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THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SEXUAL
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CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1978

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THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

by

G. SPARKS LUNNEY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1978

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology (Social-Personality) in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 14, 1977

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Abstract

A three part questionnaire was administered to 234 college undergraduates. In the first part of the questionnaire, those who were non-virgins were asked to describe who took the initiative, what position was used, and when and where their first experience of sexual intercourse took place. Those who were virgins, were asked to indicate who usually takes the initiative, what position is usually used, and when and where sexual intercourse usually takes place. The second part of the questionnaire asked subjects to indicate whether or not they had ever received explicit "how to do it" information concerning sexual intercourse. If so, subjects were asked the source of this information and their age at the time. Additionally, they were asked to write a brief narrative summarizing the nature of the information they had received. The third part of the questionnaire asked subjects to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with 34 statements. Some of these statements pertained to cultural norms concerning sexual intercourse; others concerned more general sex role norms.

It was hypothesized that virgins would know the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse in American culture. It was also hypothesized that non-virgins would

have acted in accordance with these norms at the time of their first experience. It was further hypothesized that most subjects would not have received explicit "how to do it" information concerning sexual intercourse from any source prior to experiencing sexual intercourse. Finally, it was hypothesized that there would be a positive correlation between endorsement of traditional norms concerning sexual intercourse and more general traditional norms concerning sex roles.

All three hypotheses were strongly supported by the data. It was found that virgins knew the norms in question, and that non-virgins generally conformed to these norms at the time of their first experience of sexual intercourse. Less than one-third of all subjects reported receiving explicit "how to do it" information prior to experiencing intercourse. Same sex age peers were found to be the largest single source of explicit information. Finally, a high positive correlation was found between endorsement of traditional norms concerning sexual intercourse and other traditional norms concerning sex roles.

The results are discussed in terms of the cognitive synthesis which, it is suggested, the individual being socialized must engage in at the onset of puberty in order to "make sense" of sexual intercourse and thereby acquire his or her gender appropriate role knowledge. It is suggested

that this process involves generalizing the stereotypical masculine versus feminine roles in public social situations to intimate behavior. Finally, it is suggested that the implicit nature of socialization for sexual intercourse serves to bring intimate behavior into congruence with broader sex roles, provide the male with higher status within the dyad, and thus ipso facto stabilize the social order.

Acknowledgements

From my reading of other doctoral theses I infer that the acknowledgment section is not only frequently somewhat pro forma, but that certain norms are followed--with the thesis sponsor usually sitting at the pinnacle of a hierarchy of acknowledgements. True to my somewhat iconoclastic style and not wishing to be a bedfellow to unreasoned tradition, I choose to make this section neither pro forma nor to follow the inferred hierarchy of who is to be acknowledged and in what order. I do not wish this section to be regarded as pro forma for my comments are made with full sincerity. I find myself unduly constrained in adhering to the typical hierarchy of acknowledgments because a doctoral thesis is seldom, if ever, the work of one person.

Many persons other than those directly involved as members of the Dissertation Committee offered assistance, aided, abetted, and otherwise influenced the present thesis. Therefore, I would first like to acknowledge the hard work, love, and support of my friend, lover, and wife, Ms. Jean Buonocore-Lunney. Her assistance went far beyond merely typing the completed product--she frequently served as a sounding board for informal ideas which became part of the present thesis, and her insights were genuinely helpful.

Above all, however, her love was sufficient to tolerate my behavior during the course of my graduate education and this, more than anything, sustained me through life's "ups and downs" these last three years.

Next, I would like to acknowledge the assistance of several undergraduate professors: Drs. Ulysses S. Whiteis, John O. Morley, William O. Sherman, and Mason Andrews. They were all outstanding teachers. Were it not for the interest they took in me as a student and the encouragement they gave me to go on and enter a graduate program, this thesis would have never been written. I am sincerely grateful to them all, and promise not to forget the fine example they set of what a good teacher can be in interactions with my students in the future.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance I received from several fellow graduate students (in some cases now former graduate students): Maury Silver, John Sabini, Buzzy Chanowitz, Wendy McKenna, Arthur Blank, Jody Brown, Jerry Cahn, Naomi Curtis, Elyse Goldstein, Kathie Kelly, Susan McCandless, Jeremy Miransky, Kathy Grady, Harold Takooshian, and Lynn Velen. At various times, and in various ways, each was extraordinarily helpful--willingly taking the time to discuss and criticize my ideas with me. In particular, the "five o'clock hors d'oeuvre group" at "Buzzy's table" in the Dining Commons served as an intellectually stimulating

proving ground for my ideas--and one place where the criticisms necessary for the development of critical thinking were always readily available.

No list of acknowledgements would be complete without mention of the enormous debt I owe to Dr. Stanley Milgram. I worked as his research assistant for nearly three years. It is seldom in one's life that someone turns out to be everything you thought they would after really getting to know them. Stanley Milgram is one of those rare exceptions. My admiration for his intellectual capacity, creativity, energy, sense of humor and genuine humanness continues to grow. Some, no doubt, might think it a bit much to be sent out of his office upon arriving at 10:28 for a 10:30 appointment--being told to return at the designated time of the appointment--but Stanley Milgram taught me how to pay attention to detail and thus overcome one of my greatest weaknesses.

Last, but not least, my Dissertation Committee. Dr. Florence Denmark, my thesis sponsor, has, from the first time we met, provided me with the intellectual stimulation, encouragement, and freedom necessary to critically develop my ideas. The "foggy beginnings" of the present thesis had its genesis when I was a student in her Psychology of Women seminar two years ago. The theoretical underpinnings of the present thesis were formulated in a large tome which was the

result of a year of independent research under her supervision. Her pedagogic style was always facilitative. When, for example, I suggested that an understanding of the logic behind the Judio-Christian perception of human sexuality seemed relevant to an understanding of the present day sexual norms in contemporary American culture, she encouraged me to research the issue. This, of course, took me for many weeks to the library at the Union Theological Seminary and rather far afield from the literature most psychology students are exposed to. I am pleased to note that her talents have recently been acknowledge more broadly than is possible within the confines of these few pages with her election as President of the American Psychological Association.

Dr. Salomon Rettig proved to be another delightful and stimulating experience in my life. He was genuinely facilitative, and open to both theoretical and empirical issues which are not currently "in vogue" in social psychology. The scope of issues investigated under his supervision ranged from small group behavior to the "peace movement of the 1960's." His open and genuinely facilitative, yet challenging, manner of interacting with students is perhaps best indicated by the remarks he made on the last paper I did for him--the result of two semesters of independent study: "A+. You have certainly accomplished what you said you were going to. However, (there is always a however)...."

Dr. William Kornblum was another person who greatly enriched my graduate school career. Having taken Dr. Milgram's urban psychology seminar, and being rather eclectic in my orientation, I decided to take Dr. Kornblum's urban sociology seminar. Here, I found myself exposed to a man whose own eclectic orientation was both refreshing and stimulating. Long before he came to be a member of the committee as an outside reader, he had discussed my dissertation research with me on several occasions, offering many useful insights and suggestions. He had intended to attend the defense even had he not been a member of the committee.

Dr. John O. Morley, who was my undergraduate professor for my first social psychology course, was the person who first "turned me on" to social psychology as the area within the profession I wished to concentrate on. I am particularly pleased that he was able to serve on the Dissertation Committee as an outside reader. He is an outstanding teacher of social psychology, one of the best practicing clinical psychologists I know, and without the benefit of the interactions I had with him as an undergraduate it is doubtful I would have ever gone on to graduate school.

I am also grateful to Dr. David C. Glass for participating in the dissertation to the extent that his other commitments made this possible. I have also learned a great deal from him in observing his interactions with students.

When I applied for admission to the doctoral program in social psychology, I indicated it was my goal to "change the world," not, of course, the physical configuration of the planet we reside on, but the social world. I noted my involvement with the "peace movement of the 1960's" and how this involvement had fostered my interest in social behavior and its causation. I indicated that, to me, in a world armed "to the teeth" with thermonuclear weapons, the study of social psychology seemed to offer the greatest hope that I might reach this goal.

By way of a summary acknowledgement, then, let me just say that the wisdom, dedication, and encouragement offered to me by so very many people in the course of my graduate education makes it immeasurably more likely that I might, in however small a way, reach this goal and make some meaningful contribution to the understanding of human behavior. For this, I am most sincerely grateful.

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Chapter 1

ANALYSIS OF THE GENERAL PROBLEM

The focus of this thesis is this: How does the typical individual in contemporary American culture learn how to engage in sexual intercourse? Our question, of course, is based on certain assumptions. We assume that for the naive individual, sexual intercourse represents a novel task. We further assume that while the capacity for sexual arousal-- "the sex drive"-- is a biophysical phenomenon, how the individual will behave when sexually aroused is largely determined by learning, and is not instinctual.

The notion that sexual behavior is largely a product of learning is not a new one in the field of psychology. It has been with us at least since Freud. Freud (1961) held that human beings were essentially bisexual, and that it was information acquired by the individual during socialization which resulted in members of the other sex being sexually arousing stimuli and which allowed the individual to engage in intimate behavior in a manner appropriate to his or her gender.

Ford and Beach (1951) state:

Human sexuality is affected by experience in two ways: First, the kinds of stimulation and the types of situations that become capable of evoking sexual excitement are determined in a large measure by learning. Second, the overt behavior through which this excitement is expressed depends largely upon the individual's previous experience. (p.262)

Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin and Gebhard (1953) make a similar point:

The sexual capacities which an individual inherits at birth appear to be nothing more than the necessary anatomy and the physiological capacity to respond to a sufficient physical or psychological stimulus.... Apart from these few inherent capacities, most other aspects of human sexual behavior appear to be the product of learning and conditions. (p.644)

Gagnon and Simon (1973), in their discussion of "scripting", emphasize the social and psychological nature of this pre-requisite learning:

The social psychological meaning of sexual events must be learned because they supply the channels through which biology is expressed. (p.23)

We ask: In what way does the individual in contemporary American society receive the necessary information to engage in sexual intercourse? There are many tasks which the individual, as a competent member of adult society, will be expected to engage in. In many cases, as in the acquisition of the requisite skills necessary to operate a motor vehicle, the individual is given detailed and explicit instruction. Indeed, an individual wishing societal approval to operate a motor vehicle typically must pass an examination to demonstrate his or her acquisition of these skills.

There is general agreement in the literature, however, that socialization of the individual for sexual activity in American society is not usually explicit, i.e., the "How to do it" information is not generally made directly available

to the individual by his or her socializing agents (Ford & Beach, 1951; Laws & Schwartz, 1977; Matteson, 1975; McKinney, Fitzgerald & Strommen, 1977; Wiseman, 1976).

In the sexual socialization of the child, even basic physiological information is frequently withheld. Van Weelden-Eikelenbloom and Schnabel (1975), using a Dutch sample, found that parents and teachers did not provide sex education for 40% of the subjects and 25% were not given parental preparation for the first menstruation. Seventy percent received no home instruction on contraception. Elias and Elias (1975) report similar findings with an American sample. Paonessa and Paonessa (1971) found that 81% of the fathers they had sampled had not discussed nocturnal emissions with their sons before they began.

The immediate teachers of the social order, parents and other socializing agents, convey their attitudes concerning sexual intercourse, albeit usually subtly and implicitly. Lucas (1969) found that parents communicate their attitudes concerning sexuality non-verbally to their children from infancy onward.

Matza (1969) and Briedes (1975) note that with the onset of adolescence and sexual capability, parents typically make their views "understood"; adolescents, then, avoid discovery by never challenging this understanding. Frequently, sex was never discussed in the home or, if discussed, the dis-

cussions were general and treated the subject as one of abstract interest only.

Peterson (1975) and Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) note that there is a great fear of sexual activity on the part of children and most parents attempt to keep any awareness of sex or explicit "technical" information concerning sex away from their children as part of their strategy to protect them.

According to Sorrensen (1973), "Serious discussion of sex with parents (by adolescents) is minimal or non-existent." Elias and Elias (1975) found that parents of both males and females did not explicitly discuss sex with their children even though for 50% of their sample parents strongly suspected or actually knew that their children had already experienced intercourse. Offer (1971), who studied older adolescents, found an almost universal lack of explicit information concerning sexual intercourse from either parents or teachers. Bracher (1967), in a study of sex education programs, concluded that the content of such programs served primarily to transmit cultural values rather than to provide explicit information concerning sexual intercourse, and once again the "how to do it" information is usually implicit.

Undoubtedly, mass media provides a good deal of information concerning sexual intercourse, but seems an unlikely

source of explicit "how to do it" information. For example, on one 1976 episode of the TV comedy series The Odd Couple, Felix Under was trying to explain "the facts of life" to his teenage daughter. But his desire to explain "what boys would be like" was utterly masked by phrases relating to little forest animals, flowers, fairy tales, everything but human beings. Employing all the wrong words, Felix wove his story. Perhaps he hoped that the point would reach his daughter by osmosis. She listened patiently, and when he was finished with his nonstory, he asked, "Now, darling, do you understand?" "Yes, I think so," she beamed. "It sounds a lot like sex."

Television, and especially television advertising, undoubtedly does convey the implicit message that sex is exciting, desirable, and enjoyable, but the network censors constantly monitor program material to insure that nothing too explicit is aired. For example, The New York Times (January 12, 1978) contained the following news item:

DAN WAKEFIELD, the novelist who has ventured into television with the NBC series "James at 15," has resigned from the show he created after a dispute with the network over an episode in which the 16-year-old hero, played by Lance Kerwin, loses his virginity. Despite Mr. Wakefield's resignation NBC will show the disputed program on Feb. 9.

Mr. Wakefield said the network would not allow the use of the euphemism "responsibility" for birth control in an exchange between the boy and the girl in the episode, and in addition NBC had his script completely rewritten without consulting him.

The author of such novels as "Going All the Way," "Starting Over" and "Home Free" said he wants to continue to write for television but that his resignation from "James" was final. He said he was proud of the series and all its episodes except the disputed one.

According to Mr. Wakefield, the idea for the episode in which the youth has sexual intercourse originated with Paul L. Klein, executive vice president of programs for NBC. Mr. Wakefield said Mr. Klein's subordinates in Hollywood told him at a meeting several weeks ago that the NBC program chief wanted the hero to lose his virginity when he turned 16. (On that occasion, the series will change its title to "James at 16.")

Mr. Wakefield said he agreed to do the episode on condition that the script could refer to the fact that there are devices for birth control and that sexual intercourse could have serious consequences, such as the contracting of venereal disease. "If we were doing a show on this subject for teen-agers, I wanted to be sure we made clear what the consequences could be," Mr. Wakefield said in a telephone interview. He said he attempted to use the word "responsible" as a synonym for birth control, but that the NBC executives in charge of standards and practices would not accept it in an exchange between Mr. Kerwin and the girl.

"At first Standards and Practices wouldn't accept the script on teen-age love-making at all. Then they determined that it would be all right, if the boy suffers for it and is somehow punished," Mr. Wakefield related. "The key issue with me," he went on, "was the one about birth control. But when the programming department decided they didn't like the script as I had done it and had it totally rewritten by someone else, I felt my usefulness to the series had come to an end."

Mr. Klein was in Hollywood yesterday and could not be reached for comment. Ralph Daniel, vice president of broadcast standards for NBC in New York, said the script had not been drastically changed from the original version and that the word "responsible"--as a cautious reference to contraception--was permitted in one instance but was deleted

in another.

The deletion was made in the scene just before the teen-agers have sexual intercourse. In Mr. Wakefield's version, Mr. Daniel explained, the boy asks the girl if she is "responsible." The scene was revised because the network wanted the act to be spontaneous and performed in a moment of passion. "With that change, it was inappropriate for James to ask the girl if she was "responsible," Mr. Daniel said.

The word is permitted, however, in an earlier speech by James's jive-talking friend, who warns him in mod language of what the consequences of sexual intercourse could be.

"They don't talk about contraception straight out, but the idea gets across," Mr. Daniel said.

Mr. Daniel said that in its present form the episode deals "in very good taste" with the drama of a teen-ager's first sexual experience.

"Our concern was that the series didn't appear to be condoning a sex experience without consequences," Mr. Daniel remarked. (Italics mine.)

For viewers of this program, the implicit message appears to be that sex is enjoyable and exciting, and by age sixteen, teenagers have sexual intercourse. However, fate later punishes them for it. As is the case with television in general, however, this program, although the central theme is the occasion of James' first experience of sexual intercourse, did not provide explicit information concerning

how to engage in sexual intercourse.¹

Similarly, the lyrics of popular rock music of the "I want to do it all night," "Let's get it on," or "I want to make it with you" genre all serve to convey the notion that sex is enjoyable and exciting, but hardly provide the virginal individual with explicit instructions as to how to go about engaging in sexual intercourse.

Socialization for sexual activity in American society generally seems to have two basic components: the first of these is that throughout childhood, and often even through adolescence, there is control of information such that all explicit "how to do it" sexual information is deleted and all sexual activity discouraged. According to Sears, MacCoby and Levin (1957), "The task of the mother in our society, then, involves training the child to inhibit sex impulses toward family members, avoid erotic play with other children, and avoid sexual self-stimulation" (p.191). This first component may be summarized in one word: Don't. The second component can also be summarized in one word: Until.

-
1. In the rewritten version, which was broadcast on February 9, 1978, the couple are alone in his parents house, and are shown sitting upright and kissing on the living room couch. The scene fades and the next scene shows James arriving at school the next day in a euphoric mood. His mood changes when his partner, Kris, asks: "What if I should become pregnant?"

The only explicit element of socialization for sexual activity in America appears to be its association with marriage and reproduction within marriage (Hill & Aldous, 1969; Broderick, 1965).

Few aspects of human behavior impact on both the individual and society as pervasively as does sexual behavior. Yet, when one asks the question (aside from being socialized to associate sexual behavior with marriage and parenthood, and the general notion that overt sexual behavior is otherwise inappropriate): "Where do individuals in American culture learn how to engage in sexual intercourse?" there seems no clear answer.²

Many studies (e.g., Campbell, 1969; Kirkendall & Libby, 1969; Peterman, Ridley & Anderson, 1974; Reiss, 1969; Sorensen, 1973; Zelnik & Kanter, 1977) concern themselves with actual adolescent sexual activity. Typically, studies of this genre report the percentage of adolescents who engage in premarital intercourse, rate of contraceptive use, and the percentage of adolescent females who become pregnant prior to marriage. None of these studies deals directly with socialization for sexual activity, especially vis-a-vis

2. Four separate computer searches, one with the APA's PASAR system, and three by Bibliographical Retrieval Services, Schenectady, N.Y., failed to find anything in the literature which directly addressed this question.

the acquisition of explicit information.

It has frequently been suggested in the literature that adolescents obtain "how to do it" information mostly from their peers (e.g., Matteson, 1975; McCandless, 1970; Sorrensen, 1973). Undoubtedly, peers are sometimes an individual's source of such explicit "how to do it" information.

Some peers may have experienced sexual intercourse even prior to puberty. Others may come from homes where, contrary to the norms in American culture, explicit information was conveyed by parents. Others may have received explicit information from older siblings or adult friends. Also, once an adolescent has experienced sexual intercourse, he or she will be more likely to become a source of explicit information to other virginal adolescents.

Our present concern, however, is how socialization for sexual activity is carried out by society in general. The literature on socialization indicates that all societies socialize their young concerning behaviors considered essential to the continuity of the social order. We suggest it would seem altogether curious if socialization for sexual activity was left exclusively or even primarily to the peer group.

As individuals, human beings reproduce themselves sexually, but society reproduces itself socially. The social order is threatened by every newborn infant. Its behavioral

potentialities are so broad and varied that no society will leave it free to grow into adulthood undirected. From infancy onward, the social order channels the individual's impulses and capacities into relatively narrow patterns of behavior and also the attitudes and beliefs which are congruent with the behavioral patterns it expects the individual to manifest as a competent member of adult society.

No society could long survive if the behavior of individuals within it was not, to some degree, predictable to other individuals within the same social grouping. This is also true for infra-human species which engage in socially-cooperative group living. Social cooperation among many infra-human species is mediated by non-verbal acts which have been specialized in the course of evolution to allow intra-specie communication (Etkin, 1964; Tinbergen, 1953).

Human social groupings, as has been noted already, face the same problems concerning predictability in socially-cooperative group living. Cumming (1968) states:

Social order is defined here as that state of affairs in which it is possible to predict with reasonable accuracy what other people will do in routine situations. The nature of the order may change, but a range of behavior at once acceptable and predictable is imperative if any society, whether a large one like a nation, or small like a family, is to survive.

According to Parsons (1960), human societies survive only by a continuous solving of four standing problems:

First there is the problem of adapting to the environment, both physical and human--that is, food and shelter must be produced and danger fended off. Second, goals must be identified clearly enough to ensure some agreement about what the members should be doing day by day. Third, some method of inculcating in the young and reinforcing in the mature the values and moral codes that enlighten and control everyday behavior must be agreed upon; and fourth, the problem of coherence, or the integration of the different elements of a society, must be solved.

Human societies, then, have a need to insure that its individual members have the necessary skills to continually solve these standing problems.

The skills needed for social interaction by a competent adult member of society are not innate, as are the displays of infra-humans. The requisite skills are learned in the process of socialization. According to Whiting and Child (1953), five types of human behavior must be socialized, regardless of culture:

(1) feeding and weaning needs and practices; (2) toileting and elimination needs and practices; (3) sex needs and practices; (4) needs and practices in connection with aggression; and (5) dependency needs and behaviors.

As we have already noted, few aspects of human behavior impact on both the individual and society as does sexual behavior. We have also noted that the literature does not provide us with any clear answer to our question: How does the typical individual in contemporary American culture learn how to engage in sexual intercourse? We have noted,

additionally, that it is a basic tenant of socialization theory that no society leaves the individual to his or her own devices concerning any behavior which is thought to be essential for the continuity of the social order.

We shall presently elaborate a theoretical model which we hold illuminates the process of socialization for sexual activity in contemporary American culture. We think it useful, however, to first discuss the typical "common sense" explanation for the ability of a virginal individual to engage in sexual intercourse, and examine it from a historical perspective.

Chapter 2

THE "COMMON SENSE" EXPLANATION

The "common sense" explanation used to account for the ability of the inexperienced individual(s) to engage in sexual intercourse is that sexual behavior is essentially innate. Put otherwise, the typical individual advancing the "common sense" explanation suggests that not only is sexual capacity a biological phenomena, but that sexual behavior is likewise instinctual.

The "common sense" explanation has no difficulty in dealing with the apparent lack of the transmission of explicit "how to do it" information during socialization. This explanation suggests that other than socializing the individual concerning when and with whom it is appropriate to engage in sexual intercourse (typically, when married, and with one's spouse), no explicit "how to do it" information is necessary in that the actual behavior of the individual during sexual intercourse is instinctual and thus requires no learning. Socialization is seen as necessary to impart cultural values concerning sexual behavior, but a basic assumption of this explanation seems to be that when an inexperienced male and female begin their first attempt at sexual intercourse together, "nature will lead the way."

This explanation seems to be historically embedded in the "folk wisdom" of American culture, as perhaps reflected in the once popular song "Doing What Comes Naturally."

For example, in Eugene B. Mozes (1957) book Plain Facts about Sex: A Doctor's Frank and Complete Guidebook for Teenagers, chapter two gives a physiological description of the male reproductive system; chapter three, a physiological description of the female reproductive system; chapter four, entitled "Procreation", never describes intercourse in even physiological terms such as "during intercourse the male's penis enters the female's vagina." The sole reference to the act of intercourse is: "The male semen, which contains between 100,000 and 500,000 spermatozoa in a single specimen, is deposited on the neck of the womb..." (p.65). The reader might, by way of implicit inference, come to the conclusion that this "depositing" takes place with the penis being within the vagina in Mozes' discussion of menstruation. He states: "However, for obvious reasons, the tampons that many married women prefer are not suitable for young girls" (p.51).

Christian theology has often discussed what constitutes "natural" intercourse. This concept of "natural" rests on the assumption of the male being aggressive and dominant by disposition and the female being passive and receptive by disposition. While Christian theology has not explicitly stated that knowing what to do during intercourse rests solely on instinct, we suggest that the implicit connection is strongly made.

James (1955) states:

...permanent monogamy is a natural concomitant of sexual love...nuptial love finds its natural expression in a jealously guarded union of a dominant and aggressive male and a coy and passive female....(p. 195)

The notion that the male is the aggressive and dominant partner in sexual intercourse dates back at least to the first few centuries of the Christian church. Christian theology, in fact, held that the male dominant coital position was the only "natural" way to do it. According to Noonan (1966):

As early as 500 A.D., "dorsal intercourse" was contemptuously attacked as "doglike." By dorsal intercourse is meant coitus with the woman on top of the man (p.163). Aquinas in Summa Theologica argues that the male dominant position is "the fit way instituted by nature as to position (p.225)." Bernardine attacks the female dominant position as "against the nature of the individual, against the nature of the rational species, and against the nature of the animal genus (p.238)"

We do not suggest that the typical individual in American culture is well read in theology. However, as Katchadourian and Lunde (1975) and Tapp and LeVine (1977) point out, the majority of the legal codifications in American society, and especially laws dealing with sexuality, marriage and the family, and the larger social differentiation of males and females have been more heavily influenced by Judeo-Christian religious teaching than by anything else.

And we do suggest that within a given society, social norms are generally congruent with legal codifications.

There seems to be a general notion in American culture that males instinctively will know what to do by virtue of their "natural dominance and aggression" while females, being "naturally passive and receptive," need to do nothing other than let the male proceed. Symonds (1972) states: "In the sexual act itself, the man has to be assertive,...and the woman has to be receptive." Spock (1969) notes: "The pattern of women's greater instinctive passivity is evident in sexual relations." Ginnot (1973) quotes a seemingly not atypical mother: "Your husband will teach you all you have to know (p.166)."

This notion has also been embedded in psychoanalytic theory. Deutsch (1944) states:

Before describing our feminine-erotic types, we shall briefly outline the fundamental elements of their psychologic structure. These are: (1) the instinctual life, which in the feminine woman has a passive-masochistic character (later we shall show the genesis and development of this instinct formation); (2) the narcissistic components of the ego (the nature and development of feminine narcissism were dealt with above); (3) the emotional harbingers of woman's reproductive functions, which exist in her before real motherhood occurs.

The relative weight of each of these elements is influenced by each woman's childhood history, especially by the outcome of her effort to liberate herself from old objects during adolescence. The woman's choice of love objects is to a great extent determined by her past emotional ties and her psychologic readiness for motherhood.

A harmonious interplay of the elements defined above characterizes the feminine woman, whose predominant trait is eroticism. The form of this eroticism and the ways and means by which it achieves its aims give the total personality of each of the three feminine types described below their special color. What is common to all of these types is facility in identifying with man in a manner that is most conducive to the happiness of both partners. The narcissistic prerequisite of this identification is psychologic affinity, the similarity of the egos. To the woman falls the larger share of the work of adjustment: she leaves the initiative to the man and out of her own need renounces originality, experiencing her own self through identification. Some of these women need to overestimate their objects, and their narcissistic method of making the man happy can be expressed in the formula, "He is wonderful and I am a part of him."

If gifted in any direction, they preserve the capacity for being original and productive, but without entering into competitive struggles. They are always willing to renounce their own achievements without feeling that they are sacrificing anything and they rejoice in the achievements of their companions, which they have often inspired. They have an extraordinary need of support when engaged in any activity directed outward, but are absolutely independent in such thinking and feeling as relate to their inner life, that is to say, in the activity directed inward. Their capacity for identification is not an expression of inner poverty, but of inner wealth. (pp.191-92.)

...It is an old truth that has not changed very much, in spite of the transformation of our standards, that man's sexual desire is intensified if he has to overcome obstacles before achieving sexual communion with woman. Just as in prehistoric times, women are more gratified when they grant sexual intimacy only after a long wooing. In this old and ever new form of relationship, the two conditions of feminine eroticism are fulfilled--the masochistic condition, because woman wants to be fought for and conquered and awaits her "defeat" in joyful excitation, and the narcissistic condition, because this struggle increases man's desire, which is so gratifying to woman. Social questions have no relation

to all this. The psychologic factor rules here, independently of the social order; it only changes its form.... (p.195)

...The anatomy of the sex organs leaves no doubt as to the character of their aims: the masculine organ is made for active penetraton, the feminine for passive reception.... (p.224) (Italics mine.)

While the apparent notion in American culture is that the "instinctual male aggressiveness and female receptivity" result in little need for additional explicit information, cross-cultural studies refute the "doing what comes naturally" hypothesis. These studies suggest that many of the behaviors which typically occur during sexual intercourse are largely a product of cultural learning.

Chapter 3

CROSS-CULTURAL EVIDENCE

The socially constructed nature of intra-cultural sexual behavior is indicated by the wide cross-cultural variance concerning the sexual behavior repertoire which, intraculturally, is considered normative. Ford and Beach (1951), in cross-cultural studies of 191 cultures, report that in American society, the normative coital position is the male dominant "missionary position," while in other societies, the normative coital position ranges from female dominant, to side-by-side, to a position where "the man folds his legs under him and the woman faces him with her legs on his thigh" (p.24). While noting that "It is a stereotype of our society that during copulation the male is active and the female plays a relatively passive role" (p.24), they point out that in many societies "passivity is not demanded from the woman, and under these conditions she is far from relaxed and supplant...both partners are equally aggressive and vigorous; an inactive woman is considered apathetic and undesirable as a sex partner" (p.25). Concerning the normative aspects of sexual stimulation ("foreplay"), not only did Ford and Beach find several societies in which there was virtually none at all and the entire act of sexual intercourse normatively lasted for the approximately two to three minutes it took the male to ejaculate, but societies in which it was virtually an endurance contest. They note that

even within our own society, pre-coital behavior varies systematically with socio-economic status and education (p.40-41). Kissing, for example, varies in frequency intra-culturally by socio-economic status and education within American culture. As a behavior, it is, or was unknown in many cultures. According to Ford and Beach, "When the Thonga first saw Europeans kissing, they laughed, expressing this sentiment: 'Look at them--they eat each other's saliva and dirt'" (p.49). Concerning the role of women in intercourse, Ford and Beach state: "a second general point concerning human behavior...in societies in which children and adolescents are allowed a great deal of sexual freedom (the majority of human societies)...the woman is an active, vigorous participant in all things sexual--she is accorded equal rights of initiative and is expected to experience orgasm as a result of coitus" (p.64).

Concerning the place and time of occurrence of coitus, Ford and Beach note that in American culture the norm is: in private, in a bedroom, and at night (p.68, 73); while in several other societies, it normatively occurs out of doors, and this is not because of necessity--but by preference. The norm of privacy appears the one which is most nearly universal, but Ford and Beach also report that it is not the norm in all of the cultures they sampled (p.68-70). Further elaboration seems unnecessary. We suggest it is clear at

this point that the content of the sexual behavior repertoire which is intra-culturally normative varies widely in human societies, and that the sexual behavioral repertoire of the individual within any given society is largely a product of social learning.

Sexual intercourse may be conceived of as a task which the individual will be expected to perform to criterion (performed in a culturally appropriate manner). The explanation suggesting that when a virginal male is attempting to engage in sexual intercourse with a virginal female, they just "do what comes naturally" is discounted by the cross-cultural data. Conversely, it seems difficult to account for the individual's learning of the required "technical" information prior to sexual (task) performance, if the typical individual in American culture fails to receive much, if any, explicit "how to do it" information via socialization concerning sexual intercourse.

Chapter 4

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IN
CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CULTURE: A THEORETICAL MODEL

Everyday experience informs us that in our society and, indeed, insofar as I am able to determine, in all societies, various subsets of the population are socially differentiated. Such differentiation may be based on economic status, educational attainment, place of residence, ethnicity, race, religion, age, and, of course, sex. Most societies also tend to have particular expectancies in regard to the aggregates which are socially differentiated, i.e., when a society attaches a particular ascriptive status to a subset of its population, certain behavioral expectancies are also attached to the aggregate subset which has been socially differentiated from the rest of the population.

Regardless of other differences in theoretical perspectives, a review of the socialization literature shows three points of agreement: (1) that every society does and must socialize its young; (2) that sex role socialization is a major component of the individual's socialization; and (3) that sex-role socialization results in a construction of the social world such that differential expectations of self and other are based on one's gender, and the gender of those one interacts with (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Bell, 1968; Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Blumer, 1969; Breger, 1974; Brown, 1965; Cottle & Klineberg, 1974; Maccoby, 1966; Maccoby & Jacklin,

1974; Mead, 1934; Parsons & Bales, 1955; Sears, Maccoby & Levin, 1957; Spitz, 1946).

Thus a variety of behavioral expectancies are ascribed differentially to persons of either gender. These differentially ascribed behavioral expectancies are usually called sex roles. A small number of these sex roles reflect biological differentiation regarding procreative functions, e.g., females do not have ejaculations, males do not give birth, etc. These differences are not socially constructed. No society could legislate ejaculation as a behavioral expectancy for females or childbirth as a behavioral expectancy for males and thus produce the desired change.

The vast majority of sex roles are socially constructed. Certain behaviors which could be engaged in by any individual regardless of gender are thought to be more appropriate for persons of one gender than for persons of the other gender.

Following from the anatomical distinction of gender, male versus female, the developing individual is socialized into a gender specific pattern of behaviors and attitudes, masculine versus feminine. Traditionally, in Western (and American) culture the most prevalent view has been that the differential social roles of males and females logically follow from and properly reflect a Divinely authored biological differentiation.

The Judeo-Christian Viewpoint of Sexuality and Sex Roles

The social differentiation of the sexes has traditionally been taught by Christian theology as a moral imperative, with males having a higher status and seen as rightfully occupying social roles which require instrumental, aggressive, and dominant behavior, and with females confined to social roles which require passivity and a set of reactive and dependent behavior used to respond in a reciprocal fashion to the socially dominant behavior of males.

O'Faolain and Martines (1973) document the social differentiation of the sexes in Christian thought in which males are assigned a higher social status than are females:

The head of the woman is the man.... For a man in deed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man. (1 Corinthians 11:3-7-9)

Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience.... And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church. (1 Corinthians 14:34-5) (p.188)

I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they (women) continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety. (1 Timothy 2:12-15.)

Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife.... (Ephesians 5:22-3, 25, 28-31)

The woman taught once, and ruined all. On this account...let her not teach. But what is it to other women that she suffered this? It certainly concerns them; for the sex is weak and fickle.... The whole female race transgressed.... Let her not, however, grieve. God hath given her no small consolation, that of childbearing.... By these means women will have no small reward on their account, because they have trained up wrestlers for the service of Christ. (Works of Chrysostom) (p.129)

...What then? Have women not this renewal of the mind in which is the image of God? Who would say this? But in the sex of their body they do not signify this; therefore they are bidden to be veiled. The part, namely, which they signify in the very fact of their being women, is that which may be called the concupiscential part. (Augustine, Of the Work of Monks) (p.129-30)

Women should be subject to their men. The natural order for mankind is that women should serve men and children their parents, for it is just that the lesser serve the greater.

The image of God is in man and it is one. Women were drawn from man, who has God's jurisdiction as if he were God's vicar, because he has the image of the one God. Therefore woman is not made in God's image.

Woman's authority is nil; let her in all things be subject to the rule of man.... And neither can she teach, nor be a witness, nor give a guarantee, nor sit in judgment.

Adam was beguiled by Eve, not she by him. It is right that he whom woman led into wrongdoing should have her under his direction, so that he may not fail a second time through female levity (Corpus Iuris Canonici) (p.130)

As regards the individual nature, woman is defective and misbegotten, for the active force in the male seed tends to production of a perfect likeness in the masculine sex; while the production of woman comes from a defect in the active force or from some material indisposition, or even from some external influence.... On the other hand, as regards human

nature in general, woman is not misbegotten, but is included in nature's intention as directed to the work of generation. Now the general intention of nature depends on God, Who is the universal Author of nature. Therefore, in producing nature, God formed not only the male but also the female.

When all things were first formed, it was more suitable for the woman to be made from the man than ... (as happens) in other animals. First, in order thus to give the first man a certain dignity consisting in this, that as God is the principle of the whole universe, so the first man, in likeness to God, was the principle of the whole human race.... Secondly, that man might love woman all the more, and cleave to her more closely, knowing her to be fashioned from himself.

The image of God, in its principal signification, namely the intellectual nature, is found both in man and in woman. Hence after the words, 'To the image of God He created him,' it is added, 'Male and female He created them' (Genesis i.27). Moreover it is said 'them' in the plural...lest it should be thought that both sexes were united in one individual. But in a secondary sense the image of God is found in man, and not in woman: for man is the beginning and end of woman; as God is the beginning and end of every creature. (Aquinas, Summa Theological) (pp.131-32)

If our faith here below were on the scale of the wages awaiting it in heaven, not one of you, my dear sisters, once she had come to know God and her own condition--I am speaking of her condition as a woman--would be hot after pleasure and finery. Rather would she wear rags and mourning, weep and show an Eve plunged in penance, trying to expiate by her contrite appearance the disgrace of that first crime and the shame of having brought ruin to humanity. In pain shall you bring forth children, woman, and you shall turn to your husband and he shall rule over you. And do you not know that you are Eve? God's sentence hangs still over all your sex and His punishment weighs down upon you. You are the devil's gateway; you are she who first violated the forbidden tree and broke the law of God. It was you who coaxed your way around him whom the devil had not the force to attack. With what ease you shattered

that image of God: Man. Because of the death you merited, the Son of God had to die. And yet you think of nothing but covering your tunics with ornaments? (Passage on fineries: silk, dyes, precious gems, gold, mirrors)... If Eve now hopes to live again, let her not long for, nor even know, things that she neither had nor knew when she was alive. For all this baggage, encumbering a woman already dead and sentenced, adds up to hardly more than the trappings of her funeral procession. (Tertullian. De Cultu Feminarum) (p.133)

...Men have broad shoulders and narrow hips, and accordingly they possess intelligence. Women have narrow shoulders and broad hips. Women ought to stay at home; the way they were created indicates this, for they have broad hips and a wide fundament to sit upon, keep house and bear and raise children (Date: 1531. Luther, The Table Talk) (p.197)

The crucial role played by Christian theology in the continuity of the social differentiation of male and female in Western culture is that it made it virtually impossible, until recent times, to attack this differentiation on logical or scientific grounds. Christian theology insisted not only that biology is destiny, but that even if not all socially differentiated roles for males and females were not directly biologically determined, they ought not be changed because their existence was either willed or implied as appropriate by the Creator.

The "Independent of Socialization" Hypotheses

Within philosophy and the social sciences, while the role of the differential socialization has not been ignored in explaining attitudinal and behavioral differences between males and females, a frequent underlying, albeit often implicit assumption, has been that males and females differ by

predisposition, independent of the influence of socialization.

Goldberg (1973) states:

Male dominance refers to the feeling acknowledged by the emotions of both men and women that the woman's will is somehow subordinate to the males...patriarchy (and) male dominance is universal; no society has ever failed to conform its expectations of men and women, and the social roles relevant to these expectations, to the feeling of men and women that it is the male who 'takes the lead'...every society accepts the existence of these feelings, and conforms to their existence by socializing children accordingly, because every society must. (p.31)

...the male strength and aggressiveness and the female gentleness and endurance portrayed in our novels and movies mirror not merely our society's view of the emotional natures of men and women, but the views of every society that has ever existed. (p. 37)

...biology precluded the possibility of a human social system whose authority system is not dominated by males and in which male aggression is not manifested in dominance and attainment of positions of status and power. (p.78)

...the hormonal renders the social inevitable. (p.93)

...male dominance and male attainment are inseparable from the physiological factors that engender them. (p.151)

...the stereotype that sees the male as more logical than the female is unquestionably correct in its observation and probably correct in its assumption that the qualities observed conform to innate sexual limitations analogous to those relevant to physical strength. Society's socialization of girls away from careers in mathematics may well be an acknowledgement of hormonal reality. (p.204)

...there is no alternative; this is simply the way it is. At the bottom of it all, man's job is to protect woman, and woman's is to protect her infant; in nature all else is luxury. (p.227)

...the central fact is that men and women are different from the gene to the thought to the act and that emotions underpin masculinity and femininity, that make reality as experienced by the male eternally different from that experienced by the female, flow from the biological natures of man and woman. (p.228)

Nash (1970) presents this position clearly:

Thus the statement that parents reinforce sex-appropriate behaviors is only partly true. What happens (at least in part) is that parents have different behaviors elicited from them by boys and by girls, and these differential responses tend further to augment sex-appropriate behavior. Thus sex-appropriate behaviors develop not only because parents reinforce them, but because parents are led by the children themselves to act toward boys and girls in these distinctive manners. (Italics mine.) (p.197-98)

We suggest that socialization for sexual intercourse begins at birth with gender assignment. From the moment of gender assignment onward, the social environment will systematically interact differently with the individual depending on his or her gender. The individual's gender is announced to other social actors by the manner in which parents typically dress their offspring, and is usually reflected in the individual's name. We suggest, that the typical American parent does this, and encourages sex appropriate behaviors in general, because the typical individual in American culture still believes (as Nash, 1970) that

there are dispositional differences between male and female children, independent of the influence of socialization. The typical individual, then, appears to view the social differentiation of the sexes as logical for developing behaviors which are appropriate not only to their adult public social roles, but also their adult roles as a male or female during sexual intimacy.

While many, within American culture, continue to believe and act in accordance with traditional "folk wisdom" concerning the inherent differences between the sexes and typically point to attitudinal and behavioral differences between the sexes as "the proof of the pudding," the evidence which has been accumulating in the literature increasingly suggests that attitudinal and behavioral differences between males and females are more the result of socialization than an inevitable consequence of biological predisposition.

Two recent empirical studies provide evidence which does not support the notion that sex role socialization reflects biological predispositions which are already evident in the individual being socialized and thus serve to elicit differential socialization. Katz and Zalk (1975) used the same three-month-old infant and introduced the infant as either a boy or girl, or provided no gender information. Subjects were allowed to interact with the infant in a room

where there was a football, a doll, and a (gender neutral) teething ring. Although the same infant was encountered by all subjects, when the infant was identified as a boy it generally was given the football by subjects, and when the infant was identified as a girl, it generally was given the doll by subjects.

The second study was conducted by Condry and Condry (1976). In this study, some two-hundred subjects view a video tape of a young infant. Half of the subjects were told they were viewing a male infant, the other half were told they were viewing a female infant. The subjects' task was to rate the infant's "personality and emotional responses." During the video tape sequence, the infant was startled by a Jack-in-the-box and began to cry. Subjects who had been told the infant was a male generally indicated that the crying was a result of the experience of one emotion: anger. Subjects who had been told the infant was female generally indicated that the crying was the result of the experience of another emotion: fear.

The notion that parents behave differently in interacting with male versus female offspring, not only because of their differing preconceptions and expectations but because the individual child, depending on its gender, elicits these differential responses, has been advanced by many past researchers (e.g., Baumel & Lewis, 1971; Bell and Darling, 1965; Weller & Bell, 1965).

The Pervasiveness of Differential Socialization

If the notion that the individual being socialized elicits differential socialization due to predispositioned attitudes and behaviors biologically embedded in its gender has increasingly been disconfirmed in recent research, the pervasive manner in which the environment interacts differentially with persons of either gender has been well established in empirical research. Several studies have shown that parents give preschool and elementary school age boys much more freedom to roam in the physical environment without special permission or the accompaniment of an adult than is the case for girls of the same age (Landy, 1965; Munroe, Munroe & Nerlove, 1971; Saegert & Hart, 1977). Rheingold and Cook (1975), in examining the rooms of children from age one month to six years, found boys had more categories of toys. Both Rheingold and Cook, and Rosenfeld (1975) found that boys were given toys encouraging activities outside the home and which elicit more competence behavior than toys given girls. Several studies (Bronson, 1971; Gesell, 1942; Goldberg & Lewis, 1969; Jacklin, 1973; Liebert, McCall & Hanratty, 1971; Montemayor, 1976; Stein, Pohly & Mueller, 1971) show that subsequent to being presented with "gender appropriate" toys, children spend more time playing with them, develop competence in their use, and gradually perform better, in general, at tasks and play labeled as gender

appropriate.

Researchers have consistently found that parents stimulate and respond to gross motor behavior of infant sons more than to the same behaviors in infant daughters (Lewis, 1972; Moss, 1967; Tasch, 1952; Yarrow, Rubenstein & Pederson, 1971). Empirical research has also shown that girls are treated as if they were more fragile, both by mothers (Minton, Kagan & Levine, 1971) and fathers (Pederson & Robson, 1969). Several studies (e.g., Fling & Manosevitz, 1972; Lansky, 1967) show that parents are extremely upset by any sign that their boys are "sissies," while girls are encouraged to be neat and obedient and to be "feminine" in both behavior and dress.

Boys are consistently more likely to be punished by the use of spanking and other forms of physical punishment (MacCoby & Jacklin, 1974) while girls generally receive soft-voiced verbal reprimands (Servin, O'Leary, Kent & Tonick, 1973). Rubin, Provenzano & Luria (1974) found that parents describe their newborn infant's physical attributes and personality in sex stereotyped ways within twenty hours of the child's birth. Margolin & Patterson (1975) found that parents gave more positive responses to their sons than to their daughters. Williams, Bennett & Best (1975) found that kindergarten children show knowledge of sex-role stereotypes both verbally and behaviorally.

Block (1978) found that there were systematic differences in parental interactions with sons and daughters across a variety of behavior and situations including giving comfort when the child was upset, keeping the child away from families with different ideas, encouragement of task mastery, expression of physical affection, including the child in making family plans, respect for the child's opinions, attitude toward nakedness of child when with other children, letting the child make its own decisions, tolerance of expression of anger by the child, use of reasoned argument with the child concerning parental decision, trusting the child concerning its behavior, letting the child take chances, encouragement of competition, discouragement of crying, reluctance to leave the child with a stranger, and encouragement of the child's curiosity about the meaning of human existence.

A variety of studies (e.g., Chafetz, 1974; Etaugh et al., 1975a; Etaugh et al., 1975b; Lynch, 1975; Perry et al., 1975; Reha, 1975; and Williams, 1975) have shown that the school environment systematically reinforces sex-role stereotypes, and that teachers interact with and perceive the behavior of children differentially according to the child's gender.

Denmark & Waters (1977) and Bartl (1975) have carried out cross-cultural and intra-cultural studies respectively

of the presentation of males and females and their roles in children's readers and have found a high level of stereotyping in these readers. Goffman (1976) has provided a systematic study of "gender advertisements"--the portrayal of males and females in stereotypic roles in advertising and mass media--and found that there was near universal presentation of stereotyped role models.

At the "bottom line" of the layperson's notion of the differing natures of males and females is sexual behavior. The prevailing "folk wisdom" of American culture seems to be: "men give love for sex, and women give sex for love." Put otherwise, the notion of the average layperson seems to be that males have a greater natural "sex drive" than do females, while females have little natural "sex drive" and engage in sexual activity only when it is embedded in a committed interpersonal relationship. The notion that males are more interested in sex, per se, while females are more interested in "love", is supported by the findings of Kinsey et al., 1953; Shope, 1975; Sigusch, et al., 1970; and Abelson et al., 1971. This research, however, does not address the question of causality, i.e., are these reported differences in attitudes and behaviors concerning sexual activity the result of innate predispositions or of learning acquired via socialization?

One recent empirical study, Fisher and Byrne (1978)

would suggest it is the latter. This research, in which male and female undergraduates viewed an erotic film of a couple having intercourse, found that subjects of both sexes were aroused regardless of a manipulation in which the couple was described as either a pair of newlyweds or a young man and a prostitute. The authors conclude: "Apparently, romantic or affectional emphasis is not a precondition for female arousal (p.117)."

Socialization for Sexual Activity
in Contemporary American Culture

We have already suggested that socialization for sexual intercourse begins at birth with gender assignment. We now suggest that socialization for sexual intercourse is a process of social construction which is embedded in socialization for broader sex-role appropriate behaviors. According to Laumann and Schwartz (1977):

Female experience is central to female sexuality, in our view. The personal side of that experience forms sexual identity. The social side is formed, in large part, by sexual scripts and by the individual's sexual experience with others. By sexual scripts we mean a repertoire of acts and statuses that are recognized by a social group, together with the rules, expectations, and sanctions governing these acts and statuses. (pp.1-2)

Sex assignment is thus the starting point for the construction of sexual identity. The consequences of being labelled girl or boy are so many and so inclusive that in cases where a mistake has been made, anatomy is usually corrected to conform to the social identity, rather than the other way around. The reasoning behind this is that personal and social identity have been based upon sex assignment and continue to develop throughout the life cycle. (p.29)

It is perhaps not surprising that the first component of sexual identity rests upon sex role categories, which constitute a basic division in society. The female and male sex role scripts, to be sure, contain many elements which are not sexual. Female sex role scripts might be thought of as a collection of prescriptions for femininity--including, for example, the expectation that women shall be passive rather than aggressive, reactive rather than agentic. Such prescriptions, of course, carry over into the realm of sexual behavior (italics mine). Identity is formed through the individual's perceiving herself in roles and recognizing the continuity of her behavior in those roles across situations and time (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; 212 ff.). In other words, the individual observes her own behavior and judges it, as she does the behavior of others. In making such judgments, of course, she uses scripts provided by society. The meaning of behaviors and the judgments that attach to them are part of these scripts. Identity arises through self-consciousness: roles permit us to see others as types, and in fact, to see ourselves in the same way. (pp.10-11)

Put otherwise, the instrumental orientation of male sex-role behaviors in general and the receptive and reactive orientation of female sex-role behaviors in general appear to serve as a major mechanism for producing the typical aggressive male and passive female behaviors during sexual intercourse. From this perspective, and taking the cross-cultural data into account, the typical gender specific behavioral repertoire utilized during intercourse in American culture are themselves learned sex-role behaviors.

At the same time, however, it should be noted that, except on the level of asserting that the typical behavior of males versus females during sexual intercourse reflects

society's general expectations concerning appropriate behavior for males versus females in life in general, it still fails to inform us as to where the individual obtains explicit information.

It has been stated previously that socialization for sexual activity does not, in our culture, usually involve explicit "how to do it" information. It appears, however, that the information is available via socialization, but that it is of an implicit nature.

Extrapolating from Bandura (1974), it is the immediate or anticipated need to engage in task performance which is the basis for the individual's organization of cues in the environment in ways which "make sense." We suggest that, with the onset of puberty, general sex-role expectancies and their underlying assumptions of the differing "natures" of males and females are combined by the individual with implicit information concerning "what people actually do" during sexual intercourse in order to cognitively "make sense" of the task prior to actual performance.

Thus, while we have suggested that socialization for sexual intercourse has been an ongoing process from birth, implicit in its nature, and imbedded in socialization for broader sex role appropriate behaviors, we suggest that it is at the onset of puberty that the individual typically begins to synthesize the implicit information available in

the social world. We suggest that such a cognitive synthesis can be expected at this point in the individual's development for two reasons. First, puberty marks the onset of the sexual capacity for the individual, the hormonal changes will lead to the individual's experience of "the sex drive", i.e., the first experiences of sexual arousal. Second, it is with the onset of puberty that the individual is taken into account by other social actors as an individual with sexual capacity or as a potential sex object. A large part of the cognitive synthesis now required of the individual is developing an understanding of the roles and norms which attach themselves to individuals in social interactions where the individual actors are aware of each other as having sexual capacity and where this knowledge may be an important dynamic in a given social interaction.

American culture is extensively socially differentiated by gender. Its social norms provide gender appropriate roles across almost every aspect of social life. For the virginal individual, learning how to engage in sexual intercourse requires more knowledge than the fundamental notion of the physical interaction of the male and female genitals. It requires role knowledge concerning how the male and female behave during sexual intercourse. It requires the acquisition of the knowledge of the social norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse within one's culture;

how to behave, even how to conceptualize the event.

Typically, in American culture, the basic physical act is conceptualized in terms of the insertion of the penis into the vagina. The equally accurate conceptualization of the act in terms of the penis being enveloped by the vagina would, we believe, sound bizarre to the typical individual in American culture. The social norms concerning sexual intercourse within a given culture provide the symbolic logic by which the individual "makes sense" or apprehends the social meaning of sexual intercourse as a specific type of human behavior.

While the nature of the physical act may be the same or quite similar, its meaning, "making sense" of it intra-culturally, rests on such socio-contextual considerations as the social status of the participants (married; single; married--but not to each other; incestually; heterosexuality; homosexuality; etc.); their age (statutory rape, "too young," "too old," "too great" an age differential between them, etc.); where and when the physical act takes place (private, public, bedroom, kitchen, other people in the house, day, night, etc.); possible outcomes (pregnancy--wanted/unwanted, use/lack of use, of contraceptives, etc.); mutual consent versus coercion (use of drugs, breach of promise, seduction, rape, etc); and even the frequency of the occurrence of the act between the two participants

("normal" or "abnormal"; too frequent or infrequent; etc.). Additionally, the meaning ascribed to sexual intercourse between any two persons usually involves more than one of these symbolic dimensions.

The social norms concerning sexual intercourse within a given culture similarly provides the symbolic logic by which the individual "makes sense" or apprehends the social meaning of sexual intercourse both prior to his or her first experience of it and during his or her actual experience of the physical act.

These social norms force the individual to entertain such questions as: What ought I expect?; What ought I think or feel?; How ought I behave?; What does and/or ought he or she think or feel?; How ought he or she behave?; What is he or she thinking I am thinking or feeling?; What is he or she thinking concerning how I ought think, feel or behave?; etc.

Any norm may be considered a rule for social interaction in a specific situation that involves a presumed shared understanding between social actors which serves to guide and restrain social behavior and thought and thus channels social behavior and thought into a behavioral repertoire which is a small subset of the possible. The particular norms which are appropriate for a given social interaction are related to the social status of the actors involved.

Status, the hierarchical relationship of an individual

to others within a social group--whether a family or a nation--is socially ascribed. One's status must be learned by the individual in order to engage in normative social interaction. Most people have a variety of statuses and their accompanying roles and role sets (Merton, 1965). One does not interact identically with all persons in social interaction. Regardless of dispositional traits, no individual interacts identically with his or her parents, lover, spouse, employer, children, etc. The appropriate norm for a given interaction and one's role within a given social interaction, is codetermined by the status with respect to each other of both parties. Unger (1978) makes the point that, in social interaction gender differentiation expresses itself as primarily a status differentiation. One's status stands as a social statement of one's relationship to others and thus to whom one is socially subordinate and who is in a subordinate relationship with the individual. Henley (1977) has documented the lower ascribed status of women as an aggregate vis-a-vis men, pointing out that it manifests itself systematically even at the non-verbal level.

The relationship between gender and status is distinguished from many other statuses by its pervasiveness and visibility. An employee may be subserviant in status to his or her employer within the work context, but the employer does not normally have the perogative of telling an employee

which TV shows he or she may or must watch at home. The status that results from one's gender assignment, however, might be correctly viewed as the individual's first or primary ascriptive status. It is a status which the individual carries with him or her across virtually all situations.

The only other statuses which normally seem to be so pervasive are race, and to a lesser degree, age--all are physical characteristics and are thus observed and taken into account by other social actors.

According to Berger (1963,1967) and Berger and Luckmann (1967), one of the chief methods societies uses to insure social stability (hierarchy preservation) is to legitimize the institutionalized roles of the social script by socializing all members of the society with a belief system which asserts not that the roles provided are one of many possible ways to an end, but rather that these roles are the only possible means to society's ends.

Berger and Luckmann argue that the primary and essential means of social control in any society is the pervasive objectivity of the social world. They argue that it is the immediate and unexamined perception of individuals of "the way everybody does things" which stabilizes individual conduct and ipso facto the social order.

Among the first and most central "facts" one learns from the socially constructed reality of the social world

are one's gender and its consequences. According to Kohlberg (1966):

Sex-typing is initiated by the very early sex labeling of the child which begins with hearing and learning the words "boy" and "girl." By the age of two or three, children know their own self-labels, and in the next couple of years, they label others according to conventional cues. The child regards his sex-identification as an "abstract self-concept" which, when stabilized, is practically fixed and irreversible, "maintained by a motivated adaptation to physical-social reality and by the need to preserve a stable and positive self-image." (p.88)

The child's basic sexual self-concept (his self-categorization as "boy" or "girl") becomes the major organizer and determinant of many of his activities, values, and attitudes. The boy in effect says, "I am a boy, therefore I want to do boy things, therefore the opportunity to do boy things (and to gain approval for doing them) is rewarding." (p.89)

Rubenstein, Watson, Drolette and Rubenstein (1976) demonstrated empirically that both males and females, at the onset of puberty, had virtually identical interests concerning sexuality: "the girls and boys were similar in their mutual interest in sexual intercourse...these girls and boys, about 14 years old, were not primarily interested in learning more about anatomy or physiology...their principal concerns were sexual intercourse, its consequences and context" (pp.494-5). It would appear, then, that at the onset of puberty, persons of both sexes have an equally strong interest in sexual intercourse, and presumably the gratification which accompanies it.

With the onset of adolescence, expectations concerning

sexual behavior show systematic differences in the expectancies of and for adolescent males and females. The individual is socialized into an understanding of what is meant by the term "loose girl," but there is no cultural corollary of a "loose boy" (Bell, 1961; Bell & Burkell, 1961; LoPiccolo, 1973). Females do not generally receive support for sexual activity during adolescence even from peers (Ladner, 1971). Females are socialized to associate the meaning of sexual intercourse with the interpersonal characteristics of the relationship to the exclusion of any nexus to the physical act itself (Kinsey et al., 1953; Laws & Schwartz, 1977).

Extrapolating from Kohlberg's (1966) analysis to the domain of sexual intercourse, we suggest socialization for sexual intercourse is facilitated by gender differentiation not only because individuals are rewarded by society for engaging in gender appropriate behavior but also because as a consequence of his or her self-categorization as male or female, the individual is motivated to "do boy things" or "do girl things" vis-a-vis sexual intercourse.

Festinger (1954), in his theory of social comparison, holds that human beings must evaluate their opinions and abilities and, to the extent that objective, non-social means are not available, people evaluate their opinions and abilities by comparison respectively with the opinions and abilities of others. We have already noted that the litera-

ture suggests that little or no explicit "how to do it" information is provided to the developing individual by parents. We suggest, however, that as the individual begins the cognitive synthesis of implicit information available in his or her social environment in order to conceptually "make sense" of the meaning of sexual intercourse, and to acquire a knowledge of what his or her social role within sexual intercourse will be, age peers will become an important reference group for social comparison: First, because they, too, are typically simultaneously engaged in the same cognitive synthesis; second, because they are typically more willing to discuss explicit "how to do it" information than are parents and other adults; and third, because peers, as a group, typically represent those whose sexual capacity and potential availability as sexual partners must increasingly be taken into account by the individual.

We suggest that the information obtained from his or her peers is typically neither sophisticated nor explicitly technical, but does provide the individual with external confirmation of the cognitive synthesis the individual is evolving, and serves as a major means by which the individual learns the basic gender specific norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse in American culture, typically, prior to the individual's first experience of sexual intercourse.

We suggest that, linguistically, the information supplied to the individual by peers is in the form of: "then the boy does such and such and then the girl does this and that." The acquisition of these norms provides the individual with gender differentiated social scripts, thus giving the individual a global apprehension of the gender appropriate behavioral repertoire for him or her self, and of potential intimate partners, prior to the individual's first experience of sexual intercourse.

According to Ford and Beach (1951), in American society these norms include: (1) the male is the initiator and aggressive actor, while the female is passive and receptive; (2) the coital position most frequently employed is the man on top "missionary position"; (3) sexual intercourse typically takes place at night; (4) in a bed; and (5) in private.

We suggest, however, that these norms have a function other than simply providing the two individuals with a gender-specific recipe concerning "how" to have sexual intercourse. By providing a social script in which the male is the dominant and initiating partner, the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse serve, what Merton (1965) would describe, as the "latent function" of providing congruence between the intimate sexual behavior of the two individuals and their status difference in public social

roles, and thus further serve to define and stabilize the hierarchical power relationship between the two individuals within their intimate interpersonal relationship. On a sociological level, this process ipso facto stabilizes the status differentiation between males and females in the social order.

We suggest that the lack of the transmission of explicit "how to do it" information during the socialization process and the pervasive availability of implicit information serve to cause the individual to arrive at a cognitive synthesis which conceptualizes the physical act and the gender appropriate behavior of the participants in a culturally normative way. The widely available cultural norms which portray males as independent, instrumental, and aggressive, and females as passive, receptive, and reactive, serve to suggest to the naive individual that this is also the case in the act of sexual intercourse. Traditionally, it has been the males' prerogative to initiate social interaction with females, and females have been proscribed from doing so. In most other areas of life, the male is stereotypically portrayed as competent, knowledgeable, and instrumental. We suggest that, for the naive male, the implicit message is that the physical act of intercourse is something he does, by virtue of his being the initiator and aggressor, while for the female, the implicit message is that the physical

act of intercourse is something he does to her. Thus, the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse create a social-psychological conceptualization of "what people actually do" which suggests the male's role is to be the initiator (to seek out the female for sexual intercourse) and to be the aggressor (to be the instrumental actor) while the female's role is to be passive, receptive, and reactive (willing).

We suggest that the cognitive synthesis of the individual, reinforced by social comparison with peers is experienced by the individual as objective knowledge. The gender appropriate behaviors during sexual intercourse are not experienced as socially constructed or the product of cultural norms, but as the way persons of either gender behave naturally during sexual intercourse.

As has already been suggested, we hold that this particular norm set, which attaches itself to sexual intercourse in American culture, served to bring the roles of the participants into congruity with their public roles.

Chapter 5

SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES DERIVED FROM THE THEORETICAL MODEL

We shall first recapitulate. We noted that, in American culture the individual typically does not receive explicit "how to do it" information concerning sexual intercourse. We noted that cross-cultural studies of the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse in other cultures refute the "common sense" explanation that no explicit "how to do it" information need be conveyed during socialization (since it is thought that during sexual intercourse the participants behave instinctually). We assume then, that the behaviors typical during sexual intercourse are learned via socialization. We ask: If no explicit information is received by the individual, but, nonetheless, these behaviors result from socialization, how can we account for them?

We suggest that socialization for sexual intercourse begins with gender assignment and continues throughout the socialization process. We suggest it is embedded in, and facilitated by, the generally instrumental, independent, and instrumental male sex role vis-a-vis the generally dependent, receptive and passive female sex role. We suggest that with the onset of puberty, which is marked by the beginnings of sexual capacity for the individual, and by the onset of the individual's sexual capacity being taken into account by the individual and by other social actors, the individual

cognitively synthesizes, environmentally available implicit information concerning what a person of his or her gender actually does behaviorally during sexual intercourse with the general expectancies of sex-role appropriate behavior for a person of his or her gender. We suggest that peers are the major reference group used by the individual for social comparison during the individual's evolving cognitive synthesis of environmentally available implicit information concerning sexual intercourse. We suggest that the typical individual acquires and synthesizes the basic norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse in American culture prior to actual experience with intercourse.

Finally, we suggest that the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse serve the latent function of defining and stabilizing the hierarchical power relationship within the dyad, and thus serve to bring about a correspondence between the gender-status differentiation within the dyad and the public social roles of the two individuals.

From our theoretical model we derive three hypotheses, the first two being the most critical. The first of these concerns our contention that individuals, prior to the actual experience of sexual intercourse, already know the basic norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse in contemporary American culture. Thus we propose:

H_{1a} The perception of individuals who are virgins concerning "what people actually do" during sexual intercourse will conform to cultural norms, especially concerning the male being the initiator and aggressive partner and the use of the man on top "missionary" position.

For the same reason, i.e., that individuals already typically know the basic norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse prior to the actual experience of intercourse, we expect that persons who are now non-virgins will have acted in accordance with this normative information on the occasion of their first experience of sexual intercourse. Thus we propose:

H_{1b} Regardless of the degree of socio-sexual sophistication which the typical individual may later acquire, the first experience of sexual intercourse by individuals who are now non-virgins will have conformed to cultural norms, especially concerning the male being the initiator and aggressive partner and the use of the man on top "missionary" position.

Our second hypothesis concerns a test of the second major assumption of our theoretical model, and of the findings reported in the literature. We hold that the individual in American culture typically does not receive any explicit

"how to do it" information concerning sexual intercourse.

Thus we propose:

H_{2a} That prior to experience, individuals typically will not have been the recipient of explicit "how to do it" information. Specifically, it is hypothesized that the majority of individuals will not have received explicit "how to do it" information from any source.

We do expect that some individuals will have received explicit "how to do it" information prior to experience. We expect that the sources for these individuals will generally conform to the findings in the literature. Thus we propose:

H_{2b} Of those individuals who did receive explicit "how to do it" information prior to experience:

- (1) The largest single source will be same-sex, age peers;
- (2) Most will not have received this information from their parents;
- (3) Of those who did receive explicit information from parents, the majority will be male, and the information will, regardless of the sex of the individual, have been provided by the same sex parent.

Finally, we have proposed that the norms which attached themselves to sexual intercourse serve the latent function

of bringing about a correspondence between the gender-status. Thus we propose:

H₃ Individuals who endorse as appropriate the traditional norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse in American culture, especially the norms concerning the male as the initiator and the use of the man on top "missionary" position, will also endorse traditional norms concerning the hierarchical power relationship of male superior to female within the dyad. Put otherwise, it is expected that there will be a positive correlation between endorsement of traditional norms attaching themselves to sexual intercourse and traditional norms granting superior status to the male within the dyad.

Chapter 6

DESIGN OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Method

Subjects. Two hundred and thirty-four subjects from various psychology classes at Central Connecticut State College were used.³ The mean age for the subjects was 21.85. There were 101 males and 133 females. (A complete breakdown of the demographic characteristics of the sample is provided on pp.63-68.)

Procedure. The investigator entered each classroom by pre-arrangement with the instructor in charge of the class. Each instructor then informed the students that the investigator was a former student at Central who was engaged in his doctoral dissertation research and requested their participation as subjects in this research. At that point, each instructor "turned the floor" over to the investigator for the remainder of the class period.

In compliance with The City University's guidelines for research with human subjects, all subjects were first advised that the study involved full informed consent, did not

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3. We wish to express our appreciation to Dr. Earl Bihlmeyer, Chairman of the Psychology Department at Central Connecticut State College for his permission to use these students as subjects, and for his assistance in making arrangements with individual instructors to use their class time for the study. We also wish to acknowledge the assistance of these instructors, and to thank the students who served as subjects in the present study.

involve deception, that their participation was fully voluntary, they could withdraw their participation at any time they wished, and that the full rationale of the study would be explained upon participation of the class. They were also advised that they must be 18 years of age or older in order to participate, informed that the general nature of the study concerned sexual behavior and attitudes, and asked if they had any questions prior to their participation.⁴

Subjects were then asked to re-seat themselves in every other chair in order to insure privacy and confidentiality, and asked not to engage in any verbal interaction with other participants while the study was being conducted. Subjects were then administered a questionnaire. On the average, subjects took 35-40 minutes to complete the questionnaire. When all subjects had completed the questionnaire, the rationale and hypotheses of the present study were explained and subjects' questions were answered. Subjects were then thanked for their participation and told they could leave. As the procedure took up nearly an entire class period, the investigator, typically, gathered his materials hurriedly, and rushed off to the next class scheduled to participate.

4. The information concerning informed consent, etc., was both read aloud to the subjects and attached as the cover page to the questionnaire. For the exact language used, see appendix.

Questionnaire. The questionnaire used had three separate sections. The first section was intended to test H_{1a} and H_{1b}. It was open-ended and contained the following at the top of the first page:

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gain insight concerning typical behaviors and perceptions of behaviors during sexual intercourse. We have no interest in your personal life per se, therefore, the questionnaire is anonymous.

We would like you to write a paragraph or two in the space below. If you have experienced sexual intercourse, please tell us about the first time. Please include the following information: position used, who took the initiative, where it took place (in bed, outdoors, etc.), when it took place (day, night), and your age and your partner's age at the time of your first experience.

If you have not experienced sexual intercourse, we would like you to write a paragraph or two telling us what you think typically happens during sexual intercourse. Please include the following information: what position is usually used, who usually takes the initiative, where does it usually take place (in bed, outdoors, etc.), when does it usually take place (day, night).

In addition to being asked to indicate their age and their partner's age at the time of their first experience of sexual intercourse, non-virgins were also asked if their first partner was also a virgin at the time of their first experience (if known).

The second section was intended to test H_{2a} and H_{2b}. This section of the questionnaire asked subjects to identify the source(s) of any explicit "how to do it" information concerning sexual intercourse received prior to their first

experience of sexual intercourse (for virgins: prior to the present time). Subjects were asked specifically if they had received any explicit information from: mother; father; brother; sister; same sex age peer; opposite sex age peer; same sex adult friend; opposite sex adult friend; same sex relative; opposite sex relative; sex education course; "sex manual" they obtained for themselves; "sex manual" given to them by someone else (and asked to indicate who, if this was the case); another person not listed above; and another source not listed above (in both cases asked to specify who the person or source was). For each person or source of explicit information a subject indicated, the subject was requested to write a brief paragraph summarizing the nature of the information they received. Finally, all subjects were asked to specify their age at the time they received this explicit information.

The third section of the questionnaire was intended to test H_3 . Subjects were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement on a five point scale (strongly agree; agree; uncertain; disagree; strongly disagree) with 36 statements concerning sexuality and sex roles. The statements were as follows:

1. If a woman does a job as well as a man she should receive equal pay for it.
2. Except when economically necessary, a woman belongs in the home.
3. As children, boys are by nature more aggressive than girls.
4. An adult woman who has never experienced giving birth is not truly a woman in the fullest sense of the word.
5. When a married woman works the stability of the family is threatened.
6. As children, girls are by nature more passive than boys.
7. An adult man who has never fathered a child is not truly a man in the fullest sense of the word.
8. As adults, men are by nature more aggressive and independent than women.
9. As adults, women are by nature more passive and dependent than men.
10. Marriage is a partnership between equals.
11. A wife should not object to changing residence if this will advance her husband's career.
12. In the event of a disagreement, the husband should have the final say within a marriage.
13. A husband should not object to changing residence if this will advance his wife's career.
14. In the event of a disagreement, the wife should have the final say within a marriage.
15. A husband should not "go out socially" in mixed company without his wife.
16. A wife should not "go out socially" in mixed company without her husband.
17. Men have higher sex drives than do women.

18. In sexual intimacy, the man is by nature the initiator.
19. A woman should put her husband's sexual gratification above her own sexual needs.
20. During sexual intercourse, the most natural position is the man on top or "missionary" position.
21. A man is not masculine if he prefers intercourse in the woman on top position.
22. A woman is not feminine if she takes the initiative during sexual intercourse.
23. It is normal for a man to desire oral-genital contact with a woman during sexual intimacy.
24. It is normal for a woman to desire oral-genital contact with a man during sexual intimacy.
25. A husband should have the right to demand that his wife have an abortion in the event of an unwanted pregnancy.
26. A wife should have the right to obtain an abortion without consulting her husband in the event of an unwanted pregnancy.
27. Masturbation is normal for a married man.
28. Masturbation is normal for a married woman.
29. A husband should have full knowledge of his wife's financial affairs.
30. A wife should have full knowledge of her husband's financial affairs.
31. It is more morally wrong for a woman to have premarital sexual intercourse than it is for a man.
32. It is more morally wrong for a woman to have extra-marital sexual intercourse than it is for a man.
33. Contraceptives should be available for adolescent boys. (If you answered SA or A to question 33, from what age should they be available? _____)

34. Contraceptives should be available for adolescent girls. (If you answered SA or A to question 34, from what age should they be available? _____)
35. If I had a teenage son I would worry if he did not have some experience with sexual intercourse during adolescence. (If you answered SA or A to question 35, at what age would you start to worry if he had no sexual experience? Please circle one: 13 14 15 16 17 18 19)
36. If I had a teenage daughter, I would worry if she did not have some experience with sexual intercourse during adolescence. (If you answered SA or A to question 36, at what age would you start to worry if she had no sexual experience? Please circle one: 13 14 15 16 17 18 19)

The following demographic information was obtained from all subjects: (1) sex; (2) age; (3) religion; (4) occupation; (5) education; (6) relational (marital) status; (7) race; (8) parents' income level (index of SES background). (The questionnaire is reproduced in its entirety in the appendix.)

Chapter 7

RESULTS: DATA AND INTERPRETATION

Demographic characteristics of the sample. A total of 234 subjects were used in the present study. However, 31 subjects were dropped from the analysis, leaving a final total of 203 subjects.⁵ Of the 203 subjects whose data were analyzed, 81 (39.9%) were male, and 122 (60.1%) were female, which appears to reflect a somewhat higher female enrollment at the college. The mean age of the subjects in the present study was 21.85, the median age was 20.77. However, as can be seen in Table 1, both the mean and median age, being measures of central tendency, tend to obscure the fact that about 1/3 of the subjects were 19 or younger, and nearly half of the subjects were 20 or younger.

5. Those subjects dropped from the analyses included subjects who failed to complete section one (the description of what happened on the first experience of intercourse/what virgins thought usually happened. Also, any subject who did not complete the second section concerning the receipt of explicit "how to do it" information. Thus, if a subject did not provide a description of the type of information received or failed to check yes or no for each item, they were dropped from the analyses. This precluded the possibility that a subject who had perhaps skipped over this section entirely would be counted as not having received any explicit information. Similarly, any subject who did not provide sufficient demographic information was also dropped from the analysis. Lastly, three questionnaires were returned completely blank, and two or three with comments such as: "I don't want my sex life to become a statistic." were also dropped.

Table 1
 Percentage Breakdown and Cumulative Percentage
 Breakdown of Age of Subjects

| Age | Percentage | Cumulative Percentage | N |
|-----|------------|--------------------------|----|
| 18 | 07.4 | 07.4 | 15 |
| 19 | 22.2 | 29.9 | 45 |
| 20 | 14.8 | 44.3 | 30 |
| 21 | 21.2 | 65.5 | 43 |
| 22 | 07.4 | 72.9 | 15 |
| 23 | 04.9 | 77.8 | 10 |
| 24 | 04.4 | 82.3 | 09 |
| 25 | 03.4 | 85.7 | 07 |
| 26 | 02.5 | 88.2 | 05 |
| 27 | 02.0 | 90.1 | 04 |
| 28 | 01.5 | 91.6 | 03 |
| 29 | 03.4 | 95.1 | 07 |
| 30 | 01.5 | 96.6 | 03 |
| 31 | 00.5 | 97.0 | 01 |
| 32 | 00.5 | 97.5 | 01 |
| 33 | 01.0 | 98.5 | 02 |
| 34 | 00.5 | 99.0 | 01 |
| 39 | 00.5 | 99.5 | 01 |
| 40 | 00.5 | 100.0 | 01 |

Table 2 shows the breakdown of religious affiliations among subjects.

Table 2
Religious Affiliation of Subjects

| Religion | Percentage | N |
|------------------|------------|-----|
| Catholic | 51.2 | 104 |
| Protestant | 20.2 | 041 |
| Jewish | 08.4 | 017 |
| Atheist/Agnostic | 13.3 | 027 |
| Other | 01.0 | 002 |
| None indicated | 05.9 | 012 |

Concerning occupation, all subjects were college undergraduates. Seventy percent listed their occupation as student, while the other thirty percent were both students and gainfully employed, most frequently on a part time basis.

Concerning education, 85.7 indicated they had "some college." The additional 14.3 indicated they had a college degree. However, since several subjects indicated "in May" or "after this semester," it would appear that those subjects who indicated they had a college degree were seniors about to graduate.

Table 3 shows the relational status of subjects in the present study. It is clear that the great majority were single.

Table 3
Relational Status of Subjects

| Status | Percentage | N |
|-----------------------------|------------|----|
| Single, living with parents | 45.3 | 92 |
| Single, independent | 12.8 | 26 |
| "Living with someone" | 28.6 | 58 |
| Married | 10.3 | 21 |
| Separated | 00.5 | 01 |
| Divorced | 02.0 | 04 |
| Widowed | 00.5 | 01 |

The sample used in the present study was predominately white, as can be ascertained from Table 4.

Table 4
Racial Breakdown of Subjects

| Race | Percentage | N |
|----------|------------|-----|
| White | 89.7 | 182 |
| Hispanic | 03.0 | 006 |
| Black | 05.9 | 012 |
| Oriental | 00.5 | 001 |
| Other | 01.0 | 002 |

Subjects were asked to list the approximate amount of their parents' income as an index of socio-economic status (SES). These data are down in Table 5.

Table 5
Subjects' SES (as indexed by parents' income)

| Parents' income | Percentage | N |
|-------------------|------------|----|
| Under \$ 5,000 | 03.5 | 07 |
| \$ 5,000-\$10,000 | 10.8 | 22 |
| \$10,000-\$15,000 | 32.5 | 66 |
| \$15,000-\$20,000 | 21.7 | 44 |
| \$20,000-\$25,000 | 15.3 | 31 |
| \$25,000-\$30,000 | 06.9 | 14 |
| Over \$30,000 | 07.4 | 15 |
| No response | 02.0 | 04 |

To summarize these data then, it would appear that a typical subject in the present study was in his or her late teens or early twenties, and was a single, white, middle-class college undergraduate.

Sexual experience of subjects in the sample. There was a total of 35 (17.2%) virgins, and 168 (82.8%) non-virgins in the sample. For non-virgins, the mean age for subjects first experience of sexual intercourse was 16.77; the median age was 16.91. Males, or at least some males, had their first experience with sexual intercourse somewhat earlier than females. There was no statistically significant difference between males and females for age at the time of sexual intercourse ($\chi^2 = 20.96$, with 14 degrees of freedom, $p = .1027$, n.s.). Table 6 shows the breakdown of age at first intercourse both for all subjects combined, and for males and females separately.

Table 6
Age at Time of First Experience of Sexual Intercourse

| Age | % All subjects | N | % Males | % Females |
|-----|-------------------|----|------------|--------------|
| 7 | 01.0 | 02 | 02.9 | 00.0 |
| 9 | 00.5 | 01 | 01.4 | 00.0 |
| 10 | 00.5 | 01 | 01.4 | 00.0 |
| 12 | 00.5 | 01 | 01.4 | 00.0 |
| 13 | 02.0 | 04 | 05.7 | 00.0 |
| 14 | 06.4 | 13 | 08.6 | 07.1 |
| 15 | 08.9 | 18 | 11.4 | 10.2 |
| 16 | 15.3 | 31 | 15.7 | 20.4 |
| 17 | 15.8 | 32 | 21.4 | 17.3 |
| 18 | 16.7 | 34 | 17.1 | 22.4 |
| 19 | 07.4 | 15 | 04.3 | 12.2 |
| 20 | 03.9 | 08 | 02.9 | 06.1 |
| 21 | 03.0 | 06 | 02.9 | 04.1 |
| 22 | 00.5 | 01 | 01.4 | 00.0 |
| 23 | 00.5 | 01 | 01.4 | 00.0 |

Concerning the age of the subject's partner at the time of first intercourse, a statistically significant difference was found between males and females ($\chi^2 = 43.07$, with 22 degrees of freedom, $p = .0046$). Generally, there was a

tendency for subjects of both sexes to have their first experience of sexual intercourse with a partner of about their own age, however, the male subject's first partner was frequently a female younger than he was, while the female subject's first partner was frequently a male older than she was. Table 7 and Figure 1 present this data.

Table 7
Partner's Age at Time of First Intercourse

| Age | % All subjects | N | % Males | Cum. % | % Females | Cum. % |
|-----|-------------------|----|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| 7 | 01.2 | 02 | 02.9 | 02.9 | 00.0 | 00.0 |
| 8 | 00.5 | 01 | 01.4 | 04.3 | 00.0 | 00.0 |
| 12 | 00.5 | 01 | 01.4 | 05.7 | 00.0 | 00.0 |
| 13 | 03.0 | 05 | 07.1 | 12.8 | 00.0 | 00.0 |
| 14 | 04.2 | 07 | 07.2 | 20.0 | 02.0 | 02.0 |
| 15 | 05.4 | 09 | 10.0 | 30.0 | 02.0 | 04.0 |
| 16 | 11.3 | 19 | 14.3 | 44.3 | 09.2 | 13.2 |
| 17 | 18.5 | 31 | 20.0 | 64.3 | 17.3 | 30.5 |
| 18 | 13.7 | 23 | 11.4 | 75.7 | 15.3 | 45.8 |
| 19 | 08.9 | 15 | 08.6 | 84.3 | 09.2 | 55.0 |
| 20 | 08.9 | 15 | 02.9 | 87.2 | 13.3 | 68.3 |
| 21 | 07.1 | 12 | 02.9 | 90.1 | 10.4 | 78.7 |
| 22 | 01.2 | 02 | 00.0 | 90.1 | 02.0 | 80.7 |
| 23 | 03.6 | 06 | 00.0 | 90.1 | 06.1 | 86.8 |
| 24 | 03.6 | 06 | 02.9 | 93.0 | 04.1 | 90.9 |
| 25 | 00.6 | 01 | 00.0 | 93.0 | 01.0 | 91.9 |
| 26 | 01.2 | 02 | 00.0 | 93.0 | 02.0 | 93.9 |
| 27 | 00.6 | 01 | 00.0 | 93.0 | 01.0 | 94.9 |
| 28 | 01.8 | 03 | 01.4 | 94.4 | 02.0 | 96.9 |
| 29 | 00.6 | 01 | 01.4 | 95.8 | 00.0 | 96.9 |
| 30 | 02.4 | 04 | 01.4 | 97.2 | 03.1 | 100.0 |
| 35 | 00.6 | 01 | 01.4 | 98.6 | 00.0 | 100.0 |
| 37 | 00.6 | 01 | 01.4 | 100.0 | 00.0 | 100.0 |

$\chi^2 = 43.07$, with 22 degrees of freedom, $p = .0046$.

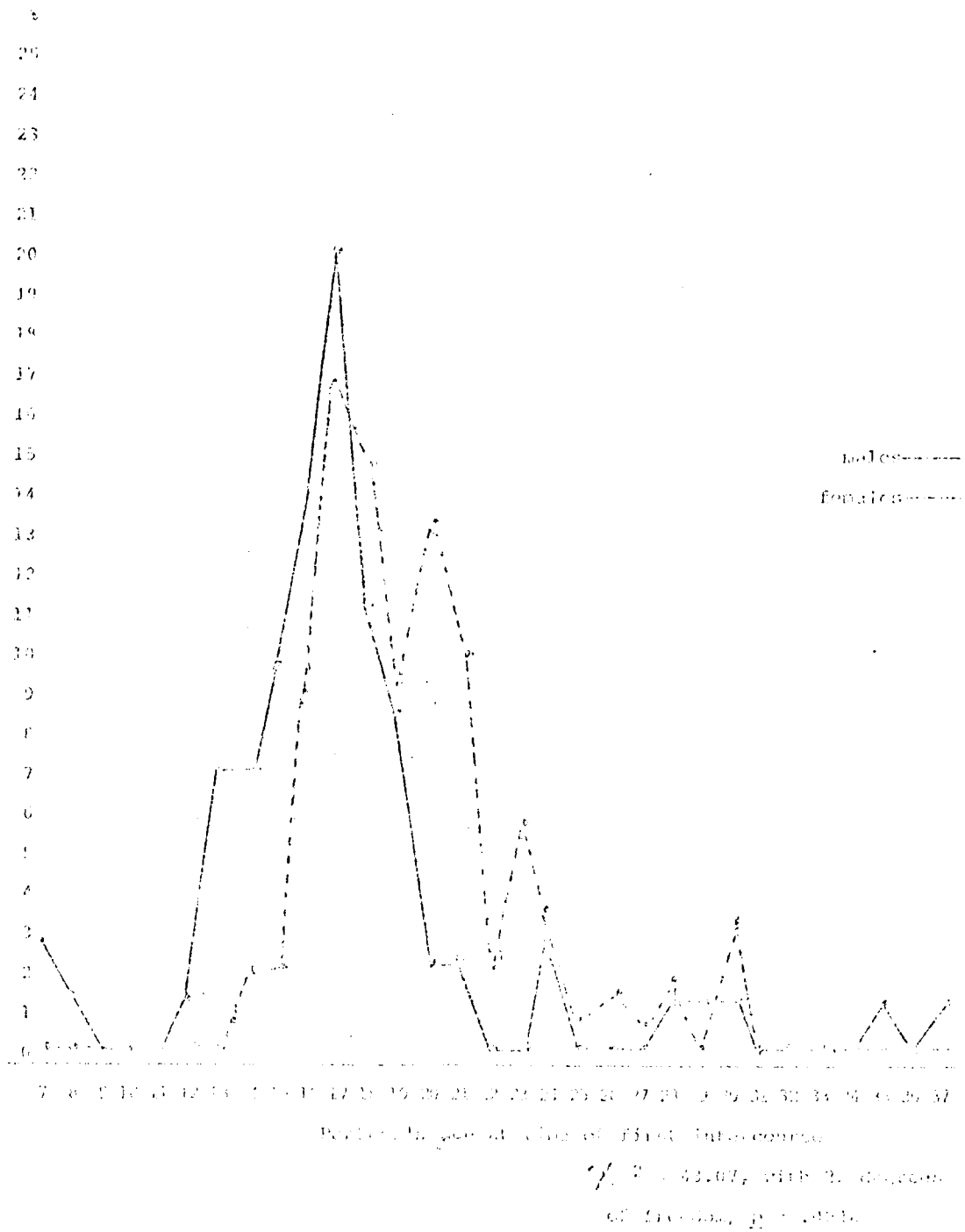


Figure 1.

Finally, 37.0% of all subjects indicated that both they and their partner were virgins at the time of their first experience of sexual intercourse; 58.2% said their partners were not virgins; and 4.8% stated that they did not know whether or not their partner was a virgin at the time. Further, 46.4% of the male subjects stated that their partners were virgins at the time of their first experience compared to 30.2% of the females. This difference just missed statistical significance at the .05 level ($\chi^2 = 7.7463$ with 3 degrees of freedom, $p = .0516$).

Table 8 presents a rank order and percentage breakdown of the specific location where subjects' first experience of intercourse took place. Not all subjects reported a specific location other than "indoors," "in a bed," etc. These data are comparable to the findings of Sorrensen (1973).

Table 8
 Rank Order of Specific Location
 Where First Intercourse took place

| Specific location | Percentage | N |
|------------------------------|------------|----|
| 1. Automobile | 20.0 | 24 |
| 2. Male's parents' home | 17.0 | 20 |
| 3. Woods | 11.0 | 13 |
| 4. Female's parents' home | 10.0 | 11 |
| 5. A friend's home | 09.0 | 09 |
| 6. Male subject's own home | 07.0 | 06 |
| 7. Dorm | 04.0 | 05 |
| 8. Female subject's own home | 03.0 | 04 |
| 9. Camping | 03.0 | 04 |
| 10. Hotel/motel | 03.0 | 04 |
| 11. Beach | 03.0 | 04 |
| 12. Boat | 02.0 | 02 |
| 13. Church | 02.0 | 02 |
| 14. On honeymoon | 02.0 | 02 |
| 15. On a roof | 01.0 | 01 |
| 16. In a basement | 01.0 | 01 |
| 17. On a porch | 01.0 | 01 |
| 18. House of prostitution | 01.0 | 01 |

(Figures are to nearest whole percent where each single case equals a relative frequency % of .5 and an adjusted frequency % of .8 with 82 missing observations. This table is based on adjusted frequency %'s.)

Findings concerning H_{1a} and H_{1b}. We shall first restate these hypotheses:

H_{1a} The perception of individuals who are virgins concerning "what people actually do" during sexual intercourse will conform to cultural norms, especially concerning the male being the initiator and aggressive partner and the use of the man on top "missionary" position.

H_{1b} Regardless of the degree of socio-sexual sophistication which the typical individual may later acquire, the first experience of sexual intercourse by individuals who are now non-virgins will have conformed to cultural norms, especially concerning the male being the initiator and aggressive partner and the use of the man on top "missionary" position.

As can be seen from Table 9, these hypotheses were strongly supported by the data.

Table 9

Comparison of Virgins and Non-Virgins on Responses
to Section One of the Questionnaire--What Usually
Happens/What Happened the First Time

| Question | Response | % Virgins | % Non-virgins |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1. Who is usually the initiator/ who was the initiator the first time? | The male | 91.2 | 69.6 |
| | The female | 00.0 | 14.3 |
| | Either/mutual | 08.8 | 16.1 |
| | $\chi^2 = 7.647$ with 2 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.0219$ | | |
| 2. What position is usually/ was used the first time? | Man on top | 100.0 | 94.6 |
| | Female on top | 00.0 | 02.4 |
| | Side by side | 00.0 | 01.2 |
| | Standing | 00.0 | 01.2 |
| | Female sitting on male's lap | 00.0 | 00.6 |
| | $\chi^2 = 1.851$ with 4 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.7632$, n.s. | | |
| 3. Where does it usually/ where did it take place the first time? | Indoors | 100.0 | 69.6 |
| | Outdoors | 00.0 | 30.4 |
| | $\chi^2 = 11.869$, with 1 degree of freedom, $p = 0.0006$ | | |
| 4. When does it usually/ when did it take place the first time? | Night | 90.3 | 74.8 |
| | Day | 00.0 | 25.2 |
| | Anytime | 09.7 | 00.0 |
| | $\chi^2 = 24.379$ with 3 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.0001$ | | |

Clearly H_{1a} and H_{1b} are strongly supported by these data. Among those subjects who were virgins, over 90% thought the male was usually the initiator, while the remainder stated it could be either partner. No virgin thought it was usually the female. All virgins indicated that the man on top "missionary" position was typically used, and all virgins indicated that it usually took place indoors (most indicated "in a bed"). Over 90% thought that it usually took place at night, the rest indicating that it could take place anytime. There were no sex differences between the approximately one-third of virgin subjects who were male (11) and those who were female (24) ($\chi^2 = .4688$ with 1 degree of freedom, $p = .4963$ for initiative; 100% of virgins agreeing on position; 100% of virgins agreeing on where, and $\chi^2 = .3653$ with 1 degree of freedom, $p = .5456$ for when).

The statistically significant differences between virgins and non-virgins on questions one, three and four are the result of no virgin indicating "the female" on question one, "outdoors" for question three, or "daytime" for question four. Also, no non-virgin indicated "anytime" for question four since they were specifying when it did occur, not when it usually occurs. These differences do not affect the support for the hypothesis found in these data.

The actual narrative responses made by virgins in section one of the questionnaire lend additional support for many of the hypotheses of the present study.

S002, an 18 year old female states: "During sexual intercourse the normal position is used (female lying down, male on top). The male usually takes the initiative by verbalizing his desire or by caressing the female. Sexual intercourse usually takes place indoors, in a bedroom...at night."

S007, a 19 year old female states: "...Certainly it would seem the male takes the initiative and then gets on top of the girl in a bed and at night."

S009, an 18 year old female states: "The man is on top and in bed at night. I don't know anything else and I don't want to know until I fall in love with someone. Then he can explain it. If it's done with someone you don't love I think it's cheap and dirty."

S010, an 18 year old male states: "The male has to convince the female that she should let him do it. Booze and dope help here. Once she is ready, they take off their clothes and go to bed. He gets on top, between her legs and then puts it in and does 'it' til he 'comes.'"

S013, a 22 year old male states: "Still a virgin, until I'm married. The man is the aggressor. He takes and the woman gives. He gets on top and inserts his penis. Usually in bed and at night."

S016, a 19 year old male states: "The man is the aggressor, since he has the greatest sex drive. He mounts her. It is usually done at night, in a bed, and in private."

S023, a 22 year old male states: "I am a virgin due to my religious training and lack of opportunity or missed opportunities. As far as I know, the male is the aggressor. The girl is passive and puts out for him. She spreads her legs and he puts it in til he comes. Usually it takes place at night and in a bed."

S028, a 21 year old female states: "When the right boy is there you know it and his love shows. In actual

intercourse, he is the aggressor, and he carries you to the bed. The male is on top and you show him your love by giving him his sexual pleasure and children, which is why you wait until marriage."

S029, a 20 year old female states: "He would be on top, after he initiated foreplay. He would take off my clothes and spread my legs and put it in and push until he had sperm come out. It would be at night and in bed."

S031, an 18 year old female states: "The man makes the first move, kissing and holding the woman. Then he carries her to the bed. He gets on top of her, spreading her legs, and putting his penis in her vagina. Normal intercourse is between married people and is something he does to her in the privacy of their bedroom, and usually at night. Sex outside of marriage is sin and not normal. God made sex only for marriage. My first time will be with my future husband, and not before marriage, and not with anyone else after that."

We suggest that the narratives of these virgin subjects not only indicates that they are aware of the basic norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse, but that they also indicate a highly sex stereotyped view of both males and females, emphasizing an aggressive male who "takes" or "does sex to the female," versus a passive female who "gives" or "lets him do sex to her."

Turning our attention now to the responses of non-virgin subjects, we find that about 70% of non-virgins reported that the male was the initiator at the time of the subject's first experience of sexual intercourse, with the female being the initiator about 14% of the time, and the initiative being mutual about 16% of the time. The man on top position was used in about 95% of the cases, frequently even when the

male was a virgin and the female was not. It took place indoors for about 70% of the non-virgin subjects, and at night about 75% of the time. There was no sex differences concerning position used, where or when it took place. However, an analyses of co-variance corrected for sexual experience showed that male and female non-virgins were statistically different concerning who took the initiative $F = 3.99$, $p = 0.0472$ on 1 and 193 degrees of freedom.

The breakdown by sex of responses to this question is shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Comparison of Non-Virgins by Sex
Concerning Who Took the Initiative

| Response | % Males | % Females |
|------------|------------|--------------|
| The male | 55.7 | 79.6 |
| The female | 27.1 | 05.1 |
| Both | 17.1 | 15.3 |

$\chi^2 = 17.314$ with 2 degrees
of freedom, $p = 0.0002$

Unlike questions 2, 3, and 4,--position used, where and when it occurred--this question may have elicited more subjective responses. Moreover, it would appear that while females generally equate "taking the initiative" with behavior directly related to the sex act itself, i.e., foreplay, oral-genital stimulation, or penis insertion, males sometimes suggested that the initiative was taken by the female on the basis of her willingness to have intercourse. Some subjects were unsure.

S113, a 19 year old male states: "The first time I ever had sex it was done in a bed. The initiative was taken, I must say, by my partner (woman) since I was a little too shy and embarrassed to force myself on her."

S172, a 21 year old male states: "She took the initiative. I met her at a bar while I was playing a country-western gig. We exchanged phone numbers that night and...I figured what the heck...the following night we went to a movie...I took the initiative that night and the position used was the standard man on top."

S192, a 29 year old male states: "The first time we used the missionary position. The initiative: mutual(?)."

S193, a 19 year old male states: "I guess I took the initiative, but it was only because she was so willing, so maybe she did."

S199, a 23 year old female states: "My first attempt to have sexual intercourse was unsuccessful. My impressions were--this is physically impossible. This, however, was not final. I don't give up easily. This took place on the living room floor, missionary position, at night and the male took the initiative. (If #1 counts). The second try was more successful. This took place on the basement floor of my parents' house, at night, with the missionary position, and the male again taking the initiative. If taking the initiative includes putting myself in the basement that night, then the initiative was shared."

It would appear, then, that there was some degree of ambivalence on the part of some subjects concerning just what "taking the initiative" meant. While many subjects of both sexes indicated very clearly who took the initiative, in other cases the perception seemed unclear. As has already been stated, it would appear that, for some males the initiative was grounded in the female's social behavior prior to intimacy.

The power and pervasiveness of the cultural norms which attach themselves to sexual intimacy seems to be impressive in that nearly 60% of all subjects partners were not virgins on the occasion of their first experience of sexual intercourse. One might intuitively expect that this would lead to a great deal more variance concerning the behaviors engaged in at the time of first intercourse. Yet, as has been noted, the male was still the initiator about 70% of the time, and the use of the man on top "missionary" position was nearly universal.

Some 70% reported their first experience occurred indoors, and some 75% reported it occurred at night. At least some of this variance seems accountable in terms of the seeking of situations where the couple could avoid parental supervision (as in the use of cars) or a lack of any place to go other than the parents' home (as in the use of various outdoor locations). It does not seem to represent an inno-

vative attempt at norm violation.

The actual narrative responses made by non-virgins in Section One of the questionnaire also lend additional support to many of the hypotheses of the present study. As was the case for virgins, they not only indicate that subjects were aware of the basic norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse at the time of their first experience, but frequently indicate a highly sex stereotyped view of both males and females.

S046, a 22 year old male states: "The first time I experienced sexual intercourse I was in my car with my girlfriend. It was a '66 Galaxy. I was on top, and she laid back on the seat. I took the initiative and met with very little resistance. Like 'I never did this before,' I said. 'I know that,' she said, 'neither have I.' We did it, we loved it, and it became an everyday thing."

S047, a 25 year old female states: "It took place while visiting friends of the family. Another guest was upstairs in an unheated attic, he was about 30 years old, I was 20 or 21. I couldn't sleep (wanting to attack the man sexually) so I proceeded upstairs and asked him to make love to me. I was on the bottom."

S051, a 19 year old female states: "It was at night. He took the initiative and just about raped me. But after a few minutes I got into it and loved it. It was at his parents' house, at night."

S052, a 19 year old female states: I was more or less forced into it. I had been seeing my boyfriend for about 8 months, but was not ready for sexual intercourse. I loved him, but when he forced himself on me I cried. I was scared. I had always been brought up to believe pre-marital sex was wrong. The subject was never really talked about openly in my house, but the feelings were known. It took place in the back seat of his car at night. He took the initiative and was on top."

S072, a 20 year old male states: "The first time I experienced sexual intercourse was at night in my bedroom after going out drinking at a bar. We had intercourse as she laid beneath me and I was on top. It was an enjoyable experience."

S073, a 21 year old female states: "The first time I was about 17. It took place indoors on a bed during the day. It was a mutually decided decision. The position used was myself on the bottom and my boyfriend on top."

S079, a 29 year old male states: "The first time was when I went to Puerto Rico with some friends. I went to a prostitute. It took place in her room at night in a bed. I took the initiative and I was on top. It was a very interesting but somewhat cold experience. I was glad to get rid of my virginity."

S082, a 25 year old male states: "When I was 15 years old I had sexual intercourse on the grass in the woods next to a tennis court. The girl was very passive. I did all the work. I did experience orgasm, I doubt that she did. I was on top. It was late afternoon-early evening."

S092, an 18 year old female states: I was invited to a college fraternity pledge formal. It was a weekend away at a really nice hotel. There was a dressy dance Friday night and a formal dance on Saturday. Early Saturday morning I had my first intercourse. I was really scared. It took place in a bed with my partner on top. He took the initiative."

S093, a 19 year old female states: "The first time I experienced it was about six months after I had been going out with this guy. It took place in his sister's apartment, she was away for the week. It was the first time for both of us and we were both nervous. He took the initiative and we soon ended up in his sister's bedroom. It was on a Saturday night and my position was on the bottom and his was on top."

S095, a 20 year old male states: "The first time was one of the most memorable experiences of my life. It was during the summer on a hot night. I was visiting a friend's sister. We were outside swimming and decided to take off our clothes while swimming. It was the first time I had ever gone skinny dipping with a girl and I became very aroused. We started fooling around,

chasing each other around the pool. I'd say that we both took the initiative. We were sitting on the pool steps and before I knew it we were having sex. It was somewhat uncomfortable until we got in a rubber boat in the middle of the pool. We used the standard missionary position."

S097, a 21 year old male states: "I took the initiative, she was under me. It was in a church pew, during the afternoon. Everyone else was outside at the picnic where we were at first."

S104, a 19 year old female states: "My age was 18, and the experience was traumatic--in a car. Man enters woman's body! All I remember is him spreading my legs, pushing it in and his nose was running and dripped down on me. Of course, he was on top!"

S106, a 19 year old male states: "I was 17. A few of my friends and I went camping on the Cape. We went to a bar where I met this girl who asked me to come to her house. I certainly didn't refuse, so we went there. The house was small, but the bed was amazing. It was a king size brass bed. Once we were on the bed I felt like a million dollars. It was at night, she was 19, and I was on top."

S107, a 19 year old female states: "The first time we used the standard guy on top position. I didn't know there was anything else. He took the initiative, but I went along, so it was mutual. It was outside, at night, in a car."

S111, a 21 year old female states: I was 17 and my boyfriend was 21 and had experience. It occurred at night in one of our houses. He certainly took the initiative. His legs pushed mine open and I laid under him as he did it."

S124, a 24 year old male states: "The first time took place when I was 17. The girl was 24 years old and she very much took the initiative, being much more experienced than me and being crazy about sex. She was on the pill so there was no worry. It took place on a warm spring night in a wooded area in northwestern Connecticut. It happened basically on a blanket. I was very nervous the first time. After the first time my nervousness was gone and it was more enjoyable. We used the normal missionary position."

S125, a 19 year old female states: "The first time I had intercourse was in an outdoor setting surrounded by pine trees and a running brook. It was about 12:30 at night, with an older man who I later found out was married and had two kids. He took the initiative by taking me there. He then started to undress me, slowly and passionately. Being a virgin I was scared shitless when all of a sudden this monster was on top of me and pushing me harder and harder."

S126, a 23 year old female states: "I had graduated from high school but my boyfriend was still a senior there. We had sex at a lake in the back of a Vega. With the back seat let down it's really quite roomy. I really don't know who took the initiative--you could say it was 50-50. It was pretty late at night. We used the missionary position. It really happened too fast. He was also a virgin and neither of us knew exactly what to expect. Before we knew it, it was over."

S127, a 19 year old female states: "We went to Vermont for a weekend and stayed in a motel. We had planned to have intercourse. It happened at night and in a bed. Naturally, for my first experience, I was very passive, letting him do all of the work (also because I really was afraid and not sure what else to do). I just went along with him. He took the initiative. I was beneath him and he was on top of me."

S129, a 21 year old female states: "The first time was the night of my prom. The position used woman on bottom, man on top. It took place at the beach, at night. I was very, very nervous and scared. Now I feel I have nothing to worry about, everything just comes naturally, and sometimes I take the initiative."

S130, a 34 year old female states: "The first experience was in the front seat of my boyfriend's car. We were sitting up and I was on his lap. It was some time ago and I am not sure who took the initiative, but, I do remember looking for someone to go to bed with so that I wouldn't have to be a virgin anymore. It was at night."

S133, a 22 year old male states: "It was on a camping trip. Two girls walked up and wanted us to buy some beer because they were both only 16. We bought the beer and all got drunk. One of the girls got very horny and started kissing me. We walked out into the

field to be alone. She said she wanted to fuck me. It was about sunset. She got on her back and I got on top of her and we got it on."

S138, a 19 year old female states: "I was young (15) and he was beautiful. It was mutual. He was on top. It was at night at his folk's house. They were out for the night. He was so far out and had a beautiful body and a great head. We were both stoned. I loved it."

S143, a 19 year old male states: "The first time occurred indoors on a bed. I am male and so assumed the initiative and got on top of the girl. The girl was also a virgin. It took place in the late afternoon. I enjoy my sexual activity now much more than I did the first time, probably due to both participant's inexperience."

S146, a 20 year old female states: "My first experience was very frightening for me. I wasn't sure exactly what was supposed to happen. My boyfriend was the first to take the initiative--actually I was forced into the situation. It took place in his bedroom at night during the summer at a party. He was on top. I tried to fight him off me, but it didn't work."

S152, a 19 year old male states: "The first time took place in bed on New Year's day in mid-afternoon. The girl I was with was experienced. She took the initiative. I was on top."

S159, a 26 year old female states: "I was 16 years old. The first time was in a car, at night, with a friend I had been dating for a while. He was definitely the aggressor, as I didn't really know what to do. He was on top of me in the back seat of his car. The irritating thing was that he didn't believe I was a virgin."

S162, a 20 year old female states: I was dating my boyfriend for about 1 1/2 years when we first decided that we were ready to do it. We had been very close to each other before that but never actually had intercourse. We decided that it was okay as we were seriously considering marriage. My boyfriend waited for me to get on the birth control pill. We went to a motel in the evening. My first time was far from what I expected but I enjoyed it very much when he first came in me. He was virgin himself and he didn't know what to do. I knew more than he did and had to explain to

him what to do. The only thing he knew was that he had to be on the top. He was very surprised when I got on the top at the end."

S179, a 22 year old female states: "First experience was in the afternoon. He took the initiative. Heavy petting had occurred many times before. Position was him on top, in bed. Neither of us knew much of what we were actually doing. Both of us were nervous. He more so than me and so he couldn't perform almost at all. No contraceptive was used. He seemed ashamed and almost disgusted. I might have felt much better about it if he weren't so uptight."

S189, a 19 year old female states: "My first time was at the age of 16. I was very reluctant to have sex because of my moral upbringing; thus it took a lot of patience and convincing from my partner. Nevertheless, I enjoyed the experience, and lost the guilt feelings I had at first eventually. Since my boyfriend had sexual experience previously, he took the initiative and did all the 'directing.' I remained on the bottom throughout it until he told me it was alright for me to get on top. Otherwise I would not have done it, for I was afraid it wasn't the right thing for me to do (I knew very little about sex prior to my first time). This all took place in bed during the day at my boyfriend's parents' apartment.

We suggest that what emerges from these narratives is that the norms of the male being the aggressive and instrumental partner, and especially the norm of the man on top "missionary" position were known by the individuals prior to their first experience and generally served as the framework of shared social knowledge which allowed both social actors to have some mutual starting ground in cases where both were virgins. Further, even with the acquisition of some experience--experience grounded in and thus defined by these norms --many subjects expressed surprise at the notion that there

were other positions or that the initiative need not be exclusively male.

Operating on the "rough outline" provided by these norms, it also seems apparent from the narratives that males (who, according to the "common sense" hypothesis, instinctively know what to do) were frequently as ambivalent, anxious, and unsure of themselves in their first experience as were female subjects.

Lastly, we suggest that some insight into the power of social norms can be gleaned from several of the narrative accounts in which the man on top "missionary" position was used, not because no other was known (or suspected) to exist, but because the individual, with this knowledge or suspicion, feared the behavior might be viewed by the other participant as inappropriate. Also, even in the case of a male's first experience occurring with an experienced, sometimes apparently very experienced female, the position used was almost invariably the man on top "missionary" position.

None of the other demographic variables made a statistically significant contribution to the variance. It is likely that this is largely due to the homogeneity of the sample on most these variables. It seems reasonable to expect that some of these, e.g., education or SES, might show significant differences if one were making between group comparisons. Concerning our present sample, however, an

analyses of covariance of age, occupation, education, relational status, race and SES, correcting for sexual experience, showed no significant effects. These data are presented in Table 11.

Table 11

MNOVA for Age, Occupation, Education, Marital Status, Race, and SES, Correcting for Sexual Inference of Initiative, Position Used, Where, and When

| Question | Age | Occupation | Education | Marital Status | Race | SES |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Who usually does/ and take initiative | F = 3.037, p = 0.0845 | F = 0.75, p = 0.3770 | F = 0.05, p = 0.8199 | F = 1.224, p = 0.2714 | F = 0.011, p = 0.9176 | F = 0.001, p = 0.9609 |
| 2. Position usually/ actually used | F = 2.17, p = 0.1421 | F = 0.30, p = 0.5830 | F = 0.44, p = 0.5080 | F = 0.03, p = 0.8293 | F = 0.03, p = 0.7529 | F = 1.04, p = 0.3112 |
| 3. Where it usually/ actually occurred | F = 0.25, p = 0.6178 | F = 0.71, p = 0.4006 | F = 1.74, p = 0.1852 | F = 0.977, p = 0.3271 | F = 0.07, p = 0.7833 | F = 1.14, p = 0.2873 |
| 4. When it usually/ actually occurred | F = 2.17, p = 0.1421 | F = 0.15, p = 0.6968 | F = 1.05, p = 0.3065 | F = 1.03, p = 0.3133 | F = 0.03, p = 0.8523 | F = 1.07, p = 0.3030 |

(on 1 and 193 degrees of freedom for each)

Findings concerning H_{2a} and H_{2b}. We shall first restate these hypotheses:

H_{2a} That prior to experience, individuals typically will not have been the recipient of explicit "how to do it" information. Specifically, it is hypothesized that the majority of individuals will not have received explicit "how to do it" information from any source.

H_{2b} Of those individuals who did receive explicit "how to do it" information prior to experience:

(1) The largest single source will be same-age sex peers;

(2) Most will not have received this information from their parents;

(3) Of those who did receive explicit information from parents, the majority will be male, and the information will, regardless of the sex of the individual, have been provided by the same sex parent.

As can be seen from Table 12, H_{2a} was strongly supported by the data.

Table 12
Receipt of Explicit Information

| | % All Subjects | % Virgins | % Non-Virgins |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Received information | 29.1 | 22.9 | 30.4 |
| No information | 70.9 | 77.1 | 69.6 |

There was no statistically significant difference between virgins and non-virgins concerning the receipt of explicit information ($\chi^2 = 0.4684$ with 1 degree of freedom, $p = 0.4937$).

There was no significant difference between subjects accountable for by sex, age, occupation, education, relational status, race or SES. These data are presented in Table 13.

Table 13

Effects of Sex, Age, Religion, Occupation,
Education, Relational Status, Race and SES
on Receipt of Explicit Information

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Sex | $\chi^2 = 0.3820$, with 1 degree of freedom, $p = 0.5365$ |
| Age | $\chi^2 = 1.9097$, with 19 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.3859$ |
| Religion | $\chi^2 = 2.2089$, with 4 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.6976$ |
| Occupation | $\chi^2 = 1.5086$, with 5 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.9121$ |
| Education | $\chi^2 = 7.3105$, with 4 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.1204$ |
| Relational Status | $\chi^2 = 5.8932$, with 6 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.4353$ |
| Race | $\chi^2 = 4.4445$, with 4 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.3492$ |
| SES | $\chi^2 = 10.1333$, with 6 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.1191$ |

Concerning those who did receive explicit "how to do it" information, a breakdown of these subject's sources is presented in Table 14.

Table 14
Sources of Explicit Information (All Subjects)

| Source | Percentage |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Mother | 03.0 |
| Father | 02.5 |
| Brother | 01.0 |
| Sister | 03.0 |
| Same sex age peer | 15.8 |
| Other sex age peer | 05.4 |
| Same sex adult friend | 02.0 |
| Other sex adult friend | 01.0 |
| Same sex relative | 01.5 |
| Other sex relative | 03.0 |
| Another person not listed above | 01.0 |
| Sex education course | 05.9 |
| "Sex manual", self obtained | 03.4 |
| "Sex manual", given by someone else | 03.9 |
| Another source not listed above | 03.9 |

(Percentages are not cumulative, some subjects listed more than one source.)

These data support H_{2b} (1), showing that same sex age peers were indeed the largest single source of subjects' explicit information. It is interesting to note that even other sex age peers were a more frequent source than was either parent. These data also support H_{2b} (2) showing that most subjects did not receive explicit information from parents. H_{2b} (3), which stated that of those who did receive explicit information from parents, the majority would be male, and the information would, regardless of the sex of the individual, have been provided by the same sex parent was not confirmed. All subjects who received explicit information from their mother were female, while fathers were a source of explicit information to both male and female subjects. Responses to "another person not listed above" included stepfather, teacher, and stranger. Responses to "another source not listed above" included books, magazines, movies, parent's "stag" films, photographs found while baby sitting, and actually witnessing sexual intercourse.

Concerning the specific person or source from which subjects obtained explicit information, there were no statistically significant differences between virgins and non-virgins. These data are presented in Table 15.

Table 15

Comparison of Virgins versus Non-Virgins
Sources of Explicit Information

| Source | % Virgins | % Non-Virgins | % Significance |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Mother | 02.9 | 03.0 | $\chi^2=0.2608, p=0.6096$ |
| Father | 02.9 | 02.4 | $\chi^2=0.1884, p=0.6643$ |
| Brother | 00.0 | 01.2 | $\chi^2=0.0852, p=0.7704$ |
| Sister | 00.0 | 03.6 | $\chi^2=0.3438, p=0.5576$ |
| Same sex age peer | 08.6 | 17.3 | $\chi^2=0.1058, p=0.3037$ |
| Other sex age peer | 08.6 | 04.8 | $\chi^2=0.2453, p=0.6204$ |
| Same sex adult friend | 02.9 | 01.8 | $\chi^2=0.0643, p=0.7998$ |
| Other sex age peer | 00.0 | 01.2 | $\chi^2=0.0852, p=0.7704$ |
| Same sex relative | 00.0 | 01.8 | $\chi^2=0.0007, p=0.9788$ |
| Other sex relative | 02.9 | 03.0 | $\chi^2=0.2608, p=0.6095$ |
| Another person not listed above | 00.0 | 01.2 | $\chi^2=0.0852, p=0.7704$ |
| Sex education course | 05.7 | 06.0 | $\chi^2=0.1153, p=0.7342$ |
| "Sex manual," self obtained | 05.7 | 03.0 | $\chi^2=0.0891, p=0.7653$ |
| "Sex manual," given by someone else | 05.7 | 03.6 | $\chi^2=0.0131, p=0.9082$ |
| Another source not listed above | 00.0 | 04.8 | $\chi^2=0.7051, p=0.4011$ |

(with 1 degree of freedom for each)

(Percentages are not cumulative; some subjects listed more than one source.)

Concerning the specific person or source from which subjects obtained explicit information, an analyses of covariance correcting for sexual experience showed there were no statistically significant differences between males and females except for information from mother. These data are presented in Table 16.

Table 16
Comparison of Males and Females on Sources
of Explicit Information

| Source | Significance |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| Mother | F=5.00, p=0.0267 |
| Father | F=0.00, p=0.9889 |
| Brother | F=0.08, p=0.7825 |
| Sister | F=1.45, p=0.2299 |
| Same sex age peer | F=2.74, p=0.0997 |
| Other sex age peer | F=0.13, p=0.7212 |
| Same sex adult friend | F=0.16, p=0.6939 |
| Other sex adult friend | F=0.08, p=0.7809 |
| Same sex relative | F=0.86, p=0.3563 |
| Other sex relative | F=1.82, p=0.1795 |
| Another person not listed above | F=1.39, p=0.2406 |
| Sex education course | F=1.78, p=0.1843 |
| "Sex manual", self obtained | F=0.12, p=0.7271 |
| "Sex manual", given by someone else | F=0.32, p=0.5734 |
| Another source not listed above | F=0.03, p=0.8704 |

(on 1 and 195 degrees of freedom for each)

The same analysis of co-variance for each person or source from whom subjects received explicit information also found that age, occupation, education, relational status, race, and SES did not make a statistically significant contribution to the variance. We suggest this is not surprising, since each of these variables is relatively homogeneous in our sample, indeed, occupation and education are virtually identical for each subject since our sample consists of an undergraduate population. Additionally, we note that less than a third of all subjects reported receiving explicit information from any person or source, which frequently resulted in an insufficient n per cell to insure statistical reliability, as such low n 's a priori violated various assumptions (e.g., appropriate n per cell, normal distribution, homogeneity of variance, etc.) of the statistical procedures employed. A more reliable assessment of the distribution of persons and sources of explicit information for those who do receive such information would require a much larger sample. We suggest that an elaboration of the ANCOVA results for each person or source would be redundant and uninformative. However, since a reasonably large number of subjects did report the receipt of explicit information from same sex age peers, these data are presented in Table 17.

These data are typical of those for other sources, and we note again that none of the demographic variables in

question made a statistically significant contribution to the variance in any case.

Table 17

ANCOVA for Age, Occupation, Education, Relational Status, Race, and SES on Information from Same Sex Age Peer (Correcting for Sexual Experience)

| Variable | Significance |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| Age | F=0.13, $p=0.7212$ |
| Occupation | F=0.16, $p=0.6939$ |
| Education | F=0.00, $p=0.9808$ |
| Relational Status | F=2.62, $p=0.5502$ |
| Race | F=0.07, $p=0.7900$ |
| SES | F=1.92, $p=0.1675$ |

(on 1 and 196 degrees of freedom for each)

We have suggested that at the onset of puberty the typical individual must cognitively synthesize the implicit information available in the social world in order to arrive at an adequate conceptualization of what sexual intercourse means and how the act is performed. We expected that while the majority of subjects would not have received explicit information from any source, those who did receive such information would generally receive it at, or shortly after, the onset of puberty, rather than in later adolescence.

Table 18 presents the mean age at which subjects received explicit information from the various persons or sources. These data also generally appear to support our hypotheses.

Table 18
Mean Age at Which Subjects received Explicit
Information from each source

| Source | Age |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| Mother | 11.6 |
| Father | 10.8 |
| Brother | 13.5 |
| Sister | 13.0 |
| Same sex age peer | 11.5 |
| Other sex age peer | 15.2 |
| Same sex adult friend | 12.3 |
| Other sex adult friend | 13.0 |
| Same sex relative | 14.0 |
| Other sex relative | 17.0 |
| Another person not listed above | 11.0 |
| Sex education course | 17.3 |
| "Sex manual", self obtained | 14.3 |
| "Sex manual", given by someone else | 13.0 |
| Another source not listed above | 12.9 |

We now turn to the narrative descriptions written by subjects concerning the actual content of the information they received from various sources. We suggest these support our general theoretical model. While some subjects did receive detailed and accurate explicit information, frequently the information (or misinformation) was more implicit than explicit. It also becomes apparent that the information is frequently grounded in highly sex stereotyped role "formulas," i.e., what the information conveyed seemed dependent on the gender of the recipient, providing males with information on how to be the instrumental actor, and instructing females to be passive, receptive, and concerned with the male's sexual gratification.

S003, a 22 year old female states: "She told me how the guy takes off your bra and how he touched sensitive areas and plays with the nipples of your breast." [From same sex age peer at age 13.]

S009, an 18 year old female states: "She had had intercourse and explained just what had happened to her." [From same sex age peer at age 17.]

S037, a 19 year old female states: "She told me about her sexual experience, somewhat vaguely, but from which I gathered how it was done and how she felt. It sounded uncomfortable and was very embarrassing to me at the time." [From sister at age 14.]

S052, a 19 year old female states: "He told me that there was an egg in the female and that it was fertilized by the male sperm. He used the comparison of a flower and a bee (a typical science teacher). I was never really told that the male inserted the penis or anything having to do with the physical aspect of intercourse." [From father at age 12.]

S059, a 22 year old female states: "I saw films about sex and reproduction in school. They were from a very biological viewpoint." [At age 15.]

S086, a 23 year old female states: "A friend in the neighborhood told me that a woman lays down and a man puts his penis 'in her' and he does all the work and all she had to do was lay there." [From other sex age peer at age 10.]

S103, a 20 year old male states: "He told me that if you stick your penis in a girl's clitoris that she will get pregnant if you don't get it out in time. He told me this was how I was born. He found out from his older brother." [From same sex age peer at age 12.]

S119, a 22 year old female states: "He told me what it was like and also told me if I ever had pre-marital sex he would kill me." [From father at age 13.]

S140, a 21 year old male states: "He told me basically to get the girl in the mood; then attack. As the old saying goes, 'If a girl offers her honor, honor her offer, and that's how it will be all night. On her, off her, on her, off her, etc.'" [From same sex age peer, age 13.]

S154, a 39 year old male states: "I was about 13 at the time. I fell madly in love with a woman whose name I don't recall now. I didn't know anything about sex. She introduced me to oral sex and just about everything else I know today. I thank her today for all she taught me."

S155, a 23 year old male states: "I wanted more information on how to do it and especially how to get a girl to let you. It wasn't much help, mostly anatomy and biology." [From sex manual, at age 11.]

S157, a 21 year old female states: "Lie on your back, don't move around too much--don't talk--don't breathe--don't touch. Sexual intercourse is for him. It's his release, not yours. Don't let him think you're taking it away from him." [From same sex age peer at age 15.]

S185, a 19 year old female states: "She said to just lie down and follow what your partner does. Relax, and he'll love it." [From sister at age 15.]

S188, a 20 year old female states: "My cousin Debbie was having intercourse with her boyfriend and I heard her use the word fuck often. I also heard my parents use it and couldn't figure out what it meant. It wasn't in the dictionary, and I sensed some type of taboo which went along with the word. I asked her what fuck meant and she told me that when two horses (???) are in love the male horse puts his organ into the females vagina. She then told me that humans do the same thing." [From same sex relative at age 8].

S194, a 23 year old male states: "I found my father's stag films and used to watch them when everyone was out of the house. Many of the films were from Denmark and were very explicit with closeups of ongoing sexual activity. I was very fascinatd because I had been trying to figure out just what was what for a long time." [At age 14.]

The statements made by the following subjects seem to offer particular support for our suggestion that the typical individual, in lieu of the receipt of explicit "how to do it" information, engages in a process of cognitive synthesis of implicit information at the onset of puberty.

S039, a 27 year old male states: He told me the basics. I didn't believe him and refused to believe my parents would engage in an activity of this nature. I called him a liar." [Same sex age peer at age 10.]⁶

S056, a 21 year old male states: "We were finding out all the time, not exactly explicit information--bits and pieces from pictures and indirect conversation. Gradually, I put it all together." [From same sex age peers at age 11-12.]

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6. This corresponds closely to an experience in the investigators own autobiography. When the investigator was about 13, he and another same sex age peer told an 11 year old boy "the facts of life." The boy thought about it for a few minutes and finally said: "Well, maybe my father would do that, but my mother wouldn't!"

S124, a 24 year old male states: "He told me one night while my parents were out. We were working in the garage that night. When he first explained it, it sounded really odd." [From brother at age 14.]

S133, a 22 year old male states: "He said that when a guy gets a hard-on he puts it in the girl's cunt and "pumps" her. It didn't seem like much fun. It seemed perverted and stupid." [From same sex age peer at age 12.]

S162, a 20 year old female states: "Before 9 or 10 years of age I never knew anything about sex. Then I started to hear words like 'fuck.' I found out what was going on from my girlfriends, but not exactly, because nobody else actually knew anything much. I thought it was something dirty and was done only when necessary (in order to have children)." [From same sex age peers at age 9 or 10.]

S182, a 20 year old male states: "My friends informed me that the guy would get on top of the girl and shove his 'cock' in her 'cunt.' These conversations were not direct, but rather took the form of jokes which eventually I put together to make sense of it all." [From same sex age peers at age 11.]

S199, a 23 year old female, relates the following conversation which occurred with a same sex age peer at age twelve: "Friend: 'Do you know what fuck means?' 'No.' Friend: 'it's when a boy puts his thing in a girl.' 'What?' Friend: 'Yeah, you didn't know?' 'Why does he do that?' Friend: 'I don't know.'"

S203, a 21 year old female states: "My stepfather provided me with good, explicit, and detailed information at age fourteen. Prior to that, I thought I had had intercourse when a boy made an obscene gesture at me."

Perhaps the strongest support for our suggestion that, the typical individual, in lieu of the receipt of explicit "how to do it" information, engages in a process of cognitive synthesis of implicit information, comes from subjects who reported they had not received any specific explicit

information, but attempted to explain how they came to know about sexual intercourse. Many subjects did this, and the statements made by the following three are typical of the explanations offered in their statements.

S081, a 24 year old female states: "I was never told anything explicitly, but by the age of 13 I had figured out that 'it' was the way you had babies, and that my (future) husband would know just how to do 'it.' By the age of 15, I had figured out that fuck, screw, and sexual intercourse were one and the same. I also figured out that as a girl my part was to let the boy do it, and that he would know just how to. All of these things were figured out from everything around me, what other girls and boys said indirectly, movies, TV, songs, magazines, etc."

S115, a 21 year old male states: "I knew before I was 13, but I really don't know exactly how or that I really understood it well. I learned it just from keeping my ears open, I guess. I kept trying to figure it out. I couldn't ask my parents. Sex was never discussed and somehow I 'knew' they wouldn't approve of discussing it. I had to act like I 'knew' to peers, all the while listening carefully to what they 'knew.' I tried the dictionary, but that was no help. Gradually, by the age of 14 or 15 I had 'put most of the pieces together.' When I had my first experience at 17, it just seemed to come naturally. I still didn't know all of the 'fine details' before my first experience, but I knew more than she did (she was also a virgin) and was able to 'take charge' of the situation relatively well."

S177, a 22 year old male states: "By the time I was 11 or 12 I just knew. No one ever told me explicitly, but friends made hints. Although I don't think they really knew much either. We used each other as sounding boards. It was never discussed at home."

We suggest, then, that not only does the data support our general hypotheses concerning the lack of receipt of explicit information by the typical individual in American

culture, but that the narratives also provide support for existence of the kind of cognitive synthesis we suggest takes place at the onset of puberty.

Findings concerning H₃. We shall first restate this hypothesis:

Individuals, who endorse as appropriate the traditional norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse in American culture, especially the norms concerning the male as the initiator and the use of the man on top "missionary" position, will also endorse traditional norms concerning the hierarchical power relationship of male superior to female within the dyad. Put otherwise, it is expected that there will be a positive correlation between endorsement of traditional norms attaching themselves to sexual intercourse and traditional norms granting superior status to the male within the dyad. The overall response to each statement for all subjects are presented in Table 19.

Table 19

Percentage Breakdown of Responses of All Subjects
on Section Three of the Questionnaire

| Statements | Percentages | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 1. If a woman does a job as well as a man she should receive equal pay for it. | 85.7 | 11.8 | 02.4 | 00.0 | 00.0 |
| 2. Except when economically necessary, a woman belongs in the home. | 03.0 | 06.4 | 09.9 | 26.6 | 54.2 |
| 3. As children, boys are <u>by nature</u> more aggressive than girls. | 13.8 | 23.6 | 18.7 | 23.6 | 20.2 |
| 4. A woman who has never experienced giving birth in her adult life is not truly a woman in the fullest sense of the word. | 05.9 | 05.9 | 07.9 | 30.0 | 50.2 |
| 5. When a married woman works the stability of the family is threatened. | 04.4 | 05.4 | 16.3 | 34.0 | 39.9 |
| 6. As children, girls are <u>by nature</u> more passive than boys. | 11.8 | 20.7 | 14.3 | 29.6 | 23.6 |
| 7. A man who has never fathered a child in his adult life is not truly a man in the fullest sense of the word. | 01.0 | 01.0 | 04.9 | 29.1 | 64.0 |

Table 19, continued

Percentage Breakdown of Responses of All Subjects
on Section Three of the Questionnaire

| Statements | Percentages | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 8. As adults, men are <u>by nature</u> more aggressive and independent than women. | 11.3 | 16.3 | 08.4 | 35.5 | 28.6 |
| 9. As adults, women are <u>by nature</u> more passive and dependent than men. | 10.3 | 15.8 | 09.4 | 36.9 | 27.6 |
| 10. Marriage is a partnership between equals. | 54.2 | 29.1 | 06.9 | 06.4 | 03.4 |
| 11. A wife should not object to changing residence if this will advance her husband's career. | 12.3 | 28.1 | 29.1 | 23.2 | 07.3 |
| 12. In the event of a disagreement, the husband should have the final say within a marriage. | 05.9 | 06.4 | 09.9 | 32.0 | 45.8 |
| 13. A husband should not object to changing residence if this will advance his wife's career. | 05.4 | 22.7 | 36.9 | 26.6 | 08.4 |
| 14. In the event of a disagreement, the wife should have the final say within a marriage. | 00.0 | 01.0 | 09.9 | 40.4 | 48.8 |

Table 19, continued
 Percentage Breakdown of Responses of All Subjects
 on Section Three of the Questionnaire

| Statements | Percentages | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 15. A husband should not "go out socially" in mixed company without his wife. | 02.0 | 08.9 | 12.3 | 50.2 | 26.6 |
| 16. A wife should not "go out socially" in mixed company without her husband. | 03.4 | 11.3 | 12.3 | 48.8 | 24.1 |
| 17. Men have higher sex drives than do women. | 10.8 | 14.3 | 13.3 | 35.5 | 26.1 |
| 18. In sexual intimacy, the man is <u>by nature</u> the initiator. | 12.8 | 16.7 | 10.3 | 36.0 | 24.1 |
| 19. A woman should put her husband's sexual gratification above her own needs. | 04.9 | 03.0 | 09.9 | 39.4 | 42.9 |
| 20. During sexual intercourse, the most natural position is the man on top or "missionary" position. | 12.3 | 29.1 | 14.8 | 29.6 | 14.3 |
| 21. A man is not masculine if he prefers intercourse in the woman on top position. | 05.9 | 03.0 | 03.9 | 37.4 | 49.8 |
| 22. A woman is not feminine if she takes the initiative during sexual intercourse. | 06.9 | 01.0 | 04.9 | 34.0 | 53.2 |

Table 19, continued

Percentage Breakdown of Responses of All Subjects
on Section Three of the Questionnaire

| Statements | Percentages | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 23. It is normal for a man to desire oral-genital contact with a woman during sexual intimacy | 21.2 | 45.3 | 23.6 | 04.4 | 05.4 |
| 24. It is normal for a woman to desire oral-genital contact with a man during sexual intimacy. | 19.2 | 45.8 | 22.7 | 05.9 | 06.4 |
| 25. A husband should have the right to demand that a wife have an abortion in the event of an unwanted pregnancy. | 03.0 | 02.5 | 10.3 | 31.5 | 52.7 |
| 26. A wife should have the right to obtain an abortion without consulting her husband in the event of an unwanted pregnancy. | 05.9 | 05.9 | 09.4 | 38.9 | 39.9 |
| 27. Masturbation is normal for a married man. | 11.8 | 35.5 | 33.0 | 13.3 | 06.4 |
| 28. Masturbation is normal for a married woman. | 10.3 | 35.0 | 33.0 | 12.3 | 09.4 |
| 29. A husband should have full knowledge of his wife's financial affairs. | 19.7 | 42.9 | 13.8 | 18.7 | 04.4 |

Table 19, continued

Percentage Breakdown of Responses of All Subjects
on Section Three of the Questionnaire

| Statements | Percentages | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 30. A wife should have full knowledge of her husband's financial affairs. | 16.7 | 40.9 | 16.7 | 19.7 | 05.9 |
| 31. It is more morally wrong for a woman to have pre-marital sexual intercourse than it is for a man. | 03.4 | 07.9 | 04.9 | 32.5 | 51.2 |
| 32. It is more morally wrong for a woman to have extra-marital sexual intercourse than it is for a man | 07.4 | 08.4 | 04.9 | 29.6 | 49.8 |
| 33. Contraceptives should be available for adolescent boys. | 32.5 | 56.7 | 06.4 | 02.5 | 02.0 |
| 34. Contraceptives should be available for adolescent girls. | 33.5 | 47.8 | 10.8 | 03.4 | 04.4 |
| 35. If I had a teenage son, I would worry if he did not have some experience with sexual intercourse during adolescence. | 09.9 | 39.9 | 12.9 | 26.6 | 10.8 |
| 36. If I had a teenage daughter, I would worry if she did not have some experience with sexual intercourse during adolescence. | 04.9 | 16.3 | 18.2 | 37.4 | 23.2 |

An analyses of covariance showed that there was no statistically significant contribution to the variance for these responses made by religion, occupation, education, relational status, race, or SES. Responses to some statements differed significantly by sex and by sexual experience. In no case, however, was there a significant interaction between sex and sexual experience. Tables 20 and 21 show those statements which elicited responses that were statistically significantly different by sex and by sexual experience.

Table 20

Statements Which Showed Statistically
Significant Differences by Sex

| Statement | Significance |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| If a woman does a job as well as a man she should receive equal pay for it. | $\chi^2 = 7.746$, d.f.=2, $p=0.0051$ |
| Except where economically necessary, a woman belongs in the home. | $\chi^2 = 10.933$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0266$ |
| In the event of a disagreement, the husband should have the final say within a marriage. | $\chi^2 = 18.498$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0010$ |
| A husband should have the right to demand that a wife have an abortion in the event of an unwanted pregnancy. | $\chi^2 = 34.026$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0001$ |

Table 21

Statements Which Showed Statistically
Significant Differences by Sexual Experience

| Statement | Significance |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Except where economically necessary, a woman belongs in the home. | $\chi^2 = 9.961$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0411$ |
| As children, boys are <u>by nature</u> more aggressive than girls. | $\chi^2=14.035$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0072$ |
| As children, girls are <u>by nature</u> more passive than boys. | $\chi^2=10.455$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0322$ |
| As adults, women are <u>by nature</u> more passive and dependent than men. | $\chi^2=11.159$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0248$ |
| Men have higher sex drive than women. | $\chi^2=11.503$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0215$ |
| In sexual intimacy, the man is <u>by nature</u> the initiator. | $\chi^2=21.78381$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0002$ |
| A woman should put her husband's sexual gratification above her own needs. | $\chi^2= 0.0312$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0028$ |
| During sexual intercourse, the most natural position is the man on top or "missionary" position. | $\chi^2=10.620$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0312$ |
| A man is not masculine if he prefers intercourse in the woman on top position. | $\chi^2=11.920$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0180$ |
| A woman is not feminine if she takes the initiative during sexual intercourse. | $\chi^2=25.415$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0001$ |
| It is normal for a man to desire oral-genital contact with a woman during sexual intercourse. | $\chi^2=14.552$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0057$ |
| It is normal for a woman to desire oral-genital contact with a man during sexual intercourse. | $\chi^2=13.022$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0112$ |

Table 21, continued

Statements Which Showed Statistically
Significant Differences by Sexual Experience

| Statement | Significance |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| It is more morally wrong for a woman to have pre-marital sexual intercourse. | $\chi^2=20.114$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0005$ |
| It is more morally wrong for a woman to have extra-marital intercourse than it is for a man. | $\chi^2= 9.9615$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0411$ |
| Contraceptives should be available for adolescent girls. | $\chi^2=25.501$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0001$ |
| If I had a teenage daughter, I would worry if she did not have some experience with sexual intercourse during adolescence. | $\chi^2=11.065$, d.f.=4, $p=0.0258$ |

Table 22 presents the percentage breakdowns for those statements which elicited statistically different responses among males and females.

Table 23 shows those statements which elicited responses which were statistically significantly different among virgins and non-virgins.

Table 22

Percentage Breakdown for Statements Eliciting
Statistically Significant Different Responses by Sex

| Statements | Sex | Percentages | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| If a woman does a job as well as a man she should receive equal pay for it. | M | 77.8 | 16.4 | 05.8 | 00.0 | 00.0 |
| | F | 91.0 | 09.0 | 03.1 | 00.0 | 00.0 |
| Except when economically necessary, a woman belongs in the home. | M | 03.7 | 11.1 | 13.6 | 29.6 | 42.0 |
| | F | 02.5 | 03.3 | 07.4 | 24.6 | 62.3 |
| In the event of a disagreement, the husband should have the final say within a marriage. | M | 08.6 | 11.1 | 12.3 | 39.5 | 28.4 |
| | F | 04.1 | 03.3 | 08.2 | 27.0 | 57.4 |
| A husband should have the right to demand that a wife have an abortion in the event of an unwanted pregnancy. | M | 06.2 | 04.9 | 18.5 | 40.7 | 29.6 |
| | F | 00.8 | 00.8 | 04.9 | 25.4 | 68.0 |

Table 23

Percentage Breakdown for Statements Eliciting
Statistically Significant Differences by Sexual Experience

| Statements | Sexual Experience | Percentages | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| Except when economically necessary, a woman belongs in the home. | V | 05.7 | 14.3 | 05.7 | 37.1 | 37.1 |
| | NV | 02.4 | 04.8 | 10.7 | 24.4 | 57.7 |
| As children, boys are <u>by nature</u> more aggressive than girls | V | 17.1 | 42.9 | 20.0 | 17.1 | 02.9 |
| | NV | 13.1 | 19.6 | 18.5 | 25.0 | 23.8 |
| As children, girls are <u>by nature</u> more passive than boys | V | 22.9 | 25.7 | 20.0 | 22.9 | 08.6 |
| | NV | 09.5 | 19.6 | 13.1 | 31.0 | 26.8 |
| As adults, women are <u>by nature</u> more passive and dependent than men. | V | 22.9 | 20.0 | 11.4 | 34.3 | 11.4 |
| | NV | 07.7 | 14.9 | 08.9 | 37.5 | 31.0 |
| Men have higher sex drives than do women. | V | 20.0 | 22.9 | 20.0 | 25.7 | 11.4 |
| | NV | 08.9 | 12.5 | 11.9 | 37.5 | 29.2 |
| In sexual intimacy, the man is <u>by nature</u> the initiator. | V | 25.7 | 28.6 | 20.0 | 20.0 | 05.7 |
| | NV | 10.1 | 14.3 | 08.3 | 39.3 | 28.0 |
| A woman should put her husband's sexual gratification above her own needs. | V | 11.4 | 02.9 | 22.9 | 42.9 | 20.0 |
| | NV | 03.6 | 03.0 | 07.1 | 38.7 | 47.6 |

Table 23, continued

Percentage Breakdown for Statements Eliciting
Statistically Significant Differences by Sexual Experience

| Statements | Sexual Experience | Percentages | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| During sexual intercourse the most natural position is the man on top or "missionary" position. | V | 20.0 | 40.0 | 20.0 | 17.1 | 02.9 |
| | NV | 10.7 | 26.8 | 13.7 | 32.1 | 16.7 |
| A man is not masculine if he prefers intercourse in the woman on top position. | V | 11.4 | 08.6 | 08.6 | 40.0 | 31.4 |
| | NV | 04.8 | 01.8 | 03.0 | 36.9 | 53.6 |
| A woman is not feminine if she takes the initiative during sexual intercourse. | V | 14.3 | 05.7 | 14.3 | 37.1 | 28.6 |
| | NV | 05.4 | 00.0 | 03.0 | 33.3 | 58.3 |
| It is normal for a man to desire oral-genital contact with a woman during sexual intercourse. | V | 08.6 | 31.4 | 42.9 | 05.7 | 11.4 |
| | NV | 23.8 | 48.2 | 19.6 | 04.2 | 04.2 |
| It is normal for a woman to desire oral-genital contact with a man during sexual intercourse. | V | 05.7 | 34.3 | 40.0 | 08.6 | 11.4 |
| | NV | 22.0 | 48.2 | 19.0 | 05.4 | 05.4 |
| It is more morally wrong for a woman to have pre-marital sexual intercourse than it is for a man. | V | 14.3 | 08.6 | 05.7 | 42.9 | 28.6 |
| | NV | 01.2 | 07.7 | 04.8 | 30.4 | 56.0 |

Table 23, continued

Percentage Breakdown for Statements Eliciting
Statistically Significant Differences by Sexual Experience

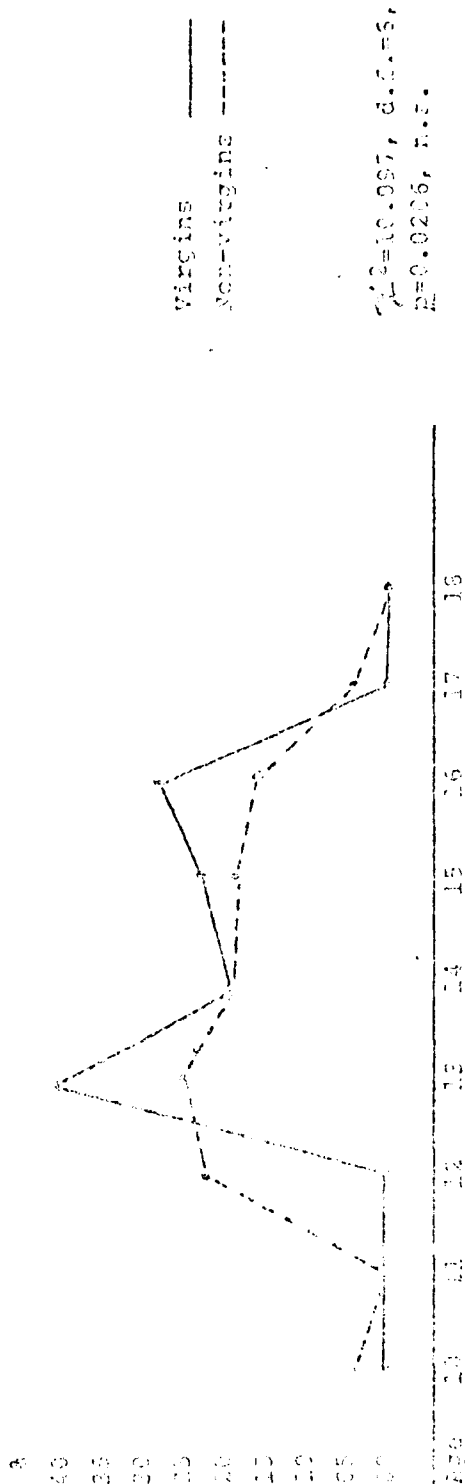
| Statements | Sexual Experience | Percentages | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|------|------|------|------|
| | | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| It is more morally wrong for a woman to have extra-marital sexual intercourse than it is for a man. | V | 17.1 | 11.4 | 08.6 | 31.4 | 31.4 |
| | NV | 05.4 | 07.7 | 04.2 | 29.2 | 53.6 |
| Contraceptives should be available for adolescent girls. | V | 05.9 | 45.7 | 20.0 | 05.7 | 17.1 |
| | NV | 38.1 | 48.2 | 08.9 | 03.0 | 01.8 |
| If I had a teenage daughter, I would worry if she did not have some experience with sexual intercourse during adolescence. | V | 02.9 | 00.0 | 14.3 | 51.4 | 31.4 |
| | NV | 05.4 | 19.6 | 19.0 | 34.5 | 21.4 |

A distinctly different pattern emerges concerning those statements which elicited statistically significant differing responses for males and females vis-a-vis those which elicited statistically significant differing responses for virgins and non-virgins. Those statements which elicited disagreement between males and females can be essentially characterized as related to status and role relationships within the dyad. Those statements which elicited disagreement between virgins and non-virgins are generally more closely related to presumed biological differences between males and females, the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse, and the differing moral judgments traditionally made concerning the sexual behavior of an individual on the basis of the individual's gender.

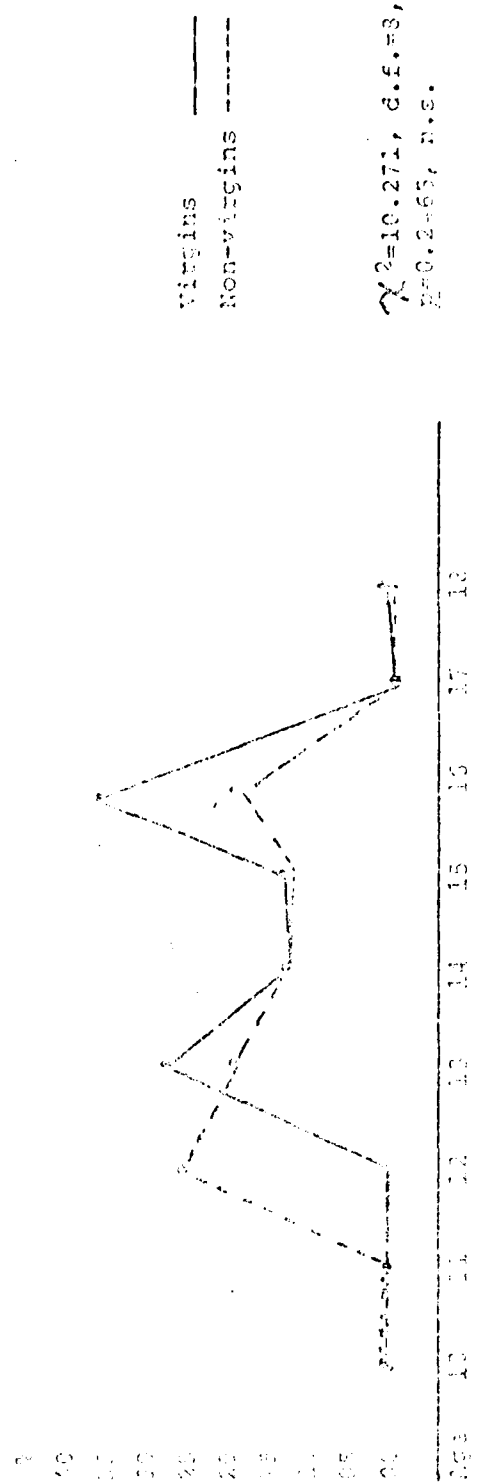
We suggest these (unexpected) data add further support to our hypotheses that virgins already know the traditional norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse prior to experience, and this knowledge will generally insure ipso facto that their first experience, when it does occur, will take place in a culturally normative manner. We further suggest that knowledge of, and belief in, presumed differences in males and females and of the "double standard" aid in the perception of the traditional norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse as objective reality rather than reified cultural norms.

Those subjects who answered either strongly agree or agree to the four statements concerning the availability of contraceptives for male and female adolescents, and their concern over the lack of experience with sexual intercourse for their hypothetical sons and daughters were also asked to indicate at what age they thought contraceptives should be available to boys and girls, and at what age they would worry if their hypothetical sons and daughters had not experienced sexual intercourse. There was no statistically significant difference between virgins and non-virgins concerning the age at which contraceptives should be available to adolescent boys. There was also no statistically significant difference between virgins and non-virgins concerning the age at which contraceptives should be available to adolescent girls. In fact, over 80% of all subjects either strongly agreed or agreed that contraceptives should be available to both adolescent boys and adolescent girls. These data are presented in Figure 2.

There was no statistically significant difference between males and females concerning the age at which contraceptives should be available to adolescent boys. There was a statistically significant difference between males and females concerning the age at which contraceptives should be available to adolescent girls ($\chi^2 = 18.278$, with 6 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.0192$). Generally, males were in favor of



Age contraceptives should be available for boys--by sexual experience. (50% of all subjects indicated SA or A)



Age contraceptives should be available for girls--by sexual experience. (50% of all subjects indicated SA or A)

Figure 2. Comparison of age contraceptive use should be available for adolescent boys and girls by sexual experience of subjects.

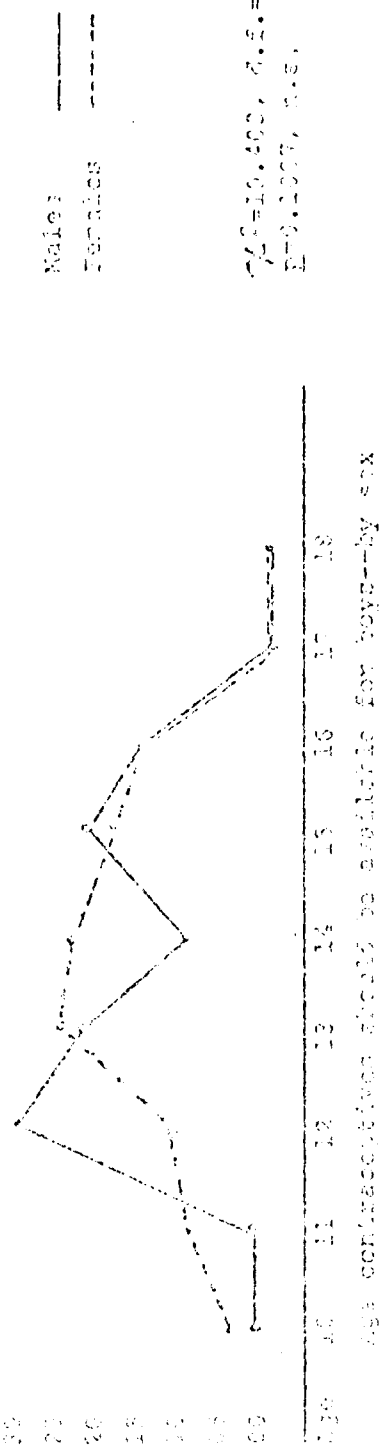
their availability at an earlier age than were females. These data are presented in Figure 3.

Among those subjects who agreed or strongly agreed that they would worry if their hypothetical son or daughter had not experienced sexual intercourse, there was no statistically significant difference between virgins and non-virgins. However, while 53.5% of all subjects agreed or strongly agreed they would worry if their hypothetical son had not experienced sexual intercourse during adolescence, only 21.7% of all subjects agreed or strongly agreed that they would worry if their hypothetical daughter had not experienced intercourse during adolescence. These data are presented in Figures 4 and 5.

As can be seen from these figures, both virgins and non-virgins generally indicated their worry over the lack of experience for a hypothetical son would occur from early to mid-adolescence. Conversely, both virgins and non-virgins generally indicated that their worry over the lack of experience for a hypothetical daughter would come at the end of adolescence or when she was in her early twenties.

There was a statistically significant difference between males and females concerning the age at which they would worry if their hypothetical teenage son had not experience intercourse ($\chi^2 = 18.377$, with 7 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.0104$). There was no statistical difference

8



8

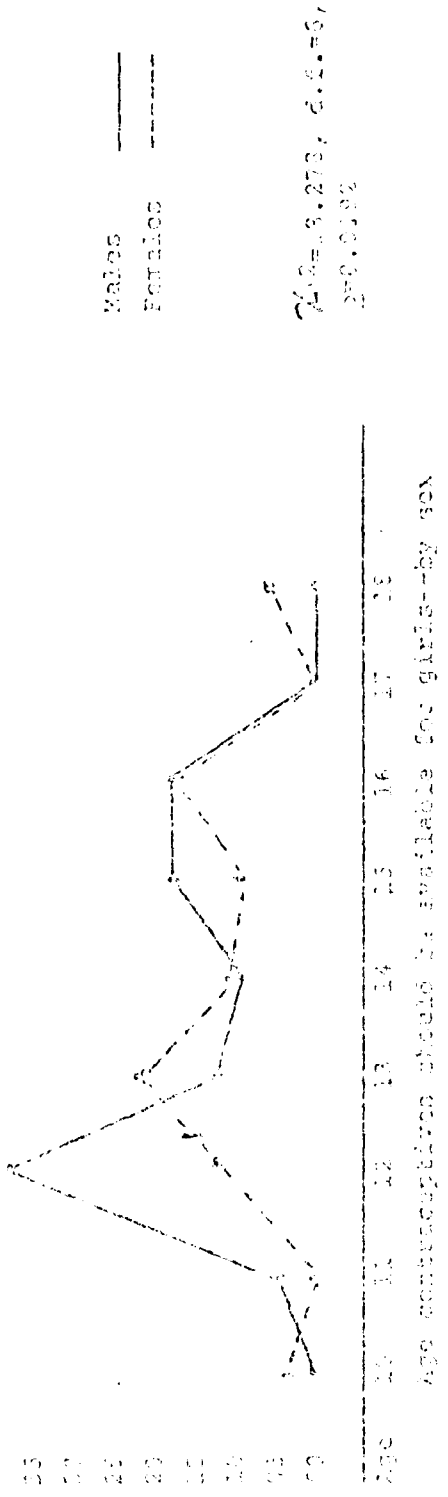


Figure 2. Comparison of age contraceptives should be available for adolescent boys and girls by sex.

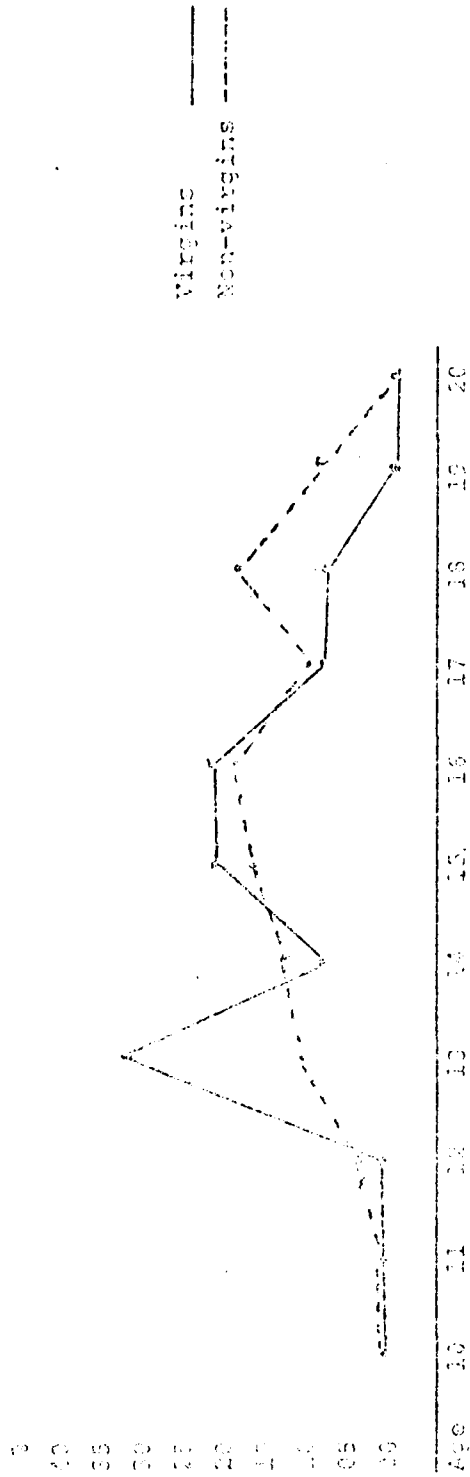


Figure 4. Age at which subjects would marry if son had not experienced sexual intercourse (comparison of virgins vs. non-virgins). 37.5% of all subjects indicated either SA or NI.

$$\chi^2 = 0.0005, \text{ d.f.} = 7, \\ p < .0001, \text{ n.s.}$$

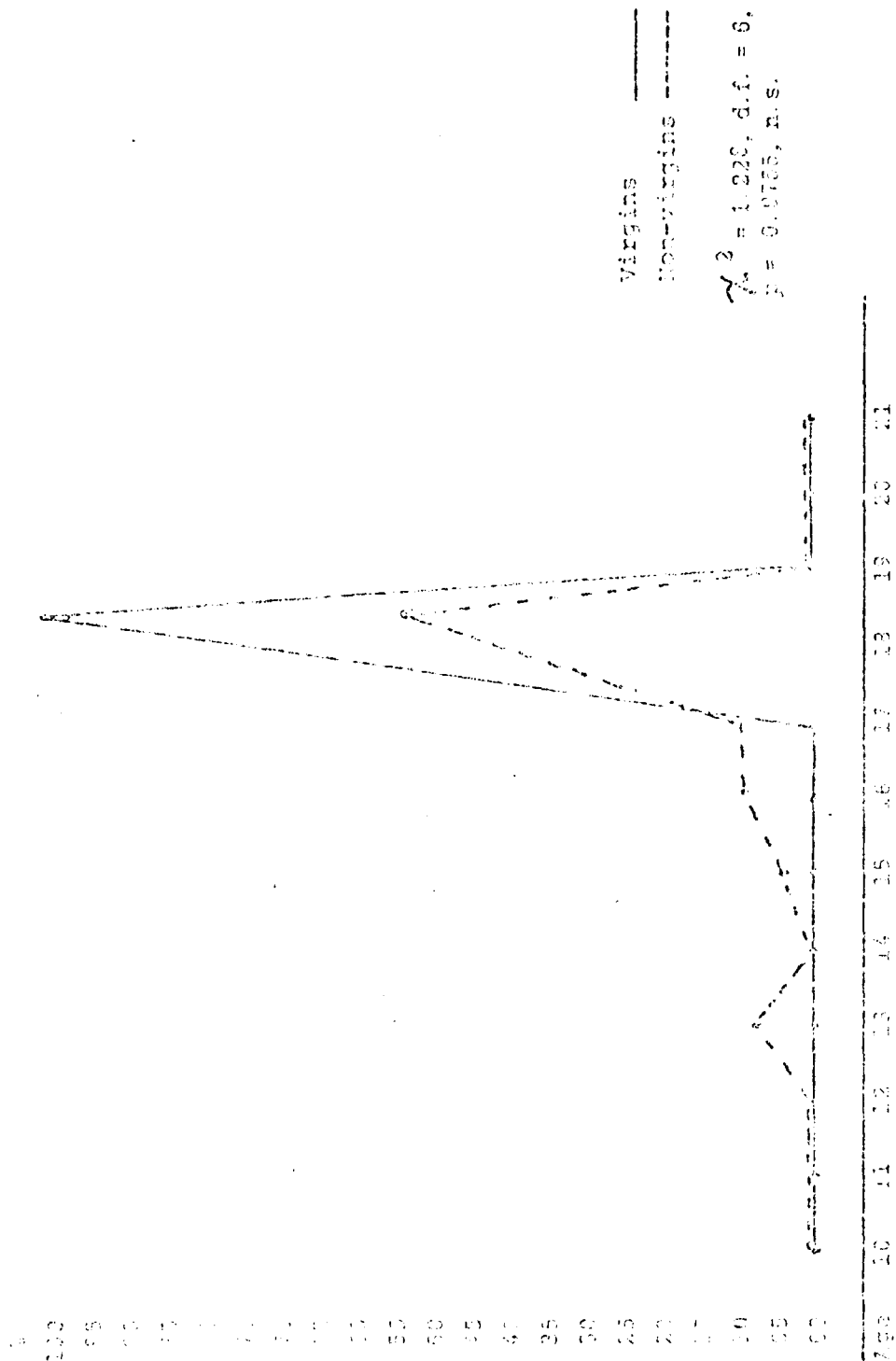


Figure 5. Age at which subjects would marry if daughter had not experienced sexual intercourse (percentage of virgins vs. non-virgins, 21, 76 of all subjects indicated father's age).

between males and females concerning the age at which they would worry if their hypothetical teenage daughter had not experienced intercourse ($\chi^2 = 4.287$, with 6 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.6379$).

We note again, however, that while 53.3% of all subjects agreed or strongly agreed they would worry if their hypothetical son had not experienced intercourse during adolescence, only 21.7% of all subjects agreed or strongly agreed they would worry if their hypothetical daughter had not experienced intercourse during adolescence. These data are presented in Figure 6. As was the case in the comparison of virgins with non-virgins, there is a tendency to worry if the boy does not have experience in early to mid-adolescence, while worry over the girl's lack of experience is found at the end of adolescence or in her early twenties.

We shall now consider the specific overall test of H_3 . In order to test the hypothesis that the traditional norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse would be positively correlated with other traditional norms not specifically related to sexual intercourse, and generally related to the hierarchical power relationship within the dyad, the following computational strategy was employed. For most of the statements, such as "A woman should put her husband's sexual gratification above her own needs," strongly agree or agree represented endorsement of traditional norms. A few,

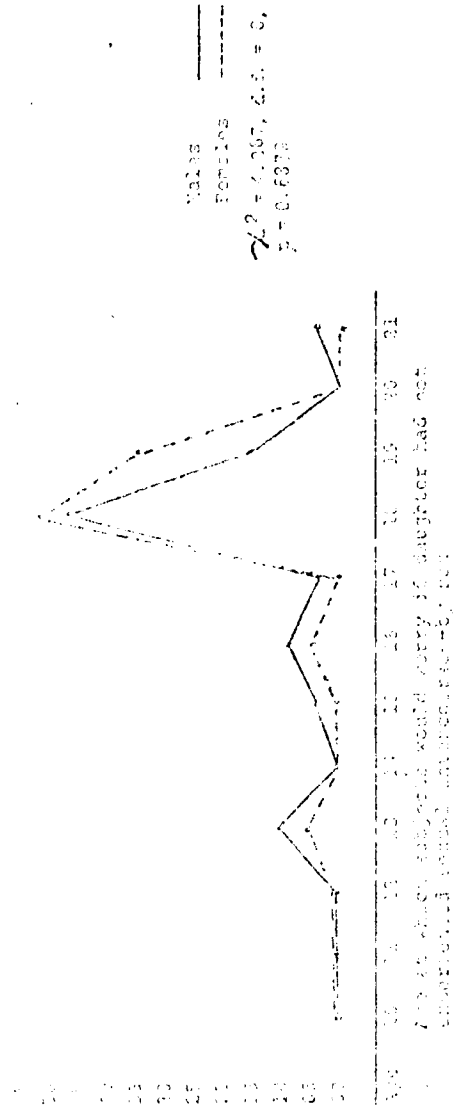
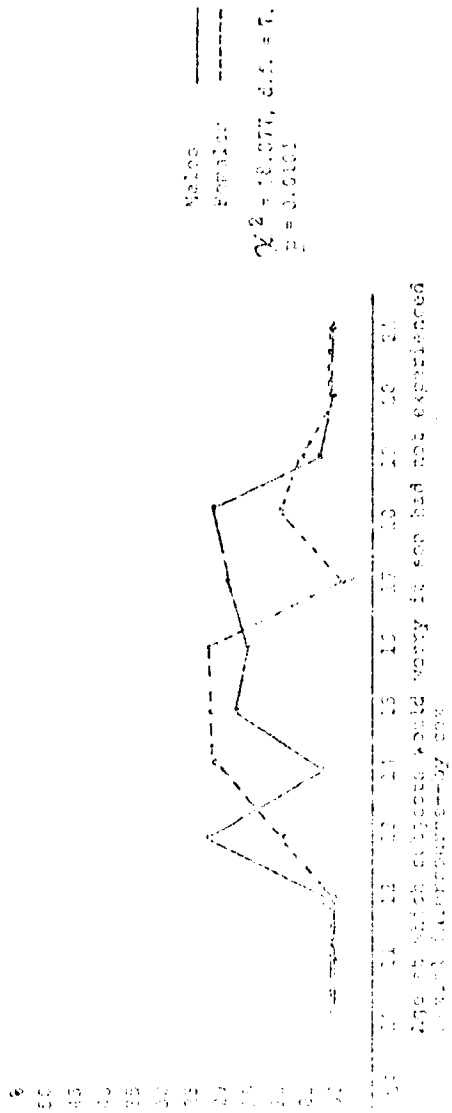


Figure 6. Comparison of age at which subjects would worry about lack of sexual experience for son and daughter by sex.

such as "A husband should not object to changing residence if this will advance his wife's career," were just the opposite, i.e., disagree or strongly disagree represented endorsement of traditional norms. These were recoded with reverse weighing.

Second, six statements were selected as those which attached themselves directly to sexual intercourse: Men have higher sex drives than do women; In sexual intimacy, the man is by nature the initiator; A woman should put her husband's sexual gratification above her own needs; During sexual intercourse, the most natural position is the man on top or "missionary" position; A man is not masculine if he prefers intercourse in the woman on top position; and, A woman is not feminine if she takes the initiative during sexual intercourse. The responses on these six statements for each subject were summed and then divided by six, producing a single score for this created variable, which was designated "sexnorms."⁷ The responses to all other statements were similarly summed and then divided, producing a second single score for the second created variable, which was designated "generalnorms."

7. For all statements SA = 1, A = 2, U = 3, D = 4, SD = 5. Thus if a subject answered SA, A, U, SA, A, SA for these six statements, his or her score for "sexnorms" would be $1 + 2 + 3 + 1 + 2 + 1 \div 6$ or 1.66.

Three cutoff points were established in order to compare the correlation between those whose score on "sexnorms" indicated strongly agree or agree, uncertain, and disagree or strongly disagree, with their score on "generalnorms." These data were then analyzed using the Pearson Product Moment correlation procedure.

As can be seen from Table 24, the results of this analysis provides strong support for H₃. These data show, not surprisingly, that the majority of subjects held non-traditional opinions. However, those subjects who had traditional opinions concerning the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse, as hypothesized, also tended to endorse more traditional norms concerning sex roles in general.

Table 24

Correlation Between Norms Which Attach Themselves
to Sexual Intercourse and Other Norms

| Comparison | Correlation | Coefficient of determination | Percentage of subjects |
|------------|-------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| SA/A | r = .83 | .6889 | 16.3 |
| U | r = .61 | .3721 | 19.7 |
| D/SD | r = .69 | .5239 | 64.0 |

These data indeed show the positive correlation we had expected between endorsement of traditional norms attaching themselves to sexual intercourse and other norms. What also emerges is that those subjects who were uncertain concerning the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse also showed less commitment to the other, more general norms.

Finally, those who rejected the traditional norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse showed lower endorsement of the traditional general norms than did those who endorsed them.

Chapter 8

RECONSIDERATIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

We have presented a theoretical model and derived various hypotheses from this model. These have been confirmed by our data.⁸ One question which immediately arises is the generalizability of our findings. Our methodology is not without its limitations. We used only college undergraduates in our sample. Additionally, they were quite homogeneous on a number of demographic variables such as race and SES. We believe, pending evidence to the contrary, that our findings are generalizable at least to white, middleclass undergraduates. We cannot exclude the possibility, however, that variables such as ethnic background or SES may show important between-group differences. Any final conclusion, therefore, must await further systematic empirical research.

In reviewing the literature, we were quite surprised to discover that although it has frequently been asserted that sexual behavior is largely the result of cultural learning; the question of exactly how it is learned has not been addressed to any great extent. Indeed, perhaps the most relevant writing we discovered was a book entitled The First Time (Fleming & Fleming, 1976). It is a novelistic book in

8. With the exception of H_{2b} (3).

which some 28 "celebrities" tell about their first sexual experiences. Although not conducted in a genuinely systematic manner, the first person accounts of the individuals in the book are generally remarkably similar to the narrative descriptions given by the subjects in the present study, and the authors' conclusions are also remarkably similar to our own:

...generally the "first time" remains an emotional ...bewildering, and certainly not wildly erotic moment...men and women have had equal damage done to them, (and) in their hurts and hungers they are more alike than not, and that they share pretty much the same sexual needs, sexual vanities and sexual shyness (xi, xii).

Our methodology can also be considered as limited by the use of questionnaires rather than behavioral measures. Yet, the subject matter of the present study obviously carries with it various ethical constraints. Additional, we would point out that most of what we know of human sexual behavior has been the result of interviews or questionnaires, and many of these (e.g., Kinsey et al.) have been shown to be essentially correct in their findings in a variety of replications.

In retrospect, we would have asked those who reported they had never received any explicit "how to do it" information to provide us with a narrative explaining exactly how they came to acquire this information since this was the case. Fortunately, several subjects who reported not

receiving any explicit information, did provide us with such narratives on their own. Retrospectively, we would have also liked to have asked subjects at what age they first became aware that there was such a thing as sexual intercourse.

Another criticism which might be made concerns the average age of our subjects. It might be suggested that even those subjects who were virgins would have acquired a fairly sophisticated knowledge of sexual intercourse. We suggest, however, that while it is clear that they were indeed aware of the basic norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse, their narrative descriptions of "what usually happens" are generally highly sex-stereotyped, unsophisticated, and not infrequently reveal a romantic naivete which seems quite out of place in the contemporary world.

We do, however, intend to continue research in this area. And we do think it necessary to move "closer to the phenomena." We do believe that research is necessary which investigates the perceptions of pubescents and very young adolescents in order to have a better understanding of the cognitive synthesis which we have suggested is taking place.

The investigator cannot recall the exact details concerning how things were "pieced together" by him vis-a-vis sexual intercourse. The process started at about age ten

and was pretty well complete, insofar as the acquisition of the basic norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse are concerned, by eleven or twelve. It was certainly not learned from parental instructions--the topic of sex was absolutely "taboo" in my home. It was never discussed, and one eventually came to sense it was not to be.

Perhaps the closest experience to the acquisition of knowledge concerning sexual intercourse the investigator can recall in detail concerned oral-genital sex. At the time, while serving in the Air Force, a sargent said: "Hey, boy, you eat pussy?" Having never heard of cunnilingus, there was a terrible and anguished confusion on my part. Did people really do it, and was it something I was missing? Or, was it more like a snipe hunt. (A snipe hunt is a favorite "game" played by adults at summer camp. The adults tell nine or ten year old children that they are going on a snipe hunt. "What does a snipe look like?" one of the children usually says. "Don't worry," the adults say, "you'll know one when you see it." It is only after an afternoon of rummaging through the countryside that it gradually "dawns" on the children that they've been taken.)

We suggest that, at the onset of adolescence the beginnings of the experience of the sex drive, the altered way in which other social actors take the individual's sexuality into account, the implicit nature of the information which

is available from socializing agents, and the confusing mixture of information/misinformation available from peers all serve to lead the individual to engage in a cognitive synthesis to find out "what is real and what is just a snipe hunt."

One thing I do remember concerning the attempt to acquire information--to ascertain "reality" concerning sexual intercourse--was an attempt to gain information from dictionaries and encyclopedias. However, when I looked up intercourse, it said: "see coitus." And, of course, when I looked up coitus, it said: "see intercourse." I recently mentioned this experience to my undergraduate students at Hunter College and they almost universally reported having similar experiences.

Goffman (1959) notes that social situations are built upon a presumed working consensus of the social actors involved. The shared social understanding of the actors presumes that the situation is similarly defined by all of the participants. Thus, a violation of what is presumably a shared social understanding or agreement is typically viewed as a moral transgression. When we violate what are presumably shared social understandings, there is a sense of embarrassed awkwardness, a sense that "we ought to have known better."

We suggest that the implicit nature of socialization

for sexual intercourse in contemporary American culture impacts on the typical individual at the onset of adolescence such that he or she becomes aware of the fact that there is such a thing as sexual intercourse, but does not provide the individual with an explicit guide to the shared social knowledge on which sexual intercourse, as a social situation, is socially constructed.

Dossie Easton, Board Member of the San Francisco Sex Information Hot Line notes: "Sex is the only thing in life we're expected to do right the first time" (Time, June 5, 1978, p.59). We agree. But we also note it shares another distinction: typically, we aren't even told how to do it prior to being in a situation where we are expected to be able to do it.

There is a vast body of literature in the field of social psychology which informs us that the expectencies we and others have concerning us are strong determinants of our behavior. We suggest that what is expected of the individual as a social actor during sexual intercourse depends primarily on the individual's gender.

Our findings show, for example, that not only did over half of our subjects indicate they would worry if a hypothetical son had not experienced sexual intercourse during adolescence, but also that the majority would worry if he had not had this experience in early to mid-adolescence.

Conversely, only about one-fifth of our subjects expressed a similar concern over a hypothetical daughter's lack of experience, and, those who did, indicated they would become worried over her lack of experience towards the end of adolescence or even when she was in her early twenties.

Females are traditionally prescribed from engaging in premarital sexual intimacy. Males, at the very least, are generally not subject to such explicit threats and sanctions, and we suspect that the attitudes of socializing agents, that "boys will be boys" or "boys have to sow their wild oats," often convey at least implicit approval.

These differences in attitudes toward premarital sexual intimacy on the part of boys versus girls socially constructs a situation which is likely to result in an experienced male and a virgin female forming the marriage dyad. This social construction, rather than innate gender differences, serves as a mechanism by which the male can play the masculine role of "knowing just what to do," while the female passively "lets him."

Even in a situation where it is the male's first experience and it occurs with an experienced female, our findings show that he is still most often the initiator and the man on top or "missionary" position is most frequently used. This would suggest that the role expectencies known by both the male and female may serve as a potent inhibitor against

their violation in the social situation.

Traditionally, in American culture, almost every public social role an individual may engage in is differentiated into gender specific roles. We suggest that the stereotypical instrumental, aggressive, and independent male public roles and the stereotypical reactive, receptive, and dependent female public roles are generalized by the developing individual in order to arrive at an understanding of his or her gender specific behavioral repertoire during sexual intercourse prior to actual experience. We suggest that, since the experience of sexual intercourse typically takes place between two individuals in private, there is little intuitive reason for the individuals involved to arrive at causal explanations for their gender differentiated roles which evolve social learning. Rather, we suggest that, typically, the gender specific roles utilized in sexual intercourse are experienced by the individuals as the natural and instinctive way in which males and females behave sexually. This, in turn, makes the congruent gender differentiation in public roles seem logical and even necessary.

We suggest that sexual intercourse, as it is presently socialized for in American culture, is socially constructed in such a way that it is understood by the social actors involved as "something he does to her" and in a corollary fashion, "something she lets him do." Due to the nature of

its social construction in American culture, we would suggest that the male "owns the situation" in the same sense that Milgram (1974) has suggested that the experimenter, in his classic obedience experiments, "owns the situation." Of course, in time, individuals of either sex may come to understand that their respective roles and behaviors within sexual intimacy are largely the product of social learning and, as they become more sophisticated, their behavior during intimacy may become quite at variance with traditional norms.

Living, as we do, in a time of great social change (flux?) we note that the sexual behavior of the young today is not the same as it was when their elders were young. Nonetheless, we would suggest that while individuals may become more sophisticated at an earlier, even much earlier age, our findings indicate that their first experience, based on traditional socialization, does not differ drastically from other generations. We wonder aloud if this need be the case.

Many of the beliefs and customs which socially differentiate the sexes in American culture are based on the notion of innate differences between males and females, and the social roles which "logically" follow from these presumably innate differences. The evidence in the literature increasingly suggests that attitudinal and behavioral differ-

ences between males and females are the result of differential socialization, and not biological destiny. American culture, however, continues to operate, by and large, on these traditional presumptions, even in its legal codifications. The following is a summary from Alexander (1975):

In 34 states a married woman may not use her maiden name while married without legal restrictions. Of those states allowing a spouse to bring consortium suits, all allow the husband to recover for the loss of a wife's consortium, while 16 deny the wife the reciprocal right. While all states allow a husband to maintain a separate domicile for voting purposes, 30 states deny the wife the reciprocal right. Thirty-five states have statutes barring certain occupation to women. Frequently, these statutes are vague and interpretable almost at the whim of state officials. The statute in Michigan is typical: [Women may not be employed in]...any job that is disproportionate to a woman's strength or which is located in a place detrimental to health, morals, or potential capacity for motherhood (p.170)."

The underlying issue of female sexual behavior, and her "primary" maternal role should be obvious. An additional 30 states limit the number of hours a female employee may work. Although in most states the guardianship of children is joint, in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina and Texas, guardianship of children is assigned solely to the husband, while in Louisiana, it is jointly assigned unless there is a dispute between the husband and wife concerning the children, in which case "the natural authority of the father prevails (p.51)."

The unequal status of husband and wife before the state does not end even with divorce. In all eighteen states which have statutes concerning the use of her maiden name after a divorce, she may legally do so only by approval of the court. In Oklahoma, she may never resume the use of her maiden name legally unless her ex-husband was found to be at fault in the divorce (p.111).

If we are correct in our suggestion, that the gender specific behavioral repertoire used in sexual intimacy are sex roles themselves and that these are maintained largely by their congruence with the unequal status of males and females in their public roles, we may expect that the norms which attach themselves to sexual intercourse in American culture, and perhaps also the nature of socialization for sexual intercourse, will change as (and if) the public roles of males and females change.

Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment frequently argue that by changing the public roles of the sexes, their roles in sexual intimacy and the role relationship of the male and female within the dyad will also change. This, they argue, ought not be allowed to happen, as it will violate a biological "plan" with differing roles for males and females which is presumably of Divine Authorship.

We suggest that the evidence, which continues to accumulate in the literature, increasingly suggests that the notion that "biology is destiny" is incorrect. We do agree with the ERA opponents on one point, however. We suggest that the more egalitarian the public roles of males and females become, the more egalitarian their sexual behavior and role relationships within the dyad will become.

We suggest that as (and if) the public roles of males and females become more egalitarian there will be an

expectancy that both boys and girls "need to sow their wild oats." We agree with Masters and Johnson who have often noted that there can never be true equality between the sexes until and unless there is equality concerning sexual behavior.

We suggest that those in society who place a moral or ethical value on premarital virginity will find it increasingly difficult to pass these values on to their offspring as long as a real concern is essentially with the female's virginity, rather than the males. Indeed, the male's lack of experience appears often to be of more concern than the maintenance of his virginity. If the social world does not reflect an ethic that neither (males or females) ought to engage in premarital sexual intimacy, as the social differentiation between the sexes decreases the message increasingly becomes either (males or females) ought to. The ethic that "he can, but she can't" seems unlikely to survive.

APPENDIX

Appendix A

REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

Date: 2 May 1970

To: The Graduate School and University Center
Committee on Protection of Human Subjects, Room #1804

From: G. Sporkin Murray (Social Psychology Ph.D. #66), Principal Investigator

Re: "The Social Construction of Sexual Intercourse" (Dissertation) Proposal Title

I hereby certify that I have read the CUNY policy and procedure statements with respect to the protection of human subjects.

It is my belief that the above described project which I plan to undertake complies fully with the requirements of said policy. I am prepared to furnish either in writing or orally, justification for any procedures if requested to do so. I also agree to furnish details of any change in plans or procedures made during the course of the investigation which is relevant to the protection of human subjects involved in the project. All statements and information as well as signed statements of consent from subjects will be transmitted to the confidential files of the Graduate School and University Center Committee on the Protection of Human Subjects.

Attached are 7 copies of the narrative portion of the proposed project. Below is a summary of the provisions that have been made for protection of subjects to be used in this work. (If the space provided below for your reply is not adequate, please continue your explanation on a second page.)

1. PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS AND WELFARE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS (e.g., exposure to stress, physical, psychological or interpersonal hazard including possibility of pain, injury, disease, discomfort, embarrassment or anxiety; supervision of research personnel; fees; obligations; etc.)

Full informed consent will be obtained, subjects will be over 18 years of age, and no deception is involved (See attached copy of instructions to subjects and questionnaire). No exposure to physical or psychological stress is anticipated.

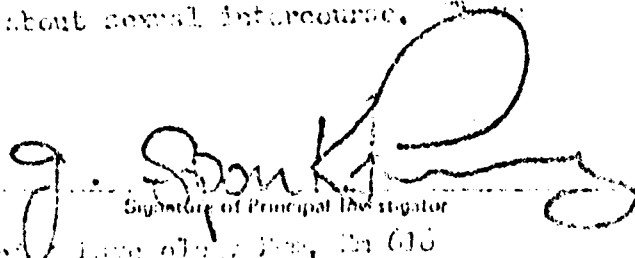
2. METHODS USED TO OBTAIN INFORMED CONSENT (e.g., how explained; precautions regarding anonymity, confidentiality, deception, obtaining of signatures, cooperation of parents or guardians of minors, legally incompetents, etc.?) PLEASE ATTACH SAMPLE OF CONSENT FORM TO BE USED.

Informed consent will be obtained by use of the first sheet of the questionnaire which is entitled "instructions." Individual subject's signatures will not be obtained in order to insure their confidence in the promise of anonymity.

3. RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF RISKS VERSUS BENEFITS

The proposed research is intended to yield new information concerning how people in American culture learn about sexual intercourse. There are no known risks.

Your approval is requested for this project.


Signature of Principal Investigator
G. Sporkin Murray, Ph.D. #66
Department



The Graduate School and University Center
of the City University of New York

Office of Sponsored Research and Program Funding
Graduate Center, 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036
212 790-4683

June 14, 1978

Mr. G. Sparks Lunney
Ph.D. Program in Psychology
Social Personality
Graduate School and University Center

Re: "The Social Construction of
Sexual Intercourse"

Dear Mr. Lunney:

I am writing you on behalf of the Committee on Protection of Human Subjects. Your application was approved subject to the following:

Your submitting a letter from any participating institution, where the research takes place, indicating that they have seen and approve the questionnaire and the project.

Please respond to this condition as soon as possible, so as not to delay the transmittal, to NIH, of the assurance/certification declaration.

Sincerely,



Harry Levitt, Chairman
Committee on Protection of Human Subjects



HL:F:sr

cc: Dr. Florence Denmark



STATE OF CONNECTICUT
CENTRAL CONNECTICUT STATE COLLEGE
1615 STANLEY STREET — NEW BRITAIN, CONNECTICUT 06050




203-827-7302
May 1, 1978

Mr. G. Sparks Lunney
Ph.D. Program in Psychology
Graduate Center, CUNY
33 West 42 Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Dear Mr. Lunney:

This is to affirm that I have examined the questionnaire relating to your doctoral research and found no objectionable contents. On this basis, and on the basis of your briefing concerning the project, I believe it is appropriate for me to authorize the utilization of Central Connecticut State College students enrolled in Psychology classes as subjects for your research.

Sincerely,


Earl W. Bihlmeyer, Chairman
Psychology Department

Appendix B

Instructions

The questionnaire you have been given is part of my research in connection with my doctoral thesis at The City University of New York. I very much appreciate your assistance in completing the questionnaire and I hope you will be frank and honest in answering the questions in the questionnaire. Before starting to complete the questionnaire, however, please keep the following information in mind:

1. To be a subject in this study you must be at least 18 years old.
2. Your answers are anonymous - DO NOT sign the questionnaire.
3. You are a volunteer subject. You will not be paid for your participation. You are not required to participate. You will not receive course credit for participation, nor will your grade be in any way affected by your participation or decision not to participate.
4. You have the right to choose to end your participation in this study at any time. There is no penalty of any kind for doing so.
5. My thesis research concerns people's sexual behavior and their attitudes concerning sexuality and sex roles. The information requested is personal, but it is requested on an anonymous basis, and it will not be used for any other purpose. Your participation in this research will end when you complete the questionnaire (or decide to withdraw your participation without completing it). You will not be contacted in the future or requested to do anything else as part of this research other than to complete the questionnaire.
6. If you have any questions concerning this research or your participation in this study, please feel free to ask them before starting.

PART II

Prior to your first experience of intercourse (if you are a virgin, prior to the present time), please indicate if any of the following people ever gave you explicit "how to do it" information about sexual intercourse.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| Mother | Yes ___ No ___ | Same sex adult friend | Yes ___ No ___ |
| Father | Yes ___ No ___ | Opposite sex adult friend | Yes ___ No ___ |
| Brother | Yes ___ No ___ | Same sex relative | Yes ___ No ___ |
| Sister | Yes ___ No ___ | Opposite sex relative | Yes ___ No ___ |
| Same sex age peer | Yes ___ No ___ | Another person not listed above | |
| Opposite sex age peer | Yes ___ No ___ | Yes ___ No ___ | |
| | | Who? _____ | |

Did you receive explicit "how to do it" information about sexual intercourse from any of the following sources:

Sex education course Yes ___ No ___

A "sex manual" you obtained for yourself Yes ___ No ___

A "sex manual" someone else gave to you Yes ___ No ___ (Who gave it to you? _____)

Another source not listed above Yes ___ No ___ (Please give details: _____)

If you answered yes to any of the above, please (1) specify the person or source; (2) give the approximate age at which you received this information; (3) write a paragraph or two summarizing the information you received.

1. Person/source _____ Your age at the time _____

2. Person/source _____ Your age at the time _____

3. Person/source _____ Your age at the time _____

4. Person/source _____ Your age at the time _____

5. Person/source _____ Your age at the time _____

6. Person/source _____ Your age at the time _____

(If you had more explicit "how to do it" information concerning sexual intercourse, please use the back of page 2 and 3. Be sure to indicate the person/source, your age at the time, and give one to two paragraphs summarizing the information you received.)

PART III

Below are listed a series of statements concerning sexuality and sex roles. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling to indicate strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, or strongly disagree.

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---|---|---|----|
| 1. If a woman does a job as well as a man she should receive equal pay for it. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 2. Except when economically necessary, a woman belongs in the home. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 3. As children, boys are <u>by nature</u> more aggressive than girls. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 4. A woman who has never experienced giving birth in her adult life is not truly a woman in the fullest sense of the word. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 5. When a married woman works the stability of the family is threatened. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 6. As children, girls are <u>by nature</u> more passive than boys. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 7. A man who has never fathered a child in his adult life is not truly a man in the fullest sense of the word. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 8. As adults, men are <u>by nature</u> more aggressive and independent than women. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 9. As adults, women are <u>by nature</u> more passive and dependent than men. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 10. Marriage is a partnership between equals. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 11. A wife should not object to changing residence if this will advance her husband's career. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 12. In the event of a disagreement, the husband should have the final say within a marriage. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 13. A husband should not object to changing residence if this will advance his wife's career. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 14. In the event of a disagreement, the wife should have the final say within a marriage. | SA | A | U | D | SD |

- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|---|---|---|----|
| 15. A husband should not "go out socially" in mixed company without his wife. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 16. A wife should not "go out socially" in mixed company without her husband. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 17. Men have higher sex drives than do women. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 18. In sexual intimacy, the man is by nature the initiator. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 19. A woman should put her husband's sexual gratification above her own sexual needs. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 20. During sexual intercourse, the most natural position is the man on top or "missionary" position. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 21. A man is not masculine if he prefers intercourse in the woman on top position. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 22. A woman is not feminine if she takes the initiative during sexual intercourse. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 23. It is normal for a man to desire oral-genital contact with a woman during sexual intimacy. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 24. It is normal for a woman to desire oral-genital contact with a man during sexual intimacy. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 25. A husband should have the right to demand that wife have an abortion in the event of an unwanted pregnancy. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 26. A wife should have the right to obtain an abortion without consulting her husband in the event of an unwanted pregnancy. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 27. Masturbation is normal for a married man. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 28. Masturbation is normal for a married woman. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 29. A husband should have full knowledge of his wife's financial affairs. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 30. A wife should have full knowledge of her husband's financial affairs. | SA | A | U | D | SD |

31. It is more morally wrong for a woman to have pre-marital sexual intercourse than it is for a man. SA A U D SD
32. It is more morally wrong for a woman to have extra-marital sexual intercourse than it is for a man. SA A U D SD
33. Contraceptives should be available for adolescent boys. (If you answered SA or A to question 33, from what age should they be available? _____) SA A U D SD
34. Contraceptives should be available for adolescent girls. (If you answered SA or A to question 34, from what age should they be available? _____) SA A U D SD
35. If I had a teenage son, I would worry if he did not have some experience with sexual intercourse during adolescence. (If you answered SA or A to question 35, at what age would you start to worry if he had no sexual experience? Please circle one: 13 14 15 16 17 18 19) SA A U D SD
36. If I had a teenage daughter, I would worry if she did not have some experience with sexual intercourse during adolescence. (If you answered SA or A to question 36, at what age would you start to worry if she had no sexual experience? Please circle one: 13 14 15 16 17 18 19) SA A U D SD

Demographic information for statistical analysis

1. Sex: M F
2. Age: _____
3. Religion: _____
4. Occupation: _____
5. Education (circle one):
- a. Less than High School;
 - b. High School;
 - c. Some College;
 - d. College Degree;
 - e. Some Graduate Education;
 - f. Professional Degree.
6. Relational status (Circle one):
- a. Single, live with parents;
 - b. Single, independent;
 - c. "Living with someone";
 - d. Married;
 - e. Separated;
 - f. Divorced;
 - g. Widowed;
7. Race: _____
8. Approximate amount of parents income per year (circle one):
- a. Under \$ 5,000
 - b. \$ 5,000 - \$10,000
 - c. \$10,000 - \$15,000
 - d. \$15,000 - \$20,000
 - e. \$20,000 - \$25,000
 - f. \$25,000 - \$30,000
 - g. over \$30,000
9. Sexual experience: Virgin _____ Non-virgin _____
- If you are presently a non-virgin:
- a. What was your age at the time of your first experience of sexual intercourse? _____
 - b. What was your partner's age at the time of your first experience of sexual intercourse? _____
 - c. Was your partner also a virgin at the time of your first experience of sexual intercourse? (if known) Yes _____ No _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

Appendix D

Check on Coding Accuracy

A .5% random sample of the data was taken to check coding accuracy in transposing the data from the original questionnaires to Fortran coding sheets, and again from the coding sheets to IBM cards. An error rate of well under 1% was found.

We wish to acknowledge the assistance of fellow graduate student, Ms. Ronna Kabatznick, in checking these data.

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