competence. Phil and Eric experienced difficulty in maturing, all three had difficulty discussing masturbation; though Eric does not describe masturbation in negative terms, he chooses not to label it as a sexual experience; all three have negative opinions of their mothers. Peter has relationships with girls only as friends, and though both Phil and Eric are involved in monogamous relationships, both feel manipulated by their partners and both avoid sex. A longitudinal study of the development of heterosexual competence is required to fully understand the interaction of these factors.

Table 7. Selected Factors of Sexual Socialization

| | SEX EDUCATION | PERCEIVED TIMING OF PHYSICAL MATURITY RELATIVE TO PEERS | ATTITUDE TOWARD MASTURBATION | CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALES | |
				MOTHER	DATES GIRLS:LOVERS
STEPHEN	No parental info, but parental trust Caring and talking with girls Reading Imagining Course was a joke in high school	Later - Concern about size	Fear of being caught Release of sexual tension Guilt	Insufficient information	Lovers
PETER	Liked sex education course What he said about it seemed like reproduction, not sex	Same time	Blushed Reluctant to discuss	Mentions difficulty being away from home Positive:Family Negative:Mother	Friends
ALAN	Father Medical books Friends Gym teacher	Same time	Claims no guilt	Positive	Friends ←→ Lovers

Table 7 (cont'd.)

	SEX EDUCATION	PERCEIVED TIMING OF PHYSICAL MATURITY RELATIVE TO PEERS	ATTITUDE TOWARD MASTURBATION	CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALES	
				MOTHER	DATES GIRLS:LOVERS
PHIL	One day course Not interested in it	Perceived later, not actually Bully in elemen- tary school Got passed by in height	It's disgraceful Causes brain damage	Difficult to be away from home Negative	Seems to dis- like females
BRIAN	Medical lecture from father Friends	Later Concern about size	Inverse rela- tionship with intercourse	Positive	Friends Lovers
KEN	High school course - Useless Friends	Early Concern with size because of involvement in sports	"Kind of upset at first" "Seldom happens anymore"	Positive	Friends Lovers
ARTHUR	Own reading	Later High voice	Fear of being caught Inverse rela- tionship with intercourse	Negative	Friends → Lovers

Table 7 (cont'd.)

|	SEX EDUCATION	PERCEIVED TIMING OF PHYSICAL MATURITY RELATIVE TO PEERS	ATTITUDE TOWARD MASTURBATION	CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALES	
				MOTHER	GIRLS: DATES LOVERS
ERIC	None	Earlier But concerned with clumsiness	5th grade Still not viewed as sexual experience Still not to orgasm	Negative	Currently neither friends nor lovers

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

The main goal of this research has been to explore the possible components of a sense of heterosexual competence, its relationships with general sense of competence, and with selected factors of sexual socialization.

A composite of the three charts on general competence, heterosexual competence, and sexual socialization is here presented, and the complete tables are attached once again so that the reader may be reminded of the components of each dimension.

Table 8. A Composite of Three Dimensions

	GENERAL SENSE OF COMPETENCE	HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE	SEXUAL SOCIALIZATION Information and Experience	
			Discuss With Friends	H.S. Intercourse
STEPHEN	YES	NO	YES	YES
PETER	NO	NO	NO	NO
ALAN	YES	YES	YES	YES
PHIL	NO	NO	NO	NO
KEN	NO	NO	YES	YES
BRIAN	NO	YES	YES	YES
ARTHUR	YES	YES	NO	YES
ERIC	NO	NO	NO	YES
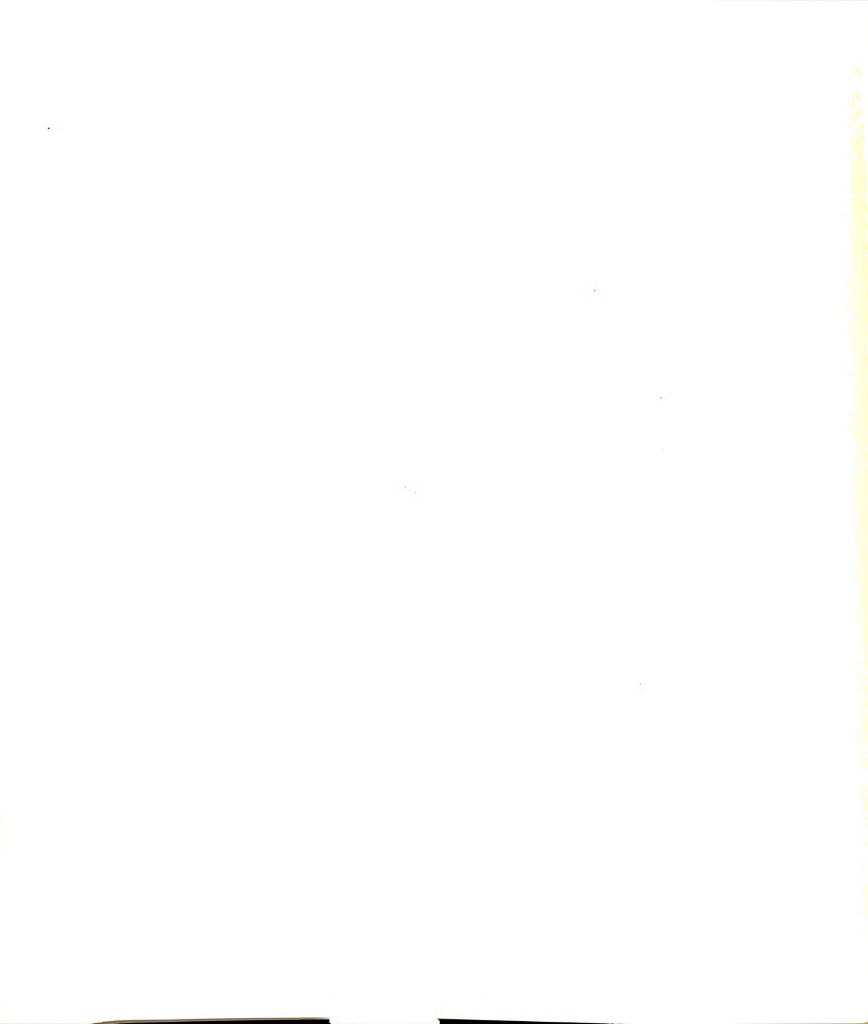
In this chapter the investigator will summarize the respondents in groups on the basis of sense of competence, heterosexual competence, and selected factors of sexual socialization, since interestingly enough they tend to fall into fairly consistent groups on the variables investigated. The themes and patterns uncovered will be presented and form the basis for the generation of hypotheses. The chapter will conclude with a definition and model of heterosexual competence, with appropriate cautions for the limitations of model building. In his commentary on John Gillis' Youth and History, Friedenberg (1976) noted:

> The basic generalization of Youth and History, I would infer, is that the condition of the young, variable as it may be at different times and places, is always a function of status-politics. The young do indeed develop sets of common psychological predispositions which become institutionalized as custom in response to the social and political -- or apolitical -- roles in which they have been cast. But Gillis does not see any natural and universal characteristics of the young, beyond the purely physical and physiological, that persist despite variation in social circumstances. This does not mean that he sees them as merely the victims of social forces, though their inexperience and marginality do consistently place them among the weaker members of society. But, like any subspecies, they find their existence limited and strongly influenced by their ecological possibilities which are largely determined by the actions of people with political power who may be trying to control young people or who may just be trying to pursue their own interests without regard to the consequences for others. (p. 283).

The sample has been divided into two groups for discussion: 1) Those who feel generally competent, heterosexually competent, or both; and 2) Those who feel neither generally, nor heterosexually competent. Their individual characteristics of competence, similarities and dissimilarities will be noted, though the reader is referred to

the body of the text for a detailed presentation of each competence style.

Alan, Arthur, Brian, and Stephen are in the first "competent" group. Ken, Peter, Phil, and Eric form the group which currently lacks a sense of competence.

Alan, Arthur, Brian, and Stephen

Of the group which seems to feel competent, Alan and Arthur possess both a general and a heterosexual sense of competence; Brian feels heterosexually, but not generally competent, and Stephen feels generally but not heterosexually competent.

Alan and Arthur are both confronting the challenges of the freshman year, but in very different ways. Alan fits the model in the literature of the competent individual who seeks information, interacts, sets reasonable goals and is not overwhelmed by anxiety. Arthur also feels competent, but his style is more reserved, and internal. One might also suggest that he is less dependent than Alan on the environment for his sense of competence. His interviews do not provide many examples of seeking information from others or of interacting with others, but he is open to information from the environment and he does expect to accomplish. He considers alternatives and makes his own decisions; he deals actively with the college environment, but in his own quiet way. Anxiety is more of a problem for him than it is for the traditionally defined "competent individual." Both Alan and Arthur feel heterosexually competent in expecting both to enjoy sex and to take the responsibility for the feelings of the partner and the possible consequences of their acts. They both use

contraceptives. They both have generally positive relationships with females, though for Arthur, this does not include his mother; and both have friend and lover relationships with females, sometimes simultaneously. Both have been sexually active since high school and both stated that an important aspect of their sexual socialization was talking about sex and doing sex with a female partner. Alan also discussed sex with his male peers.

Brian is similar to Alan and Arthur in terms of sexual experiences, in his positive relations with females and in his sense of heterosexual competence. He is dissimilar because generally he does not yet feel competent academically or socially in the current context, and his lack of general sense of competence limits his sense of heterosexual competence in that he lacks the social confidence to seek out relationships; but his data also indicate that Brian is progressively feeling more confident about his ability to confront successfully the academic and social challengés of this university.

Stephen feels generally competent; his style is similar to that of Alan; his sense of heterosexual competence is limited at this point in time because he seems not to have recovered fully from the experience of causing a pregnancy, and the sense of loss for someone who now is involved in other relationships. It should also be noted that relative to Alan, Arthur, and Brian, Stephen lacks the experience gained from having been involved in more than one intimate relationship, though in that relationship talking about sex and doing sex were important to him.

It is interesting to note that even those considered heterosexually

competent employed the "mis-script" with regard to first intercourse; it was not discussed ahead of time with the partner, except in relation to the experiences of other people, though it seems to have been anticipated, at least by the male, since contraceptives were available. The script for sexual intercourse was developed but, with the exception of Alan, unacknowledged by the participants.

Ken, Peter, Phil, and Eric

Ken, Peter, Phil, and Eric seem to possess a sense of neither general nor heterosexual competence.

Ken presents a rather contradictory case because on the end categories for general sense of competence there are indications that he has good reasons for feeling competent, yet he does not. He seeks information, sets manageable goals, is open to information, and is not overwhelmed by anxiety. On the other hand, he is threatened by acculturation to what he considers "city life." He is performing in his sport, experiencing some academic difficulty, but he is "making it"; he is having serious difficulty in the social arena where he feels very incompetent. Because of his lack of success in developing relationships with the opposite sex on this campus, he does not currently possess a sense of heterosexual competence, though his high school experiences indicate that he has generally positive relationships with females, whom he views either as friends or lovers.

Peter and Phil present a fairly consistent pattern. They are both isolated here; they are dissatisfied, but they expect any change which occurs to come from the environment rather than from within

themselves. They neither seek information nor interact very well or very frequently with their peers on this campus. They both want to accomplish, and in both cases fear of failure inhibits their performance. They both lack experience with members of the opposite sex; they are both virgins. Peter's relationships with girls are friend relationships and he seems unwilling to become very involved in a relationship which isn't "just right." Though Phil is currently dating one person there is substantial evidence in his interviews that he feels manipulated by females and actively dislikes them. Both Peter and Phil talk about their mothers in negative terms.

Eric's lack of a general sense of competence seems to derive mainly from the fact that he sets his standards very high and competes at a national level in his sport, which has always demanded so much of his time that he has never been able to develop academic or social competence. Though he experienced intercourse early in adolescence, and talking and doing sex were valued in that intimate relationship, his partner lived in another part of the country and Eric generally lacks both social and sexual experience with females. He does not view females as friends and though he is currently "in love" he feels manipulated by his partner; he avoids sex because neither partner wants to use a contraceptive, though his partner seems to want sex, even without contraception. Because Eric cares deeply about this person, he refuses to take the risk, and that approach is certainly closer to heterosexual competence than his previous history of sex without contraceptives. He is at least considering the possible consequences of enjoying sex.
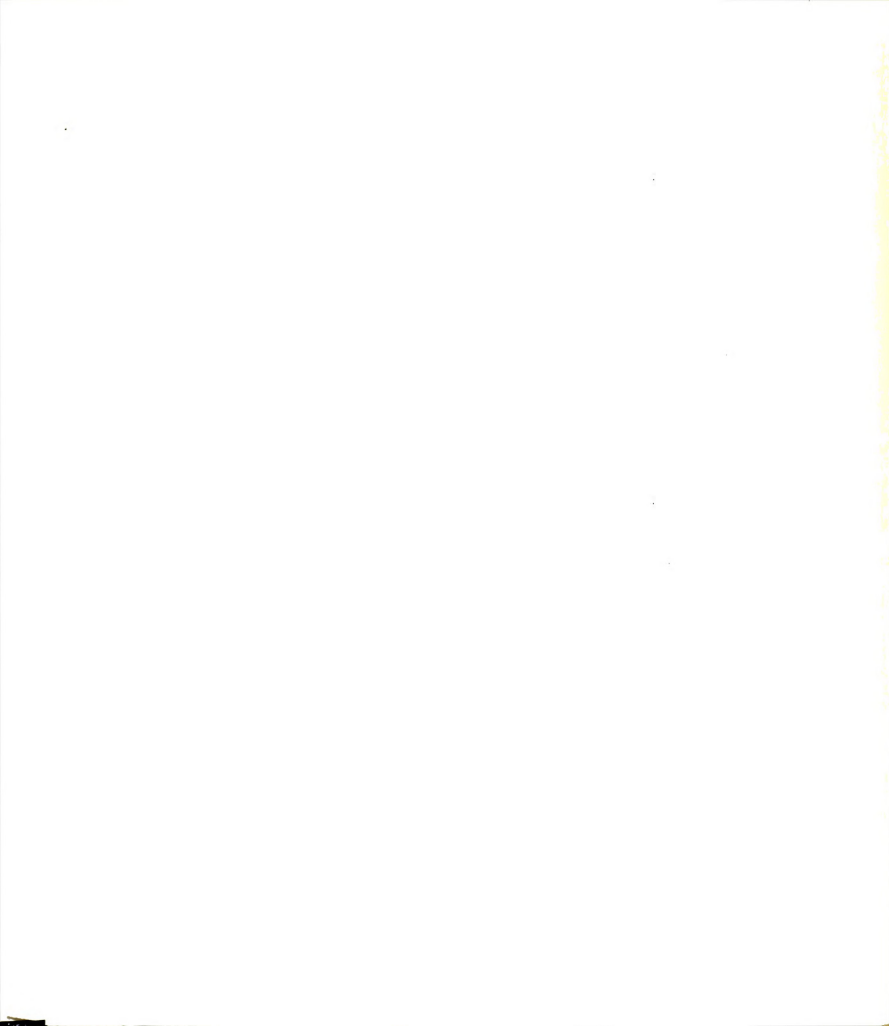
Hypotheses

1. A competent approach to sex involves the recognition of one's sexuality and a decision to accept or postpone sexual situations.

2. The way in which one labels oneself as a sexual being forms the process and content of one's sexual scripts.

3. The way in which one operationalizes one's sexual scripts is related to one's general sense of competence.

4. A sense of competence in general and sexual situations creates social feedback which leads to the development of a sense of hetero-sexual competence.

5. A sense of heterosexual competence is related to the extent to which the individual feels competent in other aspects of his life.

6. There is an inverse relationship between guilt about sex and heterosexual competence.

7. There is an inverse relationship between a sense of hetero-sexual competence and a feeling of being pressured toward sexuality.

8. Sex education has relatively more influence on the individual's attitudes and behaviors when he is physiologically, psychologically, and cognitively prepared to relate the material to his own self, when it holds meaning for him as a developing sexual being.

9. Active engagement in the sexual environment -- talking with peers, and talking and doing sex with significant others of the opposite sex are important aspects of sexual socialization.

10. As the male becomes more experienced with relationships which involve both interpersonal and sexual attachment, and as

those relationships are gratifying, there is an increased desire for emotional-sexual relationships.

11. As the male becomes more experienced sexually he is less concerned with sexual "performance."

12. The obvious aspects of physical maturing (size or voice) are the most important developmental influences on the adolescent's general sense of competence.

13. Those individuals with a sense of heterosexual competence have generally positive relationships with females. They view women as friends and/or lovers -- sometimes simultaneously.

14. Single individuals who feel heterosexually competent enjoy sex and use contraceptives.

Summary

A sense of heterosexual competence can best be illustrated, perhaps, by considering the two most extreme examples from the eight case studies. On the basis of the data collected, Alan demonstrates a sense of heterosexual competence; Phil does not.

Alan fits the traditional competence model as defined in the social-psychological literature. He seeks information, uses friendships as sources of information, experiments with alternatives, is open to values and lifestyles different from his own and is not overcome by anxiety. Phil is socially isolated, falls at the opposite end of the scale on each of the end categories; anxiety seems to be a serious problem for him, for example, when he blanks out on tests.

Alan had many friends in high school, often from different "cliques" within the school. He experienced intercourse in the tenth grade; it was a positive experience which he enjoyed and he has been sexually active since that time. The main content of his script seems to be that sex is fun as long as no one is hurt; he uses contraceptives 100 per cent of the time. Because he is sexually active one can justifiably assume that he receives positive feedback from at least some of his partners, but he also has accepted the possibility that he may find someone who refuses intercourse, and that possible rejection is not a problem for him. He receives positive feedback by fitting in with current campus sexual mores, and by his own positive feelings about himself as a sexual partner.

Phil, on the other hand, did not date in high school and, unfortunately, the investigator did not obtain information about his homosocial relationships, except for the fact that he had been one of the stronger, taller group in elementary school and in junior high many of his peers out-distanced him. He is currently in a monogamous relationship which does not involve intercourse, and in which he feels manipulated, but guilty when he thinks about potential relationships with other people. His social isolation and sense of guilt about sexual attraction and relationships form a script which prevents him from the kinds of interaction which might help him to revise his script; he almost seems to be protecting himself from sexuality and his low sense of competence bolsters his self defense.

Alan and Phil demonstrate extreme opposites on selected factors of sexual socialization. Although the lecture given him by his M.D.

father was not considered helpful by Alan, he did have a gym teacher who, when Alan was in early adolescence, provided accurate information about sex and contraception at the time when Alan perceived he felt a need for it. Alan matured at the same time as his peers; he claims no guilt about masturbation and has positive relationships with females. Phil claims not to have been interested in the one-day course on sex education which was available to him; he perceives himself as maturing later than his peers though he did not; he felt that masturbation was disgraceful and he has negative relationships with females.

The adolescent experiences of Alan and Phil present patterns which are almost too consistent, and other members of the sample demonstrate the various mid-points, exceptions, and more plasticity in their data. The investigator chose to focus on Alan and Phil because they provide extremely good examples of some of the hypotheses developed and their converse.

The model in Figure 3 attempts to illustrate the process of developing a sense of heterosexual competence during the adolescent stage of the life cycle.

Through progressive stages of human development the individual socializes and is socialized for competence. His sense of his own ability to be effective and to communicate within the environment acquires a developmental history from birth. The developing self, in its requirements for physical, emotional, cultural and individual sustenance, through experience, progressively arrives at a view of the self.

The interaction between the individual and society and thus the

feedback about the degree of competence of the self begin in infancy when the person begins to learn how to cope with his environment.

The child's skills are increasingly formed by interaction with other family members and later by peers, school authorities, and society at large. In all of these relationships, self-perception is probably as crucial as actual performance for the development of a sense of competence, though self-perception is a function, at least in part, of evaluative feedback from others, and a strain for consistency which suggests that events tend to be interpreted to be consistent with the self.

Based on previous coping experiences, the individual enters adolescence with an already developed perception of himself as located at one or more of several points on a sense of competence-incompetence range. He has developed a "competence style" which is not necessarily fixed and which, for many individuals, seems to be related to the manner in which they seek information and are flexible about receiving information from the environment, their need for accomplishment, and level of anxiety.

Individuals who are actively engaging with the environment, who are not circumventing the challenges of the adolescent years, partially create a context in which they can receive positive feedback about their ability to cope, which influences their actual coping behaviors. In general, they do not set their standards too high or avoid challenge or social interaction. They demonstrate evidence of a willingness to change, rather than expecting the environment to change to meet their needs or values, past or present.

In early adolescence society begins to recognize the individual as a sexual actor, although he does not become sexual all at once in response to this recognition. As physical changes become manifest, the individual is identified as a conventional sexual performer. He experiences physical sexual activity with the self and others, and progressively moves away from adherence to familial values and toward an attachment to the peer culture. Though it is not the intention of the researcher to imply a rigid developmental order, it is suggested that the individual progressively accepts and labels himself as a sexual being.

A competent approach to sex involves the recognition of one's sexuality and a decision to accept or postpone sexual relationships. A sense of competence about being able to cope with sexual situations influences the individual's behavior in the manner of the self-fulfilling prophecy; a sense of heterosexual competence is also related to the extent to which the individual feels competent in other areas of his life because a developmental history of experiences in which the individual has learned that he can cope provides him with the confidence to script (to define certain experiences and plan for them) -- he feels confident about coping. This process leads to the acceptance of behaviors and roles and, in turn, to further coping and scripting. The individual learns sexual scripts -- the content of an interaction is erotic because the individual can define it that way; sexual happenings occur because one or both actors organize the event via a sexual script. A person can be "in love" when he is willing to label himself that way.

Based on the process, content, and outcome of early experiences, the adolescent continaully re-develops his scripts and re-negotiates increasingly sophisticated relationships with the opposite sex; intercourse is not necessarily a component of this development. Early and consistent sexual experience in high school, without extreme negative consequences, seem to contribute to a sense of heterosexual competence by the college freshman year. This sense of being able to influence one's sexual life by one's action or inaction has an inverse relationship with a feeling of being pressured toward sexual behavior and feelings of guilt about one's sexual attitudes and behaviors. As the individual develops sexual experience, he becomes less concerned with sexual "performance." Social involvement with and feedback from peers of the same and opposite sex either support or diminish his sense of general and heterosexual competence. Factors such as previous and current sexual socialization, talking about sex and doing sex with a significant other, the timing of maturity, and the tenor of family relationships may also be influential in varying degrees. Formal sex education, when it is available, has the greatest meaning for the adolescent when he is physiologically, psychologically and cognitively prepared for this information.
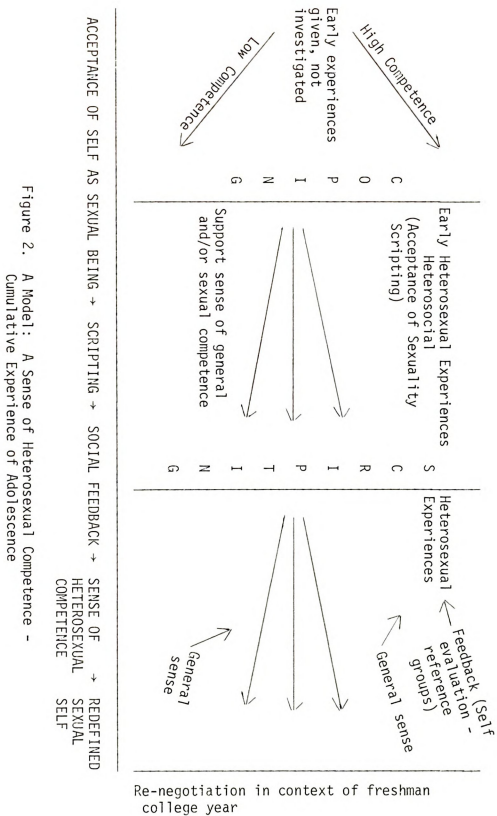
The adolescent's sexual self is re-defined with experience; his sense of general and heterosexual competence are altered continually by this re-definition as he moves through adolescence toward increasingly more adult contexts.

A sense of heterosexual competence is a sense of being able to achieve an appropriate balance between enjoyment of sexuality and

responsibility for the consequences of one's acts. On the basis of the literature reviewed and the data collected in this study, it is suggested that the development of a sense of heterosexual competence is a process. The individual accepts and labels himself as a sexual being partly in response to the actions and definitions of others; develops increasingly more sophisticated sexual scripts, both in content and process, based on experience; receives social feedback for the acting out of his scripts, which also influence and are affected by his general sense of competence. The sense of being able to achieve a balance between enjoyment of sexuality and responsibility for one's acts develops with sexual experience and interaction.

By recognizing himself as a sexual being, the individual enters rather than avoids the sexual arena, and thus creates a context in which he may receive positive or negative feedback which affect his sense of self. In contrast to the individual who avoids interaction, sexual actors create the possibility of success or failure and the opportunity to learn from experience. Those who, either actively or passively, avoid this arena during adolescence limit the possibilities for developing a sense of heterosexual competence at this stage in the life cycle.

Research studies should be undertaken on the roles played by fantasy, imagination, and verbal expressiveness in relation to the formulation and operation of sexual scripts. To understand fully the interaction of the components of heterosexual competence, further research is needed on general sense of competence, acceptance of sexuality, scripting behaviors and sexual socialization.
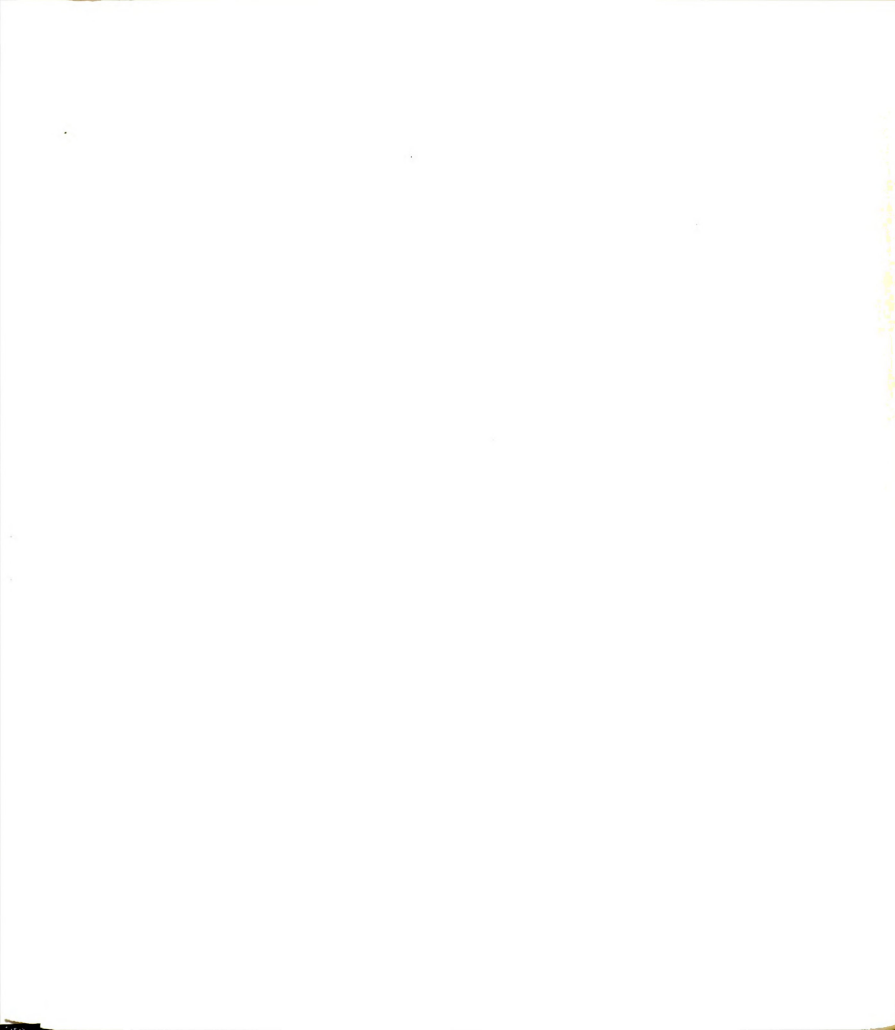
High Competence

Low Competence

Early experiences given, not investigated

C O P I N G

Early Heterosexual Experiences
Heterosocial
(Acceptance of Sexuality
Scripting)

S C R I P T I N G

Support sense of general and/or sexual competence

Heterosexual Experiences

Feedback (self evaluation - reference groups)

General sense

General sense

Re-negotiation in context of freshman college year

ACCEPTANCE OF SELF AS SEXUAL BEING → SCRIPTING → SOCIAL FEEDBACK → SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE → REDEFINED SEXUAL SELF

Figure 2. A Model: A Sense of Heterosexual Competence –
Cumulative Experience of Adolescence

Table 4. The Categories

	SEEKING	INTERACTING	ACCOMPLISHMENT	FLEXIBILITY	ANXIETY AS A PROBLEM
STEPHEN	Yes	Yes	Medium	Yes	Sometimes
PETER	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
ALAN	Yes	Yes	Medium	Yes	No
PHIL	No	No	No	No	No
KEN	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
BRIAN	No	No	No	Yes	No
ARTHUR	Insuff. Evidence	No	Yes	Yes	Sometimes
ERIC	Insuff. Evidence	No	Yes	Yes	Insuff. Evidence

Table 5. General Sense of Competence

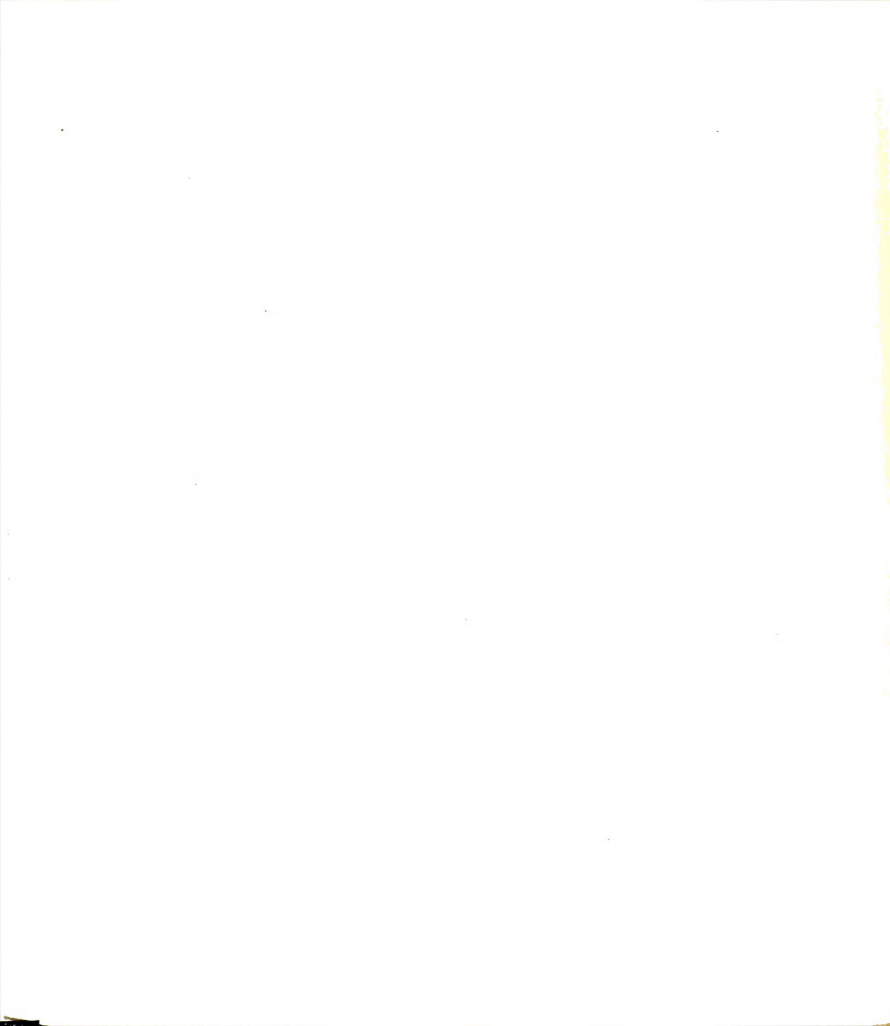| STEPHEN	YES
PETER	NO
ALAN	YES
PHIL	NO
KEN	NO
BRIAN	NO
ARTHUR	YES
ERIC	NO

Table 6. Sense of Heterosexual Competence

	ACCEPTANCE OF SEXUALITY	CONTENT OF SCRIPTING	SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE
STEPHEN	Yes, in a love relationship	First Intercourse - I responded by going out and looking Trust Love Relationship Long experience in a love relationship In process of reorganization "If a sexual relationship develops"	No Pregnancy experience Vulnerability (Concern for contraception dominates)
PETER	No Girls as friends Lack of experience	For sexual relationship wants good personality and meaningful relationships Caution Self-protection Perfectionist	No (No pleasure)
ALAN	Yes Experience Expectation of sex	Sex as fun - no one hurt The personal metaphor	Yes

Table 6 (cont'd.)

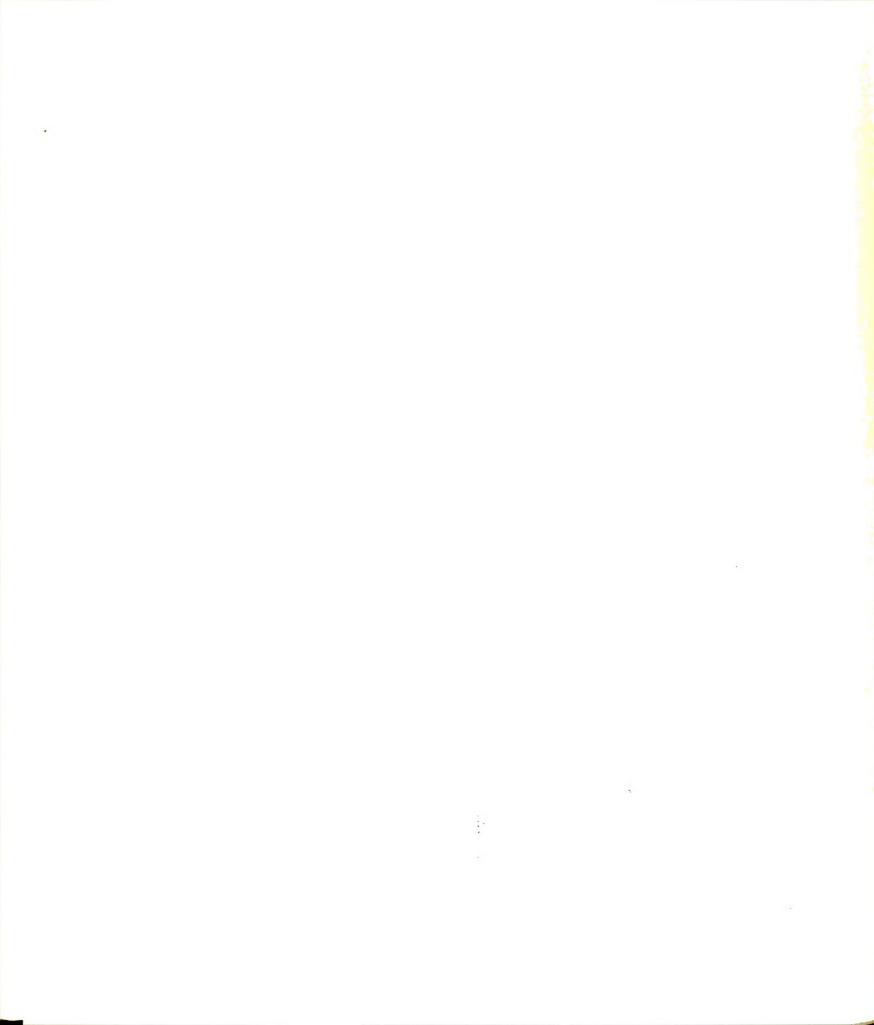|	ACCEPTANCE OF SEXUALITY	CONTENT OF SCRIPTING	SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE
PHIL	No No experience	Caution Self-protection	No (No pleasure)
KEN	?	Concern about lack of control Guilt Fear of acting Lets girl initiate Fearful of being manipulated Difficulty establishing relationships in current context Spontaneous - because he does not feel confident about communicating with girls in college context	No At present time no relationships Insufficient evidence
BRIAN	Yes	Sex as game Process of developing emotional relationships Concern for "performance" if he considers the girl more sophisticated Relaxation Lacks social confidence Wants girl to initiate	Yes

Table 6 (cont'd.)

	ACCEPTANCE OF SEXUALITY	CONTENT OF SCRIPTING	SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE
ARTHUR	Yes Experience Doing and talking	Individual decisions No-script script Sex to bolster self image Agreement of partners No pressure	Yes
ERIC	No Limited experience	Spontaneous - just happens Concerns about being manipulated in current relationship Competence depends on evaluation by other person	No No contraception No sex currently

Table 7. Selected Factors of Sexual Socialization

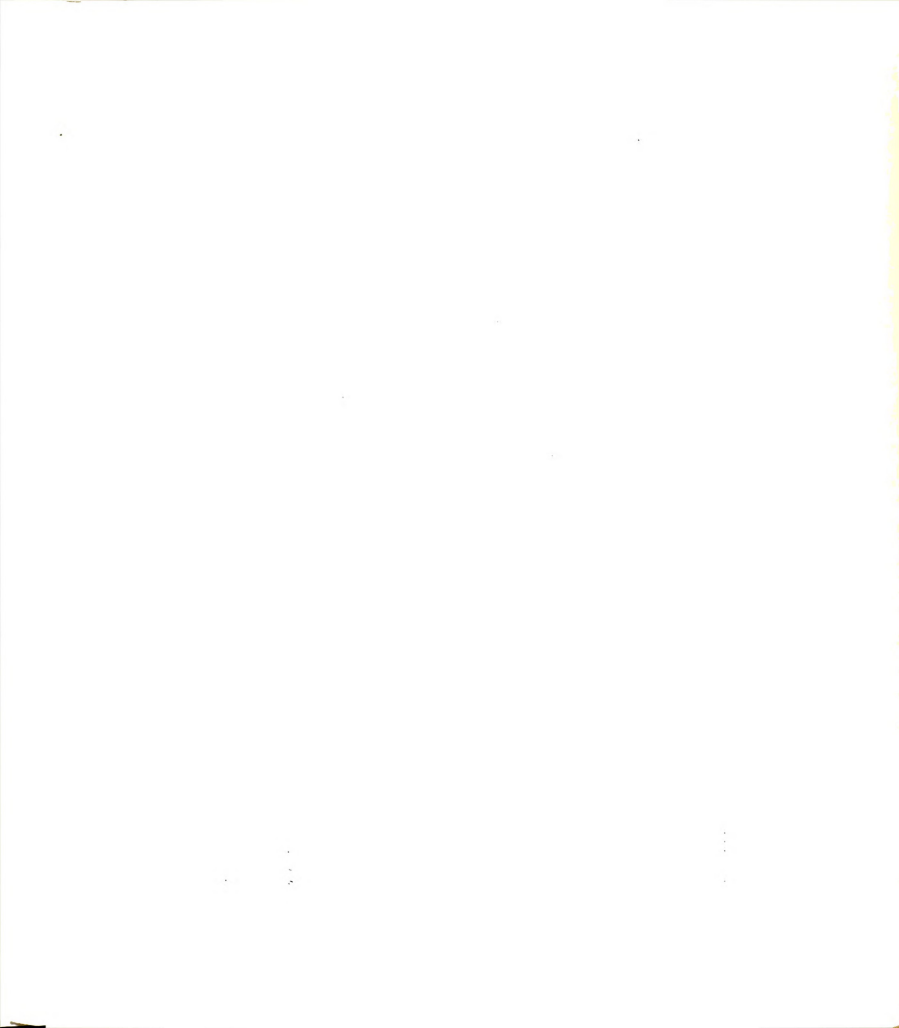| | SEX EDUCATION | PERCEIVED TIMING OF PHYSICAL MATURITY RELATIVE TO PEERS | ATTITUDE TOWARD MASTURBATION | CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALES | |
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STEPHEN	No parental info, but parental trust Caring and talking with girls Reading Imagining Course was a joke in high school	Later - Concern about size	Fear of being caught Release of sexual tension Guilt	Insufficient information	Lovers
PETER	Liked sex education course What he said about it seemed like reproduction, not sex	Same time	Blushed Reluctant to discuss	Mentions difficulty being away from home Positive:Family Negative:Mother	Friends
ALAN	Father Medical books Friends Gym teacher	Same time	Claims no guilt	Positive	Friends → Lovers

Table 7 (cont'd.)

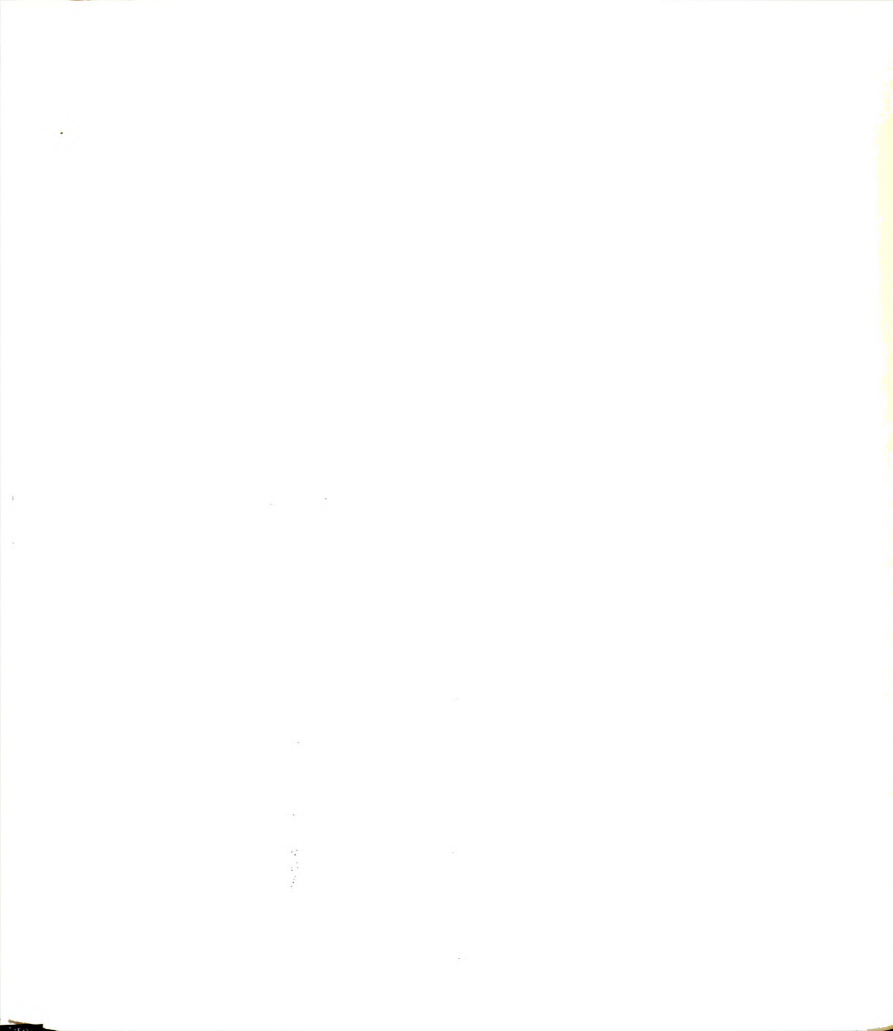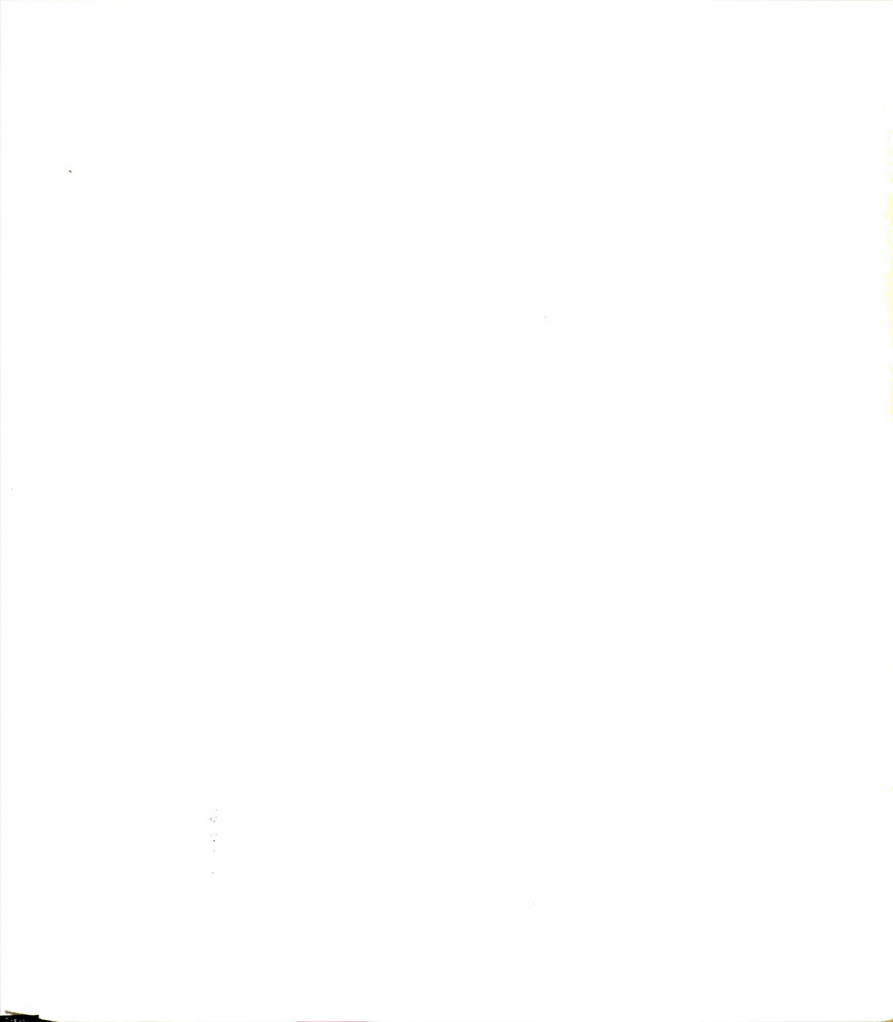| | SEX EDUCATION | PERCEIVED TIMING OF PHYSICAL MATURITY RELATIVE TO PEERS | ATTITUDE TOWARD MASTURBATION | CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALES | | |
				MOTHER	GIRLS:	DATES: LOVERS
PHIL	One day course Not interested in it	Perceived later, not actually Bully in elementary school Got passed by in height	It's disgraceful Causes brain damage	Difficult to be away from home Negative	Seems to dislike females	
BRIAN	Medical lecture from father Friends	Later Concern about size	Inverse relationship with intercourse	Positive	Friends	Lovers
KEN	High school course - Useless Friends	Early Concern with size because of involvement in sports	"Kind of upset at first" "Seldom happens anymore"	Positive	Friends	Lovers
ARTHUR	Own reading	Later High voice	Fear of being caught Inverse relationship with intercourse	Negative	Friends →	Lovers Lovers

Table 7 (cont'd.)

|	SEX EDUCATION	PERCEIVED TIMING OF PHYSICAL MATURITY RELATIVE TO PEERS	ATTITUDE TOWARD MASTURBATION	CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALES	
				MOTHER	GIRLS, DATES, LOVERS
ERIC	None	Earlier But concerned with clumsiness	5th grade Still not viewed as sexual experience Still not to orgasm	Negative	Currently neither friends nor lovers

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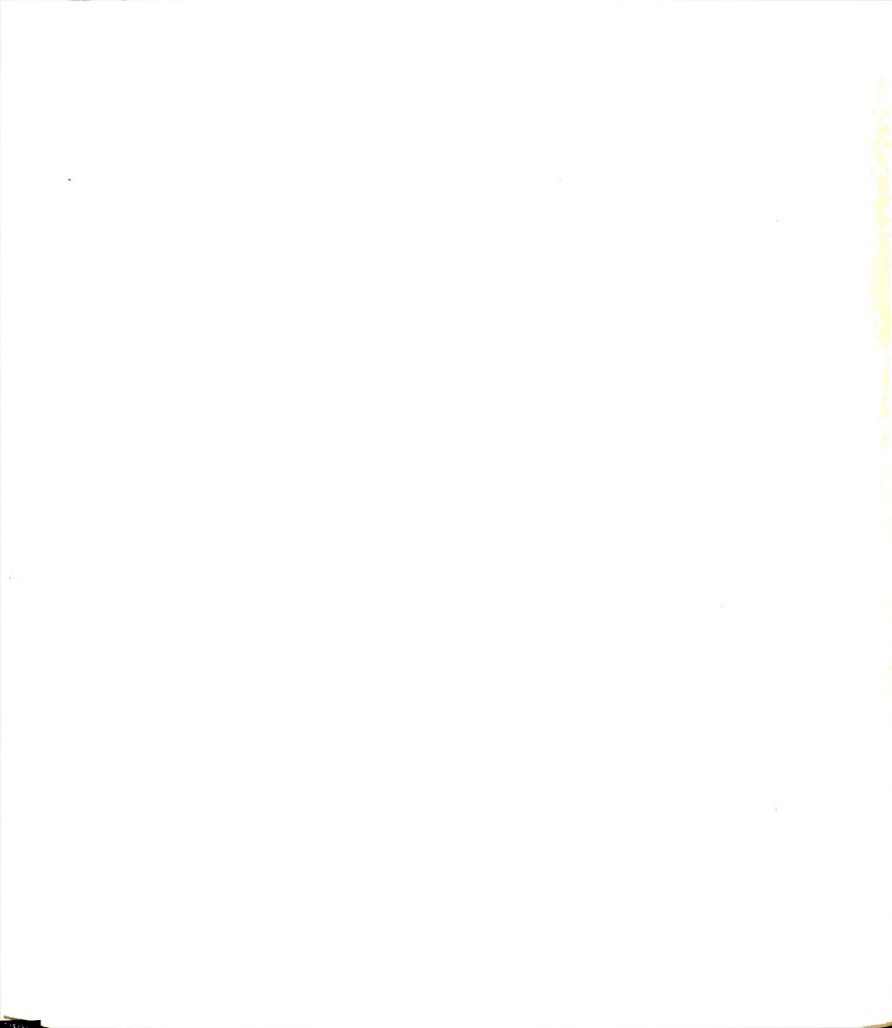
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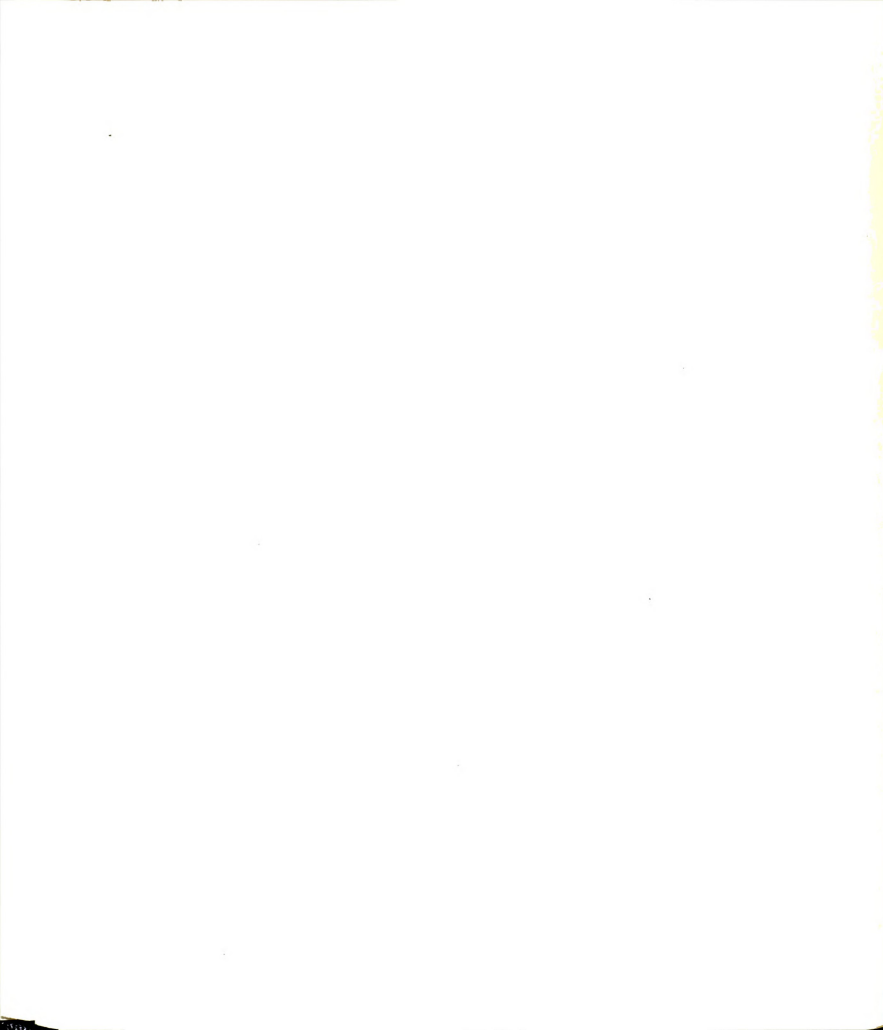
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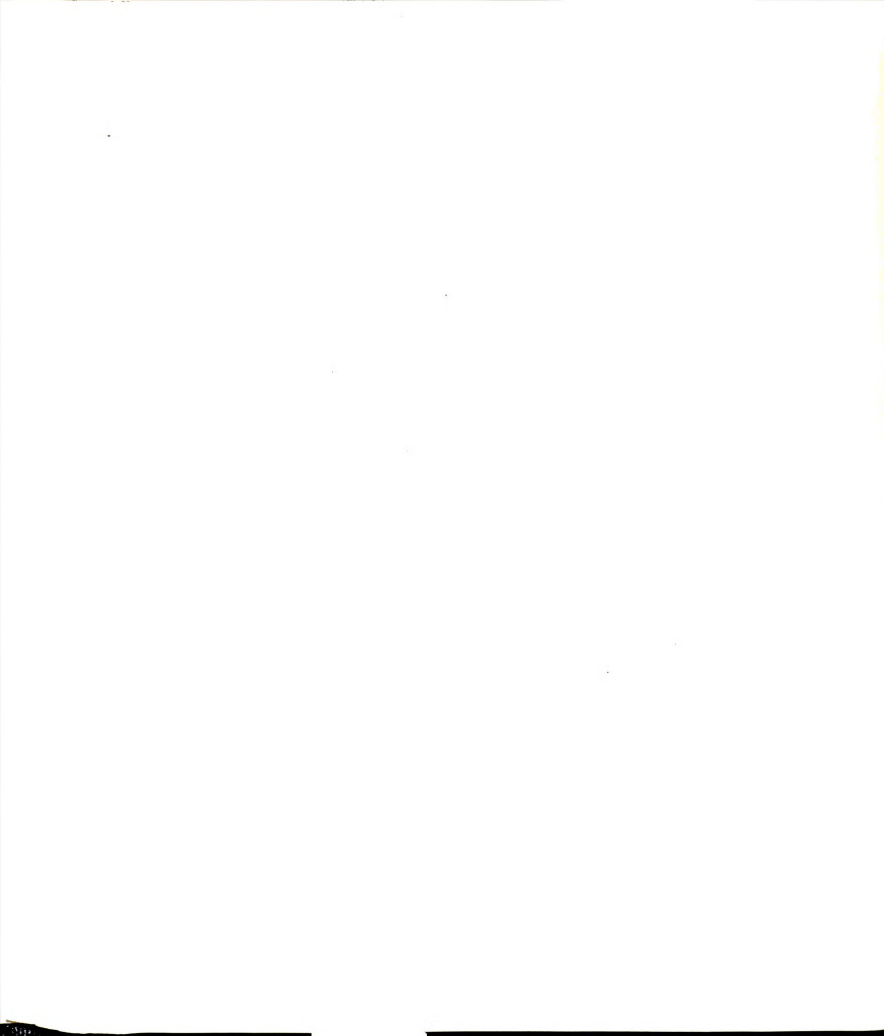
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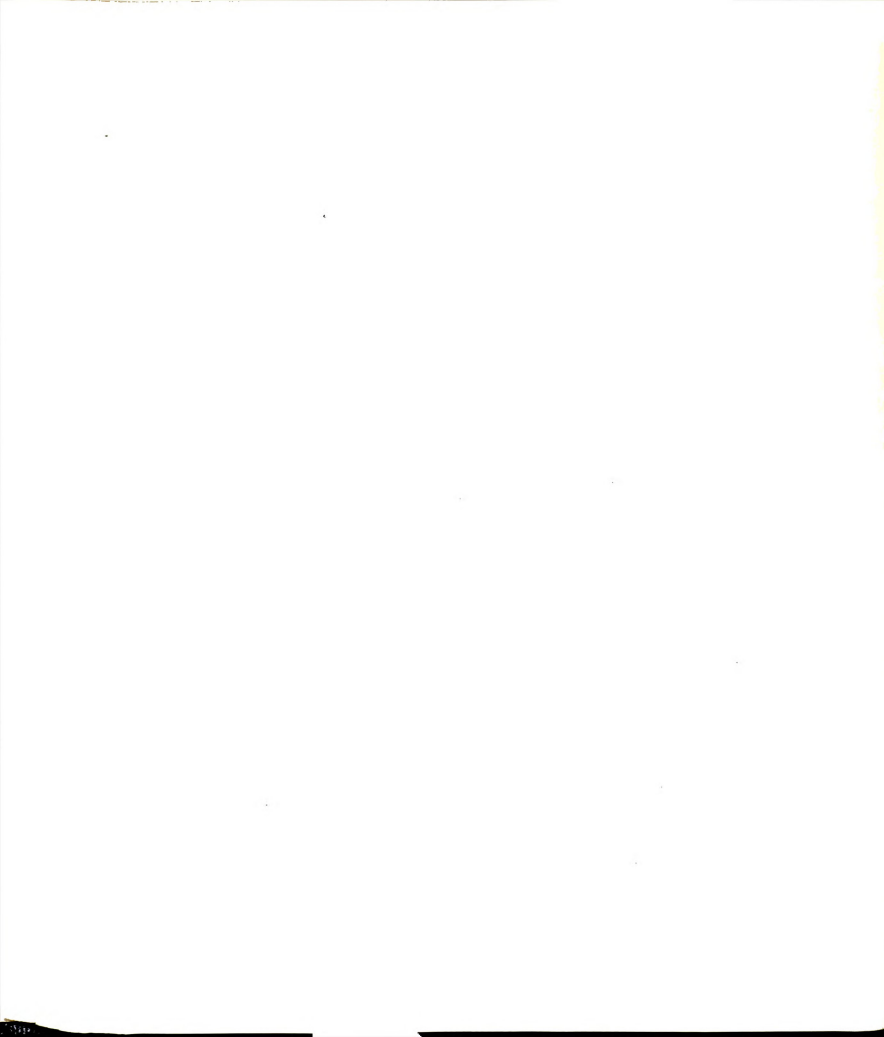
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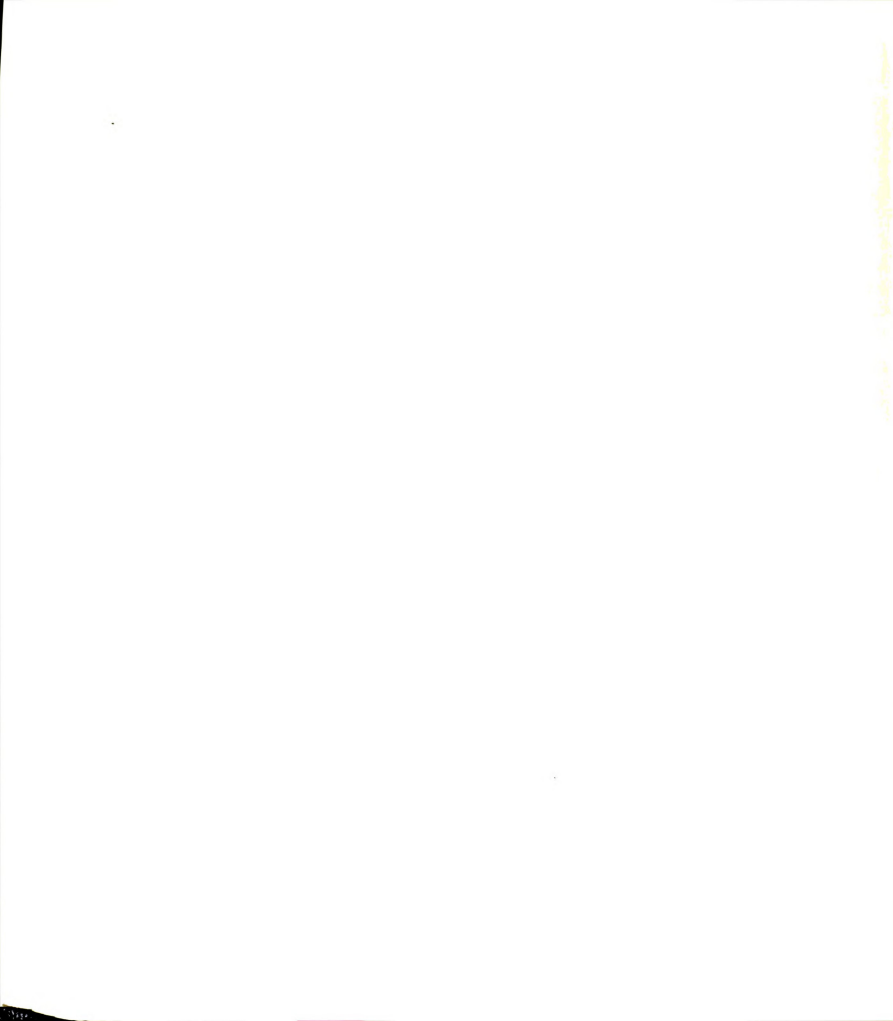
APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES AND GENERAL DIRECTIONS

GENERAL DIRECTIONS:

The respondents were selected on the basis of their responses
to a questionnaire designed to elicit demographic information and
responses about degree of sexual experience. When the questionnaire was
administered, the respondents were told that the investigator is currently
working on a contraceptive study, that her main interest is in the
development of a sense of competence, sense of competence in relations
with the opposite sex, and the respondents' retrospective accounts of
sexual socialization.

The first interview in the series focused on general sense of
competence, the second on sense of heterosexual competence, and the
third on sexual socialization.

It was required that the first ten questions of each interview
be asked within the fifty-minute time period allotted for each session.
The interviewer made a decision about the amount of time devoted to each
question based on the responsiveness of the informant, and the amount
of time remaining. If the respondent did not answer immediately,
probes such as "Can you tell me something about that" or "What did
that mean to you" were used. The respondent was not allowed to drift
off to "yarn-spinning" in areas not related to the content area of the
interview, but the interviewer did attempt to recognize topics which
seemed particularly important to the respondent. In cases where time
remained after the first ten questions had been discussed, then
additional questions were asked, or the interviewer returned to areas
which seemed particularly relevant.

APPENDIX IA

INTERVIEW I -- GENERAL SENSE OF COMPETENCE

1. Why did you decide to come to this university? Did you request information from or apply to other places? Why did you decide to attend this university instead of another? Who took the major responsibility for your college plans? Who did you talk to about it?

2. What did you expect of this university academically and socially? Is it different from what you expected? In what way? How do you feel about the differences? What are three major problems a freshman at this university has to master? How does he do it? How do you feel about how you're doing? What will you do differently next year?

3. What kinds of relationships do you have with your roommates? Did you know them before you came? What are they like (probe for their good and bad points)? What happens when you disagree? To what extent do they influence your opinions?

4. People have different points of view about what competence is. What do you think it means to be competent, not competent? In what ways do you feel competent, not competent? Does a feeling of competence or incompetence influence your performance? In what way?

5. What do you think your response would be if you received a low grade which you felt you did not deserve? Have you ever had that experience? What was your response?

6. What kinds of events do you like to plan for? Are there any events which you tend to let just happen without planning? How do you cope/not cope when things happen that you didn't plan for?

7. If you are really worried about something, how do you deal with it? Do you tend to talk about it?

8. What kinds of situations is it important for you to control? Do you tend to become anxious, e.g., before exams? What are the physical manifestations? How long does it last, what do you do to cope with that, how successful is that?

9. Do you consider yourself an aggressive person? Can you give me some examples? How do you cope with aggression that you don't really want to express? What do you do?

10. Is it important to you to do things "right"?

Alternatives

1. How did you choose the dorm you live in? How much information did

you have about that? What are your plans for living arrangements
next year?

2. What do you expect to major in? How are you arranging your program?
Do you feel confident about being able to do what you want to do
academically and socially?

3. Have you experienced any conflict between parental and peer values
and life styles this year? How have you resolved (are you resolving)
that conflict?

4. What do you think you will be doing ten years from now? Is that
realistic? How will you do it?

APPENDIX IB

INTERVIEW II -- SENSE OF HETEROSEXUAL COMPETENCE

1. Some people think there are pressures on college students today to
be sexually active. Can you describe these pressures? How do you
respond to them? Has this changed over the freshman year?

2. Would you say that you plan for your social or sexual activities?
In what ways? Do they ever just happen? How do you arrange for privacy?
Are there any other problems with that, e.g., values or location?

3. How do you feel when a girl makes sexual advances? What does it
mean to be sexually competent, incompetent? To what extent do you think
you should decide how far to go, is this different in different rela-
tionships? Can you give me some examples? Do you tend to become anxious
or nervous in sexual situations? How do you know you are anxious? How
do you cope with that? Do you usually talk with your partner about it?
Who initiates sexual activities? Is it important to perform in a
certain way, e.g., to have or to give an orgasm?

4. Thinking back to the first time you had intercourse.

        a. How did it come about, did you plan for it or did it just
happen? Why did it happen then?
        b. Did you fantasize about it? Can you tell me about that?
        c. Did you and your partner discuss it ahead of time? Did you
agree about having intercourse?
        d. At the time of first intercourse, how did you feel about your-
self? How did your partner respond to first intercourse? How did you
respond to her response?
        e. What did the experience mean to you in terms of your subse-
quent behavior?
        f. Did you have contraceptives at the time of first intercourse?
Were they used? Which sexual partner has the responsibility for that?
What do you think you would do if your partner became pregnant?
        g. Do you currently fantasize about intercourse situations? In
what ways?
        h. Do you and your partners currently discuss intercourse ahead
of time?
        i. Do you and your partners currently use contraceptives? Does
it detract from the experience? How?

5. For those who have not experienced intercourse.

        a. Have you thought about what intercourse would be like? Do
you have any idea of what it would be like to have it?
        b. Would you plan for it or would it just happen?
        c. What would it mean to you? Would it influence your subsequent
behavior?
        d. Do you think it would affect your relationship with your
partner? In what ways?

     e. Do you think you would use a contraceptive? Is that important? Who has the responsibility for that? Do you think contraceptive use would detract from the experience?

     f. What do you think you would do if your partner became pregnant?

6. Can you describe how you feel about yourself as a sex partner? Have you always felt that way?

7. In general, how satisfied are you with your sex life; how often, if ever, do you feel guilty about your sexual activity? Can you tell me something about the ways you feel guilty?

8. How would you describe your general attitude toward sex?

APPENDIX IC

INTERVIEW III -- SEXUAL SOCIALIZATION

1. How did you learn about sex?

2. What did your parents communicate to you about sex either through talking or behaving? How else did you learn about sex, e.g., peers, sex education courses, the media, other influences? Probe for what was learned.

3. When were you first aware that you had physical responses to sexual situations? Can you describe the situation and your reaction to it?

4. Would you say that you matured before, at the same time, or later than most of your peers? How did you know? Did that affect your life at home or in school in any way? How did you feel about that?

5. What does it mean to you to be masculine? How would you describe masculine thoughts and behaviors, feminine thoughts and behaviors? Do sexual activities influence your feelings about your own masculinity? In what ways?

6. Can you tell me something about your high school dating experiences? How frequently did you date? How did you feel about yourself as a date? How did your parents feel about your dating? How did you generally get along with your parents at that time? What conflicts did you have with them? Were they generally resolved? How?

7. Can you tell me about the ways in which your relationships with the opposite sex may have changed since you were thirteen? Can you give me some examples? During the time you were dating someone, did you also have friends who were girls? What did that mean to you?

8. What have been your major concerns about sexuality over the last two years?

9. Do your feelings about sex at any one point in time influence your doing of sex (whether or not, and in what ways)?

10. People in our society begin to masturbate at different times in the life cycle. Can you tell me when you began, and how you felt about it? Why? How do you feel about it now? Why?

11. How would you describe your attitude toward your mother, and your feelings toward her (generally, as you were growing up, and currently)? How would you describe your feelings toward women in general?

12. Since you began dating, do you have any general ideas about how you were affected by what you found out about the girl? How did it influence how you felt about her and what you did after that?

APPENDIX II: CODING SCHEME AND EXAMPLES

CATEGORIES FOR DATA ANALYSIS

Delimited Categories	Operations
Seeking and Using Information	seeking information, using information, considering alternatives, using options, finding solutions, anticipating, planning, drawing on past experience
Interacting	sharing concerns with friends, seeking relationships Negative: avoiding relationships, isolating self
Flexibility	listening, being open to new experiences and information in a new context, adjusting, considering the other side of the story
Accomplishment	enjoying mastery, setting standards, accomplishing
Anxiety	worrying, feeling anxious
	(Note: Whenever the data allowed, the negative side of each operation was coded with a minus sign. See example under interacting.)

APPENDIX IIB

EXAMPLES OF CODING SCHEME

Interview I -- General Sense of Competence

Question 1: Why did you decide to come to this university? Did you request information from or apply to other places? Why did you decide to attend this university instead of another? Who took the major responsibility for your college plans? Who did you talk to about it?

(Selected Excerpts from Responses)

	Coders	
	1	2

Stephen

Wanted to stay in the state. Didn't like the other major university here. Wanted to get used to college without being that far away. Brother came here. S did apply to other colleges. Is thinking about going elsewhere for next year and is talking to people about that now.	not seeking seeking	not coded seeking
I took the responsibility for my college plans under my parents' push. They kept needling me.	not planning	same

Peter

My brother came here and I was too lazy to send applications elsewhere. With my grades I could have gotten in just about anyplace.	not consid. alt.	not seeking
I did take a few books from the counselors, but mainly my dad kept after me.	not planning	same

Question 2: What did you expect of this university academically and socially?

Peter

Socially: I don't know--I just have different ideas about things. I'm used to a little more. What's the word, manners, values? It's a problem. It's not really the same.	not being open	not exploring*

	Coders	
	1	2

Stephen

I didn't expect the size. My God, look at
this. It's huge. At first I was disallusioned,
yet suddenly it started interesting me
because I started finding my way around. I   being   adjusting
started getting perspective about the whole   open
thing.

----

*   exploring later delimited under category of seeking and using
    information

APPENDIX IIC

Interview II -- Sense of Heterosexual Competence

Question 1: Some people think there are pressures on college students today to be sexually active. Can you describe these pressures? How do you respond to them? Has this changed over the freshman year?

	Coders	
	1	2

Stephen

I don't feel them, but I can see them --
the pressure of not doing it when everyone else
is. I see it in my roommate (Peter). He
doesn't show it that much but I can tell there's
a pressure from unknown sources against him
to be sexually active. He wants to be, but it
just doesn't happen. It makes people feel less
confident and adequate. It makes them think
that maybe they really can't do it. When the
guy is with girls a lot of what he would be
thinking of them would be a lot more sexually
oriented in order to get these pressures off
his back. It happened to me before. His base
for thought is rooted in sex. He would be
looking for a different kind of thing with
a girl; he would act different and be
trying to get different things out of
these people.

> sharing concerns — not coded

I felt this pressure at the same time when
I felt the pressure to smoke cigarettes,
to smoke pot, and to drink (in high school).
I responded by going out and looking. I
didn't like the pressure. I wanted to
be satisfied not only that I had done it
but that there was no reason for any-
body to pressure me.

> seeking — being compelled

Peter

I agree. Without a doubt. It's hard to
explain. When there are a lot of guys
around the talk usually drifts to sex.
I think a lot of it is stories but you're
expected to have your story. People would
think you're weird if you didn't date
or...I think it's stupid myself but a lot
of people think they have to make up stories.

> comparing[1] — same
>
> not coded — denigrating[2]

Personally I don't care what anyone up
here thinks....

All the girls I know are good Catholic
girls, and they don't think it's
necessary to have had intercourse by
the time you're 20.

----

*1 later delimited to seeking and using information

*2 later delimited to interacting (minus)

APPENDIX IID

Interview III -- Sexual Socialization

Question 4: Would you say that you matured before, at the same time, or later than most of your peers? How did you know? Did that affect your life at home or in school in any way? How did you feel about that?

                                                        Coders
                                                    1 ―――――   2

Stephen

 Mentally before. Physically I was later
(6th-7th grade). I was very conscious
about it too. I would avoid situations   with-   worrying
where people would notice. I was very,   drawing[1] withdrawing
very worried about it. I felt really
inferior. In gym class it really affected
me. I'm sure there were lots of people
worrying about the same thing, but you
don't think about them.

Peter

 About the same time. It made me feel
confident that I wasn't being left behind.
I was glad I was keeping up with every-   comparing comparing[2]
body else.

Question 10: People in our society begin
to masturbate at different times in the
life cycle. Can you tell me when you began,
and how you felt about it? Why? How do
you feel about it now? Why?

Stephen

 I felt there was nothing wrong with it
but I felt guilty because I thought that
if anyone ever caught me at it they'd   worrying   not coded
think I was strange. There are a lot of
sexual tensions that you cannot get rid
of. There are times when you've got so
much built up and I can feel a sexual
tension building. Now I can repress it.
But there were times before I made love

1   2

to anyone when I couldn't deal with
it, and I didn't want to go out and rape
anybody and that was the way to get rid
of it.

Peter

I don't know. I would say maybe 14. I
was curious. It was something new...I   seeking   not coded
don't remember feeling guilty. I read   info
about it and so I knew I wasn't the only
one.

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*1   withdrawing delimited to not interacting

*2   comparing delimited to seeking and using information