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PREVALENCE, IMPACT, AND MEANING ATTRIBUTION OF CHILDHOOD
SEXUAL EXPERIENCES OF UNDERGRADUATE MALES

A Dissertation Presented

by

JEFFREY D. FISHMAN

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 1990

School of Education

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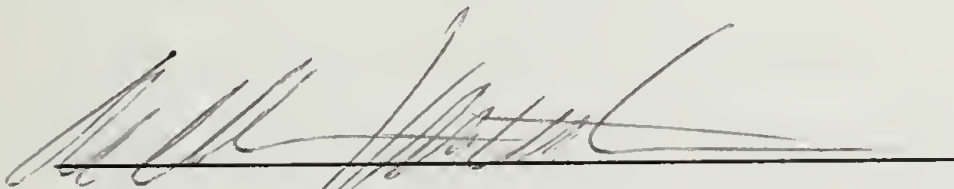
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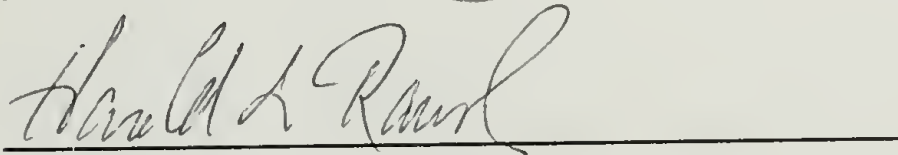
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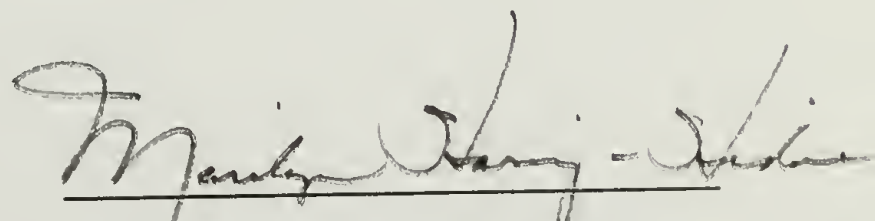
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DEDICATION

To my grandfather, Herman Fishman

Whose generosity, love, and patience
will always be a part of every endeavor
that I undertake

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deep thanks and appreciation to Sarah Killion, my partner and companion. She has blessed me with her love and support throughout this entire process, and her undying faith in my abilities helped me to rise to this occasion. Sarah stood by me when I was beside myself, and her continual reassurance has carried me through some difficult moments. Her love is my most precious gift, and nothing can match the satisfaction of completing this dissertation more than knowing that Sarah will be there to be recognized for her efforts throughout this process, and to share in the celebration.

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I would finally like to thank the men that participated in this study, particularly the ten students who gave of their time to speak about experiences that most often remain silent. Through your efforts, other men may also come forth and share their stories. My professional work gets refueled by your courage to survive the pains of childhood. This dissertation is devoted to the efforts of the many abused men who's struggles and triumphs have left an indelible mark on my life.

ABSTRACT

PREVALENCE, IMPACT, AND MEANING ATTRIBUTION OF CHILDHOOD SEXUAL EXPERIENCES OF UNDERGRADUATE MALES

SEPTEMBER 1990

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This is the first study of its kind to integrate empirical data from college men who reported a childhood sexual experience with a significantly older person with qualitative accounts of their perceptions and adaptations to these sexual interactions. The purpose of this project was to delineate between those experiences that were clearly perceived as abusive, versus those incidents that were judged to be more positive in nature. The descriptive accounts of these events, along with independent measures of current interpersonal functioning and adherence to hypermasculine beliefs and attitudes, provided several sources from which to ascertain internal consistency or discrepancies in reporting.

148 undergraduate men completed a questionnaire, identifying and describing any childhood sexual experiences (CSE) with someone significantly older than they were. A social adjustment inventory and a hypermasculinity scale were also administered, so as to correlate the subject's perceptions of the impact of his sexual experience(s) with more independent indicators of healthy interpersonal functioning or internalized stereotypic beliefs about sex-role behaviors.

This study shows that one in every six male college students (18%) is willing to report such a CSE, with an equal ratio of young males engaging with an older male or female. Students who disclosed such a sexual event (versus those who did not) were more likely to come from conflictual family homes, to identify higher levels of sexual dysfunction, and lower levels of sexual self-esteem. They were also likely to engage in more masturbatory activity and in less direct sexual interactions with others. Boys who were adolescents at the time of the CSE were more likely to have their sexual development arrested, which incurred substantial impairments to their sexual self-identity. This study also confirms what has previously been asserted; boys who have had sexual experiences as children with older women are far more likely to perceive these experiences as positive and beneficial in their lives.

Qualitative findings from this study highlight the intricate link between early self-concept formation, interpersonal adaptations to stress, socially embedded ideas about male sexuality, and access to nurturing, supportive others with whom to talk over these experiences. These contextual variables cannot easily be extricated and examined independently from the specific childhood sexual experiences that occurred.

The findings from this project assert that future empirical research and clinical interventions with this population needs to allow men more open-ended opportunities to describe and self-define a wide variety of childhood sexual experiences, free of biased language (e.g. abuse, victim, or molestation). With a self-created framework within which to evaluate childhood sexual interactions, men can begin to reflect upon how their own past sexual experiences influence their current interpersonal and sexual adjustment. These conversations will hopefully lead to more open dialogues about power; sexual, personal, interpersonal, and community power- it's uses and abuses.

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CHAPTER I

SEXUAL ABUSE AND THE MALE ETHIC

Introduction

Between 1951 and 1954, a survey was conducted at the University of California, Berkeley campus (Landis, 1956) in which 1,800 college students were asked whether they experienced some type of "deviant" sexual experience with an adult when they were a child. Of the 30% of the males who reported such an incident, only 16.5% of these students ever told their parents, as opposed to 43% of the female students who had also experienced a similar childhood sexual event. Thirty years later, 6,159 college students (Risin & Koss, 1987) were given questionnaires stipulating 8 potentially abusive sexual experiences before the age of 14 with either peers or people older than themselves. Of the 2,972 men who completed this research study, 216 men (7.3%) reported an abusive episode (with either a significantly older person, a caretaker or a person in authority, or any sexual event involving force or coercion) and of these men, 81.2% had never told anyone about these occurrences. In a similar student survey (Finkelhor, 1979), fewer abused boys than abused girls told anyone about their victimization experiences (25% versus 33%). leaving 75% of the abused men to have never disclosed these incidences to anyone. Of the 86 men who volunteered to respond to a sexual abuse phone helpline (Woods & Dean, 1985), 84% of these callers had disclosed their sexual abuse for the first time to the trained professional on the other end of the phone. In another survey, of the 16 men who sought group therapy services (Kelly, MacDonald & Waterman, 1987) at a University based clinic due to sexual abuse experiences during childhood, 13 (93%) of these adults waited

at least nine years before telling anyone about their abuse, with the average delay in reporting being 20.3 years. Finally, 40 adolescent boys who were treated and surveyed at an adolescent medical clinic (Johnson & Shrier, 1985) reported at least one sexually abusive episode as a child and all but six of these boys had not previously discussed these experiences with another person.

It is feasible that each of the accounts cited above suggests that sexual abuse to male children is not particularly memorable or traumatic and does not compel the child or the adult to inform others about a minimally significant event in their life. Likewise, it is conceivable that males might not report these abuses because they believed that these experiences were common occurrences amongst children and that caretakers and other adults in their life would not necessarily see their experience as notable or worthy of concern. It might even seem plausible that boys simply did not report any childhood experiences of any kind to anyone at any time, thus choosing not to discriminate between people, events, or emotional experiences in their lives. Each of these explanations might hold some potential for further examination if it weren't for the pervasive descriptions in the literature on male sexual victimization that strongly assert that sexual abuse to boys is highly underreported due to traditional ethics of acceptable male behavior, attitudes, traits, and interests (Finkelhor, 1984; Nielsen, 1983; Dimock, 1987; Sebold, 1987; Bruckner & Johnson, 1987; Rogers & Terry, 1984; Vander Mey, 1988; Swift, 1976; Nasjleti, 1980; Woods & Dean, 1985; Fritz, Stoll & Wagner, 1981).

The widely recognized influences of gender socialization form the contextual backdrop of the problems to be investigated in this project. This introductory chapter will overview the predominant social and cultural factors that predispose boys to underreport their childhood sexual experiences to others, as a way of understanding the background of the present empirical

inquiry. After discussing the importance of the context and meaning in the experience of childhood sexual abuse, the problem to be researched will be clearly stipulated along with a statement of the purpose of this study. Brief descriptions of the design, significance, and limitations of this project will follow. The chapter will conclude with an outline of how the remaining chapters in this work are organized and conceptualized so as to each make a distinct and significant contribution to the research undertaken here.

Background of the Problem

There are strong allegations made by researchers in the field of child sexual abuse (Rogers & Terry, 1984; Nielsen, 1983; Finkelhor, 1984) that "we have collectively tended to fail to address the problems of boy victims (Rogers & Terry, 1984, p. 91). This has been attributed to the ways in which public attention developed regarding sexual abuses to children. Two different social movements in the 1970s, namely the child protective services and services for victims of rape (Rogers & Terry, 1984; Nielsen, 1983; Finkelhor, 1984) grew out of a larger women's movement which was instrumental in raising public consciousness about rape, and subsequently about child sexual assault. Sexual abuse was initially conceptualized on the same continuum of patriarchal oppression that bred rape, domestic violence, and father-daughter incest. A common and pervasive model of incest arose at this time depicting a breakdown in the marital relationship whereby the eldest daughter replaced the mother in maternal, domestic, and sexual functions (Finkelhor, 1984, p.150). This "classic" model organized the ways in which professionals understood the phenomenon of child sexual assault. When it became apparent that abuses to children in the family were far more prevalent than ever before imagined,

federal legislation was established to create social services to investigate and intervene when allegations of intrafamilial child abuse were reported (Federal Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974). In the absence of any other models to describe these abuses, it becomes more understandable how boys were able to be disregarded for so long.

The literature in the field of sexual abuse to boys clearly suggests that boys are far more likely than girls to be abused outside of their homes (Ellerstein et al, 1980; Faller, 1989; Finkelhor, 1979, 1984; Pierce & Pierce, 1985; Rogers & Terry, 1984; Timick, 1985; Urquaiza & Crowley, 1986). Most state protective service agencies are mandated to respond to allegations of abuse that specifically involve the child's caretakers and thus, they are less likely to see allegations of abuses to boys within their home. Of the reports of abuses to boys outside of the home, state agencies will "screen out" these complaints and most often refer the case to another agency for intervention (e.g. the District Attorney's Office, the Police Department or an affiliated Office for Children). These referrals can all too easily fall through bureaucratic cracks in the system. This ultimately results in fewer male victims coming to the attention of law enforcement agencies, giving most social workers in public agencies limited knowledge and experience with male victims (DeFrancis, 1969), while creating the appearance that males are seldomly sexually abused.

In accordance with feminist theory and the women's movement which gave rise to numerous rape crisis centers nationwide (Firestone, 1970; Redstockings, 1975; Miller, 1976), females were seen as systematically oppressed by a sexist majority culture and continually vulnerable to being violated against their will. From this conceptual framework, more in-depth investigations were launched into the potential sexual violations to female adults and children by adult males. Definitions of sexual abuse were initially

constructed which highlighted the elements of oppression, violations by force, and unwilling consent to participate. "Literature written prior to 1980 uses the pronoun *she* almost exclusively when referring to a child victim of sexual abuse" (Nielsen, 1983, p.139). It was initially incongruous to conceive of males being victims in a system where boys were endowed with all the powers and privileges that society would later provide. It was hard to imagine that boys could be vulnerable to penetration or forced to become sexually aroused. If sexual abuses to boys were in fact occurring, it was assumed that protective, legal, and social service agencies would be identifying them. What has been noted as a cultural bias toward blaming the victims of sexual crimes (Millet, 1970; Brownmiller, 1975; Rogers & Terry, 1984; Ryan, 1981) easily extended into social denial that boys could truly be victimized; particularly if there was an absence of physical trauma, if they failed to forcibly resist the assault, accepted bribes or money for prostituting themselves, or if young men self-identified themselves as homosexual, thus suggesting that their sexual orientation and curiosity led them to seek out and initiate the abuse (Rogers & Terry, 1984, p.92). It was within this early set of beliefs and attitudes that our initial awareness of sexual abuses to boys was borne, and for the most part, neglected.

During the end of the 1970s, a plethora of scientific and popular writings arose from the fields of sociology, anthropology, and psychology espousing the significant impact of gender as a variable in human behavior (Davidson & Gordon, 1979; Duberman, 1975; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Brake, 1976). These writings were accentuated by the reexamination of women's roles and the need for a more equitable balance of economic, social, and political power between men and women. Psychological literature has emerged attempting to explain how children develop their particular sexual identities

as masculine or feminine (Block, 1976; Constantinople, 1976, Denmark, 1975; Doyle, 1983; Goodstein & Sargent, 1977; Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980; Maccoby, 1966), distinguishing between male and female psychology and sex-role development. Sex-roles refers to the "set of behaviors and characteristics widely viewed as 1) typical of women or men [sex role stereotypes] and 2) desirable for women and men [sex-role norms]" (Pleck, 1982, p.10). As such, sex roles are learned behaviors which are both prescriptive and descriptive (Brooks-Gunn, 1979; Chafetz, 1974; Harrison, 1978; Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980; Lopata & Thorne, 1978; Pleck, 1976; Tavis & Offir, 1977) and continually orient children to behaviors appropriate to their sex.

Sociological and anthropological literature has made the distinction between sex and gender (Brake, 1976; Davidson & Gordon, 1979; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Safire, 1984; Shapiro, 1981), emphasizing that gender distinctions are socially constructed, developed, and encouraged differences between the two sexes. There are widespread accounts that purport that boys are trained from an early age to conform to social norms of masculinity, resulting in pressure to live up to a masculine ideal which persists into adulthood as a significant source of masculine anxiety (Hartley, 1959; Fling & Manosevitz, 1972; Block, 1978; Fasteau, 1974; Pleck, 1976; Hantover, 1981; Komarovsky, 1976).

Traditional perspectives of male gender identification (Farrel, 1975; Parsons & Bales, 1955; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Brannon, 1976; Solomon, 1982; Cicone & Ruble, 1978; Oneil, 1981; Doyle, 1983; Thompson & Pleck, 1986) include cultural "blueprints" for manhood described by Robert Brannon (1976) as having four dimensions:

- No Sissy Stuff: the stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics
- The Big Wheel: success, status, and the need to be looked up to.

- The Sturdy Oak: an air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.
- Give 'Em Hell: the aura of aggression, violence, and daring.

From the perspective of the traditional male, these descriptions would be seen as desirable. Solomon (1982) has suggested an additional two characteristics which would be perceived as deficits in the male blueprint and would not readily be pursued:

- Homophobia: fear of homosexuality and intimacy with other men.
- Sexual Dysfunctioning: limited sensuality, separation of intimacy from sex, obsessive genital/orgasm focus.

Even Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Webster, 1971, p.515) defines "manly" as "having the qualities usually desirable in a man; strong; brave; honorable; resolute; virile." This skeletal overview of the social and cultural forces inherent in the development of boys creates a framework from which to better understand how this male ethic impedes upon the child's ability to bring his sexual abuse to public attention. The wide variety of gender constraints interfering with the particular experience of sexual abuse for boys will now be considered in order to adequately sensitize the reader to the strong predilection to underreporting cases of sexual abuses to males.

Underreporting of Male Sexual Abuse

The male ethic itself has tended to portray youthful male sexuality in very positive terms... it may be this very ethic that is partly responsible for the serious underreporting of sexual victimization experiences involving boys. This ethic may have depicted boy's experiences with much older persons and adults as much less victimizing than they actually are. (Finkelhor, 1984, p. 152)

The speculation offered in the quote above is representative of the wide variety of references made by almost every researcher, clinician, and theoretician who writes about the dilemmas of sexual abuses to boys. In most instances, these explanations speak for themselves. To demonstrate the spectrum of potential translations of the "male ethic" as it is applied to the experience of childhood sexual abuse, the prominent notions in the field about male sex-role constraints will be reviewed. The excerpts that are selected here from these writings will clearly pinpoint the pervasive supposition in the field that abuses to boys are strongly predisposed to secrecy due to the shame and reticence males feel to have their "masculinity" publicly scrutinized.

It should be noted that the problem of defining sexual abuse highlights significant discrepancies amongst researcher's diverse use of these terms. This issue will be closely examined in the next chapter. It is important to recognize the wide range of interpretations of abuse inherent in the field and that each particular reference made to child sexual abuse in this chapter arises out of specific contextual considerations made by the researcher using these constructs. In other words, although the same terminology is being employed, suggesting consistency between citations, there actually may be considerable differences in the ways in which the terms are defined. Thus, the numerous references to sexual abuse to males discussed here are likely to be indicative of a broad continuum of meanings and variations on a similar theme.

The Importance of Self-Reliance

One of the foremost qualities that is most often discussed in regards to male development is stoicism, or the value placed on not expressing certain

uncomfortable feelings. In the tradition of the self-sufficient male, there is clear consensus that male socialization encourages boys to show indifference to pain, to suffer silently without complaining, and to not be affected by passion or feeling. The excerpts below accentuate the bind faced by males who, feeling hurt by a childhood sexual experience, may have few outlets to express their experiences for fear of being seen as less than adequate and self-reliant:

When they are hurt, when they are offended, it is generally harder for them to seek help. The general masculine ethic says, 'Don't have others fight your battles,' 'Don't complain,' 'Keep your injuries to yourself.' ...When experiences are never talked about they cannot get reported. (Finkelhor, 1984, p.156)

Traditionally, the ideal man is viewed as being strong, silent, and in control of his emotions. (Bruckner, 1987, p. 85)

Males are socialized to be loyal, trustworthy, brave, and independent. In short, males are taught to tolerate painful situations and to not seek outside help. (Sebold, 1987, p. 80)

It (underreporting of sexual abuse to boys) may reflect gender role expectations that it is unmanly for males to express emotion, even in the face of enormous physical and emotional trauma. (Kaufman, 1984, p. 164)

The reticence on the part of males to discuss molestation with family members can be attributed to the socialization process in which males learn to be more inhibited in sharing intimate experiences when compared to females. (Fritz et al., 1981, p. 58)

Boys are more reluctant to report sexual abuse than girls. This reticence emanates from the fact that boys are socialized not to reveal doubts, weaknesses and fears... (Faller, 1989, p. 282)

...boys have to contend with cultural stereotypes, broadcast at them from an early age, that they need to be tough, self-reliant, and independent, and that seeking help is not acting like a 'big boy.' This helps to explain why even fewer boys than girls told anyone about it (sexual abuse). (Finkelhor, 1981, p. 80)

These descriptions amplify a general assumption that sexual abuse to children can be traumatic, often inflicting emotional and physical pain to the child. The recurring belief stated here is that even under clearly stressful circumstances, boys are still encouraged to attend to their wounds privately. The expectation that it is dishonorable to reach out for comfort or support is an overriding restriction to males publicly reporting these incidences.

Emotional and Physiological Dissonance

Most of the transcripts cited above imply that abuses to boys may clearly be aversive to the child. Several of the accounts written by researchers on male victimization suggest that many childhood sexual experiences may be confusing or may even contain pleasurable elements that cloud a child's ability to discern whether the sexual event was abusive, manipulative, or worthy of reporting to someone else. The boy's physiological display of arousal is thought to create an indication of pleasure and thus, consent, particularly if the child does not actively resist the sexual encounters. Unless the male is seeking out sexual opportunities as conquests or successful initiations that he hopes to later boast to his friends, mild curiosity coupled

with pleasurable stimulation can suggest to the child that he was responsible for contributing to the sexual abuse, and he may therefore fear that others will hold him accountable:

A major strategy used by some offenders in the assault of males is to get the victim to ejaculate. This effort may serve several purposes. In misidentifying ejaculation with orgasm, the victim may be bewildered by his physiological response to the offense, and thus discouraged from reporting the assault for fear his sexuality may become suspect. Such a reaction may serve to impeach his credibility in trial testimony and discredit his allegation of nonconsent. To the offender, such a reaction may symbolize his ultimate and complete sexual control over his victim's body and confirm his fantasy that the victim really wanted and enjoyed the rape. (Groth & Burgess, 1980, p. 809)

It is axiomatic that the initial intercourse of males tends to occur with casual contacts when compared with females. The latter's initial exposure tends to be associated with a serious relationship. This difference is attributable to socialization patterns in which males learn to 'score' while females are taught to express their sexuality in the context of affection. ...Males are likely to view pre-pubescent contacts as sexual initiation while females view such encounters as sexual violation. (Fritz et al., 1989, pp. 58-59)

The cultural stereotype alleges that males cannot experience an erection when threatened or placed in emotional trauma, that any physiological response is indicative of sexual pleasure and/or desire. However Zukerman's (1972) psychophysiological research has found that males can respond sexually to psychologically negative stimuli even when the male's emotional state at the time of the molestation was overwhelmingly one of fear and anxiety and Sarrel and Masters (1982) found in their study that all of the males who were assaulted reported experiencing erections and often ejaculations during the abuse, despite the fact that they felt intimidated, embarrassed, and even terrorized.

The reports of our population further support these research observations. (Woods & Dean, 1984, p. 18)

The vast majority of the female offenders used persuasion rather than force or threats (10 out of 11 cases). Three quarters of the female molesters attempted to get their victims to ejaculate, and nearly half succeeded. (Johnson & Shrier, 1987, p. 651)

...anxiety over sexual identity may reinforce itself if the child victim finds the experience pleasurable. The emergence of such feelings, particularly in the older child, threatens the child's self-concept as a sexual being. He is aware that our society defines only heterosexual contacts as acceptable, and subscribes to the general mythos that only those of a homosexual orientation can find pleasure in sexual contacts with members of their own sex. On the other hand, he cannot deny his feelings or sensations at the time. Once again, the child may misinterpret the situation as implying latent homosexual orientation rather than correctly understanding normal physiological sexual responses. (Rogers & Terry, 1984, p. 95)

The difficulty arises out of our cultural bias toward disbelieving that males can become victims of sexual abuse. Western society has had considerable problems accepting male sexual victimization because... if males are victimized, they certainly would not have a sexual response to the assault. (Johanek 1989, p. 104)

Boys fear that nothing will be done to stop their sexual abuse by a woman because they believe that most people think such sexual activity is not harmful to the boy. (Nasjleti, 1980, p. 273)

It can be surmised from these selected passages that the child's experience of arousal can signal a variety of fears or confusions; he desired the sexual abuse; he must be homosexual if he found any of the abuse pleasurable; he was expected to become aroused by a female's stimulation and

he either didn't become aroused and feels ashamed or inadequate, or he did become aroused and feels that this must be appropriate sexual activity. It is also likely that the sexual abuser may instill these ideas in the child, threatening that no one will believe that he didn't want the sexual experience, or that everyone will now know how he responds sexually with a man or a woman. It is unknown from existing research just how often boys demonstrate visible or perceived signs of arousal, but these barriers deserve proper attention when understanding why males might not report childhood sexual experiences.

Honor and Self-Protection

Another strong characteristic inherent in the male ethic is the ability to harness and effectively utilize one's physical strength and power to defend against unwanted assaults. This translates into a double-edged dilemma for the male who chooses not to assert himself physically to escape the sexual contact; either he must have not found it too distressing (i.e. he wanted it) and/or he was not strong enough, not brave or courageous enough, or not adequately powerful enough to protect himself. References made to the shame and humiliation of not being able to fight one's own battles are abundant in the articles written on male victims:

Reacting passively to physical aggression of any kind except from females is perceived by males as a feminine trait. Their resistance to asking for help stems from a reluctance to identify themselves as helpless or passive. ...The author believes that boy's reluctance, resistance, or refusal to report their sexual victimizations may be related to shame at not having been the dominant person controlling the molestation situations. From an early age, boys are taught to strive

for dominance because it is 'manly.' Understandably, a boy does not easily admit having been in situations in which he had no control over what was happening to him, and in which he was not the dominant person. (Nasjleti, 1980, p. 272)

Since the male role tends to be quite rigidly enforced, it is not surprising that boys who experience sexual abuse are likely to view their abuse as evidence of failure of their masculinity because it reveals their inability to protect themselves in all circumstances. This is especially true if the perpetrator was another male. (Porter, 1986, p. 29)

In particular, there is a tendency to blame the boy who does not forcibly resist the assault. Passive acquiescence in the face of demonstrable threat is reformulated in terms of the victim's lack of masculinity. 'A real boy would never let someone do that without fighting back. He must have wanted to do it because he didn't resist,' and so forth (Rogers & Terry, 1984, p. 92)

What recourse does he have upon his victimization experience in light of society's prevailing paradoxical view of victims as weak, ineffectual, and passive individuals and males as strong, decisive, and active individuals? ...Many respondents reported feeling guilty for not using physical force to stop or prevent the abuse; 'I didn't know what to do. I was shocked, but I was even more afraid to argue or fight with her about it,' stated one respondent who was sexually abused by his mother for several years. (Woods & Dean, 1984, p. 18)

We also believe that young adolescent males who are socialized to have power and be in control, particularly in sexual situations, have no socially sanctioned avenue for integrating and recovering from an experience of sexual victimization. (Janus, Burgess & McCormack, 1987, p. 413)

Although it is commonly believed that a male is powerful enough to defend himself from a sexual assault, he is in fact susceptible to the same techniques by which assailants gain control over their female

victims. In many cases a combination of entrapment, intimidation, and brute strength were employed in the commission of the assault. (Groth & Burgess, 1980, p. 809)

The men all described the traditional yet pervasive expectation that they should be strong, able to protect themselves, and in control of their emotions. Since being sexually abused may be viewed as a failure to physically and sexually defend one's self, the men questioned their independence and masculinity. Expressing one's feelings is difficult enough without having to admit to this perceived failure. (Bruckner & Johnson, 1987, p. 85)

Thus, the internalized belief that a child allowed an abuser to hurt him reinforces the notion that the child is unable to shield himself from danger. If this experience is any indication, he may feel potentially vulnerable to other assaults. This violation of the child's perceived competence to rely on his self-protective instincts and strengths is generally described above as an injury to the male's sense of honor and dignity. As one abused twelve year old boy told this author about his future plans as treatment was being terminated; " I want to be a policeman so that I can protect people from crime and if I die, at least I'll die with honor."

Homophobia

Perhaps the most widely recognized stigma that is reported in the literature on male victimization is the taboo surrounding homosexuality. Almost every account written on this subject makes mention of the paralyzing fears boys feel when their sexual orientation is being questioned as a result of having a sexual experience with another male:

The preponderance of abuse boys suffer is at the hands of men and for many boys this may create serious qualms about their masculinity. Homosexuality is one of the more fearsome stigmas among many male peer groups, and boys may be very concerned about being labeled 'queer' as a result of people finding out about a sexual abuse experience. (Finkelhor, 1984, p. 157)

Homosexual attacks of the child carry a double stigma since they violate the heterosexual norm as well as the prohibition of the use of a child as a sexual partner. (Swift, 198, p. 326)

Boys also equate passivity with homosexuality. Homosexual activity is considered by most heterosexual American males to be abhorrent or shameful. The connection between homosexuality and passivity in the American male's mind is unfortunate; reporting that they have been victims of homosexual assaults is to boys tantamount to admitting that they are homosexual, even though they were forced into such activity. Fearing that their masculinity will be challenged if they report such molestation, most choose to remain silent. (Nasjleti, 1980. p. 272)

The 'double-taboo' is another barrier to reporting male-male incest. It is difficult for males to admit that they were unable to protect themselves from these sexual assaults; moreover, a male-male involvement may cast doubt on the child's sexual orientation. Questioning of the victim's sexual orientation may be intensified if the child is abused by a male relative and experiences ambivalent feelings about the sexual contacts. (Pierce, 1987, p. 67)

A sexually abused male spends a significant amount of time anxiously attempting to convince his peers that he is not gay. In many cases, he tries to put down other children to achieve this end. He plays up to females and cannot tolerate the effeminate or unusual behavior of others. Ironically, this behavior serves to draw the attention and scrutiny of others and generally leads to teasing and peer difficulties. (Sebold, 1987, p. 77)

In addition, same-sex assault is perceived by the child as evidence of his homosexuality, which must at all costs be covered up. The result is a painful and destructive isolation, which is greatly magnified by the tendency on the part of many male sexual victims to deny the existence of this experience or to minimize its impact. (Porter, 1986, p. 29)

Confusion over sexual identity is a particular reaction for some boy victims. The experience of a homosexual act contradicts the child's understanding of normal sexual relationships. As a result, the victim frequently seeks an explanation for why he was selected, internalizing the incident and blaming himself for its occurrence. These boys often believe that the assault occurred because of their physical appearance (slight build; lack of muscles), or because of their speech (soft or unobtrusive), or because of their personality (warm or friendly), or even because of their clothing (i.e., wearing shorts made the offender think he was a sissy). These so-called feminine traits are perceived as substantially contributing to the assault. Particularly for those characteristics that the child is unable to change, he may come to identify with the notion that he is effeminate or is perceived as effeminate or homosexual by others. (Rogers & Terry, 1984, p. 95)

It is noteworthy that depending upon the identity and relationship of the offender to the child, the boy's disclosure is not only perceived as a declaration of his questionable sexual identity, but brings to light the offender's sexual preference as well. As mentioned in one quote, boys may even be more reluctant to reveal a highly regarded family member's potential homosexuality to the family than their own, or they may have stronger concerns about their response to the sexual activity if they experienced arousal or pleasure of some kind. There is little doubt that widespread cultural homophobia breeds fear and intolerance of the slightest hint or recognition of homosexuality, particularly amongst boys and it is not surprising that these

apprehensions may constitute the greatest source of resistance for males to report their abuses.

Societal Denial of Male Abuse

Another major reason cited for the significant underreporting of male victims is denial that sexual abuses occur to males and lack of information available to parents, professionals, and other supportive adults who might inadvertently encourage the boy to keep his abuse silent. This is seen as an inability on the part of caretakers and helpers to adequately assess, recognize, and effectively treat this population with due attention. Thus, even if the child himself were unable to willingly bring forth his abuse, there are recurring suggestions that the boy's social environment is failing to discover the cues and indicators that might at least initiate further prompting for a disclosure:

Common staff responses to sexually abused children are denial, avoidance, disgust, restrictions, and punishment. (Kohan et al., 1987, p. 259)

Unfortunately, there is no indication as to why these workers decided to keep boys in treatment for less time than girls. Among the host of assumptions that might explain these decisions, several deserve mentioning. In some situations, the family of the sexually abused child may have decided that the treatment plan was simply too threatening and thus ended treatment early. In other cases, the workers may have felt less competent treating boys than girls. In still other situations, the sexually abused boys may have been terminated from treatment earlier than girls because of the perception that the boys would be less disturbed by the abuse than girls. (Pierce & Pierce, 1985, p. 198)

...we further suggest that male sexual abuse victims are most vulnerable to the response of denial on the part of professional and lay communities alike and that males abused by women are further vulnerable to minimization and rationalization. (Woods & Dean, 1984, p. 8)

Two of our important observations are 1) the predominance of boys as the sexual preference of adult males and 2) the theme of minimizing the seriousness of the sexual exploitation of boys ('The boys will do OK' and 'It's all part of growing up'). These statements attempt to normalize the event ('This happens to boys a lot') and suggest that adult-sex patterns which are superimposed on adolescents are not psychologically harmful. (Burgess et al., 1984, p. 661)

When boys don't tell anyone, the incident certainly can never be reported. But even when they do tell, other barriers exist to any public recognition of the event. Parents, teachers, and others have little idea of how to react to such reports when they hear about them. In the absence of any public education around the victimization of boys, such acts must appear bizarre and unusual. The stigma of homosexuality for his or her child may inhibit a parent from reporting such an incident to any authority. It is the familiar story of silence in the face of unspoken taboos. (Finkelhor, 1981, p. 80)

Boys fear that no one will believe their report of sexual abuse because they think molestation is so uncommon that most people simply find such a report difficult to accept. This idea is fostered by lack of coverage of the topic in the news media. (Nasjleti, 1980, p. 273)

And the fact that public stereotypes have focused primarily on the risk to girls may have also made parents and professionals less apt to identify abused boys. (Finkelhor & Baron, 1986, p. 46)

Parents sometimes share this concern, leading some to seek treatment of their son for the sole purpose 'that he won't become homosexual.'

Other parents may discourage reporting the incidents, hoping no one will find out and wishing to avoid possible stigmatization for their son or their family. (Nielsen, 1983, p. 140)

Negation of male victimization is societally confirmed by 1) the lack of information on the issues; 2) such pervasive social habits as the use of female pronouns in referring to any victim of sexual abuse; 3) the focus exclusively on males as offenders, as though there were no male victims; 4) the silence regarding the existence of male rape victims; and 5) the almost total absence of information about adult male survivors of sexual abuse and rape. (Porter, 1986, p. 30)

One reason many sexual abuse victims are not identified is because the counselors or therapists they meet with do not give them permission to talk about sexual issues. If the profession never brings up the subject, the client can get the message that it is taboo. A second common dynamic is that the topic may be only superficially discussed, because of the therapists denial or lack of awareness of the client's behavioral and emotional clues; since the therapist is unable to discuss it in a confident manner, the client then drops the subject, much to the relief of both. A third reason why victims go unidentified is that the professional's definition of sexual abuse may not include what was done to the particular client. The experience may be discussed in detail, but the label of abuse is never applied to it. (Hunter, 1990, p. 27)

In these accounts, there is mention of avoidance and shame on the part of families which impedes their ability to appreciate the need for intervention with abused boys, and hints of insidious societal denial that males are victims of sexual abuse. The absence of public resources or media attention specifically to boys is correlated to the perpetuation of public consciousness that disregards the likelihood that sexual abuse will happen to boys. Males are also more likely to act out their emotional stress aggressively (see Chapter II), thus concealing potential abuses behind role appropriate behaviors. When

these obstacles to males reporting sexual abuse become exacerbated by limited awareness, prompting, or education by adults, the probability of continued secrecy on all levels appears to intensify.

Other Barriers to Reporting

Finally, there are a smattering of other possible limitations for boys to report their abuse that warrant brief summarizing. Although there may not be substantial support from other research studies that also mention these barriers, these potential inhibitors only add to the extensive list of plausible phenomenon explaining the significant underreporting of sexual abuse incidents to boys. These citations make reference to more specific contexts of the abuse experiences, namely the degree of freedom and privilege associated with the abuse, the abuse of boys in conjunction with other children, a child's protective loyalties to his mother, the actual or threatened use of force or physical injury, and additional shame and embarrassment over subsequent sexual dysfunction. These added factors are discussed together;

Boys may have more to lose from reporting their victimization experience. Boys in general are allowed more independence and unsupervised activity than are girls of similar age. Boys may be justifiably afraid that, if parents were to find out about instances of sexual molestation, it would mean some curtailment of their freedom and independence. Rather than risk that curtailment, they let the incident pass unmentioned. (Finkelhor, 1984, p. 157)

It may be that one of the main ways in which boys are identified as having been abused is if a sister comes forward or the abuse of a sister is discovered. Then, in the course of the investigation, it is also discovered that the boy is being abused, and where there are no sisters

or no sister is also being abused, it may be that the sexual victimization is less likely to be discovered. (Finkelhor, 1984, p. 164)

Boys often fear that having sex with the mother is indicative of their having a mental illness. Because mothers are viewed as nonsexual beings in this culture, incapable of sexually abusing their children, boys molested by their mothers often assume responsibility for their own molestation. (Nasjleti, 1980, p. 273)

Boys fear that reporting their own sexual victimization may mean risking their own safety and well-being. This fear is based in reality, as many times relatives threaten the boys they are molesting with physical harm if they report the abuse. Fear of injury is one of the major reasons boys wait until they are in adolescence to report having been sexually abused. Their size and weight then allow them to feel less physically vulnerable. (Nasjleti, 1980, p. 273)

The victims of both female and male molesters appear to be at increased risk for sexual dysfunction, as had previously been noted by those working with adult female rape victims. The marked anxiety and feelings of helplessness and guilt described by many victims of sexual abuse, including our own study groups, appear to be reawakened by attempts at later sexual activity. (Johnson & Shrier, 1987, p. 652)

Boys who are abused in conjunction with older boys may be persuaded to believe that group sexual activity is necessary to ensure future sexual adequacy, further clouding the boy's ability to know the abuse is wrong (Burgess et al., 1984)

Boys are given more permission with less sanctions to explore and experiment with sexuality at earlier ages than girls. Male sexual socialization encourages men to define sexual experiences as desirable as long as they are not homosexual. (Zilbergeld & Ullman, 1978)

There are a number of other unsubstantiated dynamics that might encourage silence and secrecy for abused boys that are more extensively discussed in Chapter II. Specific to the issues of underreporting are the secondary benefits of a boy's sexual abuse as an opportunity for needed human contact and the embarrassment over the specific sexual manipulations imposed on the child. Boys without fathers may be more psychologically vulnerable to abuse because their needs for male models and companions may supercede their belief that the abuse is wrong. Sexually abusive activities may be the only physical "nurturance" the boy may experience, further confusing the victim about the abuse. The high frequency of anal penetration may also heighten the male victim's sense of shame surrounding the abuse, compounding his fears of describing these events or of being believed.

These preliminary suppositions only add to a mounting set of pressures and stigmas that male children may face at the thought of reporting sexual abuses. These components of the "male ethic" do not even bring to light the subtle and overt forms of coercion (see Deveney et al., 1987) that are used to enlist a child's compliance to maintain secrecy. Children who are rewarded by special attention, gifts, money, or privileges are likely to feel that they entered into an agreement wherein they were compensated and thus also committed to keep silent. The divided loyalties (Gelinas, 1983; Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1984) that gridlock a child's sense of protectiveness toward the abuser and his feelings of discomfort at the abuse itself is a commonly discussed inhibitor to disclosing abuses. It is possible that numerous other potential factors have been overlooked that also contribute to the underreporting of male victims.

The high probability that sexual abuses to males are not being readily identified or reported suggests that data arising from research in this area will

suffer from low samples sizes and the underestimation of the prevalence of this occurrence. Without a representative pool from which to draw samples, research will inevitably perpetuate the same myths that the lack of media visibility and resources already communicate- if it's not coming to public attention, it must not be happening. Our sensitivity and awareness of the belief systems that foster these shameful stigmas for boys will hopefully now allow us to compensate with abundant investigations into this neglected area of research.

Context and Meaning in Child Sexual Abuse.

Researchers are beginning to recognize and identify the social and political contexts in which male sexual abuse occurs (Conte, 1985; Woodard & Woodard, 1983). It is becoming more apparent within the field that gender differences and socialization factors may have a significant impact on how childhood sexual experiences are perceived by children at the time of the incident and throughout their development (Lew, 1989; Newberger & DeVos, 1988). The meaning that is shaped and evolves for the child within this larger tradition is likely to influence how family members, peers and professionals interact with these people. This will ultimately reverberate back to the child through the ways in which these significant adults in his life interact and discuss ideas with him. The ongoing developmental tasks and extraneous life stressors each person attends to over time forms another intricate influence in the child's associations and meanings to his abuse. This section asserts that although quantitative descriptive data provides one important facet to our understanding of the male victim's experience, the interwoven variables

particular to the specific context in which the abuse occurred will have equally significant bearing on our knowledge in this field.

There already exists support in the literature on male sexual abuse that the unique set of circumstances that lead up to, carry the child through, and ultimately allow him to end these interactions can increase or ameliorate the impact of the abuse on the child (Conte & Schuerman, 1987; Seidner & Calhoun, 1984; Finkelhor, 1979; Russel, 1984; Peters, 1988; Conte, 1985; Wyatt & Mickey, 1988; Margolin, 1986). Although there is disagreement over which variables mediate more impact than others (see Chapter II- Psychological Effects of Sexual Abuse to Males), there is consensus that a particular constellation of variables will have more or less influence on the later psychological adjustment of the adult male.

Research was undertaken (Haugaard & Tilly, 1988) which attempted to survey 1784 college students in order to correlate which characteristics of the childhood sexual encounter predicted the subject's reaction to the experience and the "results suggest that it is the atmosphere surrounding the sexual experience and not the sex itself that has the greatest influence" (Haugaard & Tilly, 1987, p. 216). There is also a theoretical model developing that proposes that the differential adult adjustment of victims of childhood sexual abuse is mediated by the person's attribution concerning their molestation and their evaluative interpretation of their experience (Tsai, Feldman-Summers & Edgar, 1979; Seidner & Calhoun, 1987). Other investigations examining the specific factors associated with an increased impact of sexual abuse (Conte & Schuerman, 1987) have uncovered "the powerful role the victim's support system plays in reducing the impact of abuse:

In families which are seen by social workers as having significant problems in living or having more indicators of a pathological family, victims do worse. Victims who have supportive relationships with non-offending adults or siblings are less affected. Variables indicating supportive relationships with others and the general functioning of the victim's family together explain the largest amount of variance in both measures of child functioning. (Conte & Schuerman, 1987, p. 209).

The host of variables that comprise these supportive and pathological relationships in the child's social environment indicate the interrelationships of each characteristic surrounding the abuse. Between the internal cognitive processes, the particular facets and interactions during the abuse itself, and the environmental and developmental variables in the child's life surrounding the abuse, each incident of child abuse merits detailed attention. This is why there has been a recurring recommendation from researchers in the field to begin collecting data directly from abuse victims themselves:

The findings also point to the importance of understanding the victim's experience of the abuse. Although they explain relatively small amounts of the variance in functioning, variables such as the victim's perception of her or his own role in the abuse or the victim's perception of the overall quality of her/his relationship with the offender appear to be related to the effects of sexual abuse. (Conte & Schuerman, 1987, p. 210)

The notion of contextual variables has been elaborated upon here as a way of broadening the child's interactional sphere before and after the abuse; not only to distinct people, but to a community of individuals who share a particular set of explanations or meanings about human behavior, also referred to as an "ecology of ideas" (Anderson, Goolishian & Winderman, 1986). In this way, socially constructed and encouraged ideas and ways of

understanding one's life in that community of ideas and its specific language uses create a different screen or lens for the child. This is how one's own perceptions of their gender identity and social expectations are shaped and informed by the adults around them. There are virtually no research projects that are examining this variable that is loosely termed "meaning-making." However the importance of understanding the meanings, symbols, and associations that arise from the construction of meanings that men describe about their abuse has yet to be recognized.

The recent impact of constructivist theory (Efran, Lukens & Lukens, 1988) sheds light on the importance of the use of language and meaning derivation that comes to be believed as real or nonexistent. The emphasis in this theory is on context and meaning; that meaning made from life events is contingent upon the context in which it occurs. Francisco Varela (1976) a Chilean biologist who has written extensively on constructivist theory states that "everything said is said from a particular tradition, a social and historical context that shapes and molds the reactions that the participants ascribe to a shared event"(p.14). When discussing rape, Efran and his colleagues (1988) describe rape not just as an action or event but as a framework of activity and interpretation, made possible by and shared by a consensual language system. From this paradigm, the ways in which sexual events are understood, communicated, and recursively influenced by the context in which they occur influence subsequent meanings and responses to these events. Child sexual abuse is no exception to the cultural and social constructions that influence the way language is used to define and assess the impact of these events in childrens lives. The subsequent environmental responses to and from the child have the potential for pervasive influence in the child's reconstructions of these sexual experiences as he develops into adulthood.

It is also becoming more apparent within the field that gender differences and socialization factors may have a significant impact on how childhood sexual experiences are perceived and internalized at the time the child is abused, throughout the child's developmental stages, and by his family, peers, and outside agencies. This has given rise to a number of clinical propositions asserting the need for treatment providers to carefully examine the broader social systems that indirectly intervene in the lives of individuals and families (Imber-Black, 1986; Anderson, Goolishian, & Winderman, 1986; Levin, Raser, Niles, & Reese, 1986). Social network models of treatment have begun to address a wide range of social problems, from drug abuse to parent effectiveness, to sexual abuse recovery (Brunk et al., 1987; Joanning et al., 1986; Woodard et al., 1983). These theories emphasize the need for "assessing the involvement of all helpers within the larger system and examining the impact of the other treatments (social, legal, therapeutic) on the family's organization" (Woodard et al., 1983, p.35). In these efforts to diagnose and treat those systems, each service provider is directly or indirectly communicating to the child about his problem. Anderson, Goolishian & Winderman (1986) posit the notion that therapeutic interventions can be made by reshaping the meaning and language used to determine the existence of the problem.

The clinical application of constructivist theory highlights the importance of understanding the constructs of abuse and victimization within a larger context. The tradition evident in our understanding of sex roles and power imbalances has created an ecology of ideas regarding childhood sexual experiences that may involve gender differences in meaning ascription. Previous research efforts have yet to examine these social constructions in direct relationship to the meaning that subjects make of their childhood sexual experiences, particularly with males. This study attempts to contribute new

data into the field of sexual abuse assessment and treatment that better understands the ways in which men process and cope with sexual abuse and how researchers and clinicians can best use language to elicit these meanings from abused and nonabused men directly.

Statement of the Problem

This study attempts to understand the prevalence and characteristics of childhood sexual experiences that may broadly be defined as abusive and how males ascribe meaning to these events. Given pervasive gender-specific traditions influencing how boys come to understand their roles in relation to their sexual development, the responses males have to sexual experiences as children may influence their later adult adjustment. Furthermore, the specific context within which the sexual experience occurs may alter the immediate and subsequent reactions to these events, thus ameliorating or exacerbating the outcome of the experience for the child.

Within a field of study that advocates that any sexual touching between an adult and a child is inappropriate and therefore exploitative (Finkelhor, 1979), a language has emerged that describes a passive and helpless participant submitting to the sexual wishes of a more powerful and coercive older person. This language has recursively shaped the ways in which we understand the dynamics of child sexual abuse, influencing the ecology of ideas within which males come to understand and adapt to their experiences. It is important to delve beyond the common ways of ascertaining whether or not a sexual experience was victimizing to a child (i.e. consent, self-reports, and age differentials) and begin to carefully analyze men's constructions of meaning in relationship to the context in which these perceptions arise. In

this way, we can co-construct modifications in the language used to elicit and transform men's perceptions of possible abusive childhood experiences.

Several important questions will be investigated in this project:

1) In what frequency do college men experience childhood sexual experiences with older or more powerful participants? What are the characteristics of these experiences, specific to the sexual events and to the family environment in which the child lives? What are men's self-reported perceptions of these experiences at the time of the event and how do they evaluate the impact and influence of these experiences on their current lives?

2) What differences exist between what men anonymously report as the impact of these experiences on their lives and more objective measures of young adult adjustment? Are there relationships between certain variables of these experiences that correlate to better or worse adult adjustment for men?

3) How do differences in traditional gender-role identification influence the ways in which males evaluate potentially abusive sexual experiences as a child? Does gender identification in males correlate more specifically to differences in meaning ascription dependent upon the gender of the older participant in the sexual experience?

4) On what qualitative dimensions are the constructs of abuse, misuse, seduction, and sexual play as defined by males related to their quantitative descriptions of their childhood sexual experiences? Are retrospective accounts of the impact of childhood sexual experiences on men's lives over time as reported in a structured interview consistent with independent descriptions of their difficulties and accomplishments in living according to quantitative measures?

5) Can qualitative levels of meaning be ascertained from men's descriptions of childhood sexual experiences that correlate with the contextual

variables (i.e. sexual event characteristics, environmental factors, and cognitive attributions) of the experience? Can these levels of meaning inform our understanding of how language can be used in clinical research, assessment, and treatment that liberates men's ability to create their own definitions of these events and correlations between their past patterns of adaptation to their current modes of adult functioning?

Answers to these questions will elucidate the extent to which larger social traditions influence meaning-making for males and ultimately the adjustment processes that ensue after the childhood sexual experiences. This information has important implications for researchers and clinicians in terms of arriving at a more appropriate consensus with which to define abusive childhood sexual experiences for both males and females. These understandings will reverberate in the social justice system as legal statutes needed to prosecute offenders are examined, in the expansion of empirical knowledge of this overlooked population, and in the mental health profession as clients are evaluated and offered clinical resources based upon psychosexual histories and self-reports of their experiences.

Statement of Purpose

The present investigation will replicate two college surveys (Finkelhor, 1979; Fromuth and Burkhart, 1989) which attempted to quantitatively measure prevalence rates and descriptive characteristics of abusive childhood sexual experiences. Childhood sexual abuse, although not explicitly stated or defined in these research protocols, is based on an age discrepancy which is legally defined in most states according to community standards. Because many incidences of sexual abuse take place at the hands of older children or occur in

early adolescence (Finkelhor, 1979), a five year age differential was selected between the child and the older participant when the child was twelve years old or younger and a ten year age differential was used when the adolescent was thirteen to sixteen years old. It was felt that these age differences constituted sufficient discrepancy in developmental maturity and knowledge to indicate the presence of victimization. In the present survey, these experiences could have occurred up until the present age of the subject at the time of the survey, or between any two children of any age when force or threats were used to coerce the child to participate in the sexual experience.

The questionnaire is intended to elicit a descriptive profile of the student's abusive childhood experiences along with demographic and family information. The subject is asked to evaluate his perceptions of the sexual event at the time of the abuse and in his current life. There are several questions included to measure the respondent's present sexual self-esteem.

Replicating this data allows for direct comparisons between studies and provides opportunities to expand upon this research in several significant ways. It first provides an opportunity to correlate these findings with independent measures of current adult adjustment and adherence to hypermasculine attitudes and beliefs. A relationship can then be established between direct descriptions of the abusive sexual event, perceptions of the event, present functioning, and gender identification. The purpose of ascertaining these connections is to draw conclusions regarding the consistency of the student's account of his childhood sexual experiences with separate indicators of psychological adjustment and gender-biased socialization influences.

This research goes even further in directly eliciting information from these males about their constructions of meaning surrounding these

experiences in their lives. This allows for greater contextualization of the childhood sexual event, and hopefully a broader understanding of the coping strategies that mitigate more positive or negative impact on adult development. With a clearer distinction drawn between environmental, abuse-related, and cognitive-perceptual variables, we are more likely to appreciate the complex interrelatedness inherent in childhood sexual abuse for males. The findings from this research will have apparent implications for female victims of sexual abuse, as well as for other forms of childhood abuse or neglect.

Finally, based on the outcome of this research, this project will propose guidelines for the language used to define and elicit reports of childhood sexual abuse. These recommendations will be predicated upon an analysis of qualitative data from structured interviews which will highlight the ways in which men themselves define and understand these experiences. The meanings generated from these men will highlight the importance of cognitive structuring and restructuring as a means of adapting to and altering the impact of male sexual victimization.

Design of the the Study

148 college males enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses completed three self-report inventories; a Life Experience Inventory (LEI), Student Developmental Task and Lifestyle Inventory (SDTLI) and a Hypermasculinity Index (M Scale). The LEI elicited demographic and family background information along with specific descriptions of childhood sexual experiences that fell within the stipulated age differentials between participants. The SDTLI provided quantitative measure's of the student's current emotional, behavioral, and academic functioning and the M Scale

rated each subject's adherence to traditional beliefs about "appropriate" male interactions in relationship to women and other men.

Ten students who reported a childhood sexual experience with a significantly older person volunteered for an in-depth structured interview several weeks following the completion of the three inventories described above. The young men were asked to elaborate on their perceptions, definitions, and their understanding of the impact of these experiences in their lives. Subjects were interviewed for ninety minutes to two hours and they were asked a total of twenty questions. The last few questions specifically followed up on the student's perceptions of their own gender socialization process.

Quantitative data was organized and coded according to whether the subject had experienced a childhood sexual experience that fit the research criteria, whether this experience occurred up until or after age twelve, and whether the older participant was male or female. Analyses of variance were performed to determine statistically significant differences between these groups and between variables being studied, while frequency counts were utilized to indicate directional trends in these results. Qualitative analyses of student interview transcripts examined the contextual variables and cognitive attributions surrounding the childhood sexual experience along with perceptual descriptions defining the event and its impact on the subject's life. These distinctions were simultaneously correlated to the quantitative data that each respondent reported on the three independent inventories.

This exploratory study examines the relationship between what male students anonymously disclose as potentially abusive sexual episodes of childhood and the meanings and social constructions that arise and evolve from these events. This investigation intends to highlight the differences

inherent in those accounts that are not perceived as abusive and those that are clearly defined as exploitative. Speculations will be made regarding the contextual variables mediating these differences and the implications of these findings will be related to future research endeavors, clinical assessments, and treatment strategies.

Significance of the Study

As noted earlier, no research has yet to be undertaken linking qualitative accounts of men's descriptions of their childhood sexual experiences with quantifiable measures of self-reported disclosures, adult adjustment processes, and socialization influences. Although suggestions have arisen from other empirical studies that contextual variables within and surrounding the abusive relationship mitigate more influence than the actual sexual events themselves, this project represents an initial effort to underscore the significance of the meaning that children make of these experiences contingent upon the social ecology of ideas and interrelationships that intricately define its context. This research has direct bearing upon the ways in which we choose to label and characterize sexual interactions between children and older people in their lives.

This study also highlights the importance of gender socialization in the meaning making process for males, particularly when examining differences in the gender of the older or abusive participant. There has recently been a resurgence of public interest and debate over the impact of youthful male sexual experiences with older women, and the prevailing social consensus conforms to the belief that boys are lucky to be getting seduced, however girls in a similar position are seen as vulnerable to manipulation and abuse. Results

from this project will critically reexamine this proposition and broaden public sensitivity to the reported difficulties inherent to men who must adapt to these experiences and subsequent social reactions.

This study is also another important step toward contributing to a body of knowledge that urgently needs attention. The findings that arise here will add to our professional understanding of how males react to and process their sexual victimizations. This information will heed the cry of researchers nationwide:

Several additional questions...are in crying need of research. One is the sexual abuse of boys. Probably the most serious question in regards to boys is how their response to victimization differs from that of girls and how clinicians can take this difference into account. Even purely descriptive accounts of work with sexual abused boys would be an important resource given the current state of ignorance on the subject. (Finkelhor, 1984, p.230)

The clinical implications of this research has far reaching implications for mental health providers, court and legal personnel, and social service workers. Not only will our awareness of this population be heightened, but increased sensitivity to the ways in which boys and men adapt to sexual abuse can inform our intervention strategies when evaluating and treating abused males. Thus, this study can impart current formulations of the impact of male sexual abuse into the development of new or modified clinical resources for this population.

Finally, this study will directly confront the myths and attitudes that prevent males and their families from bringing these abuses to public attention. The efforts made here to emphasize the influence of the male ethic on boy's sexual experiences coupled with documentation of the significant

impact that these experiences have on their lives will hopefully create yet another public declaration of the importance of reporting and discussing these events with others:

To increase the reporting of such abuse, special efforts will undoubtedly have to be made. Such efforts should broadcast explicitly the fact that abuse of boys is common. Boys and their families need public reassurance that boys are not at fault for such abuse and that such abuse does not mean that boys will become homosexuals. However, the underreporting of abuse of boys has deep roots in sex-role stereotypes and homophobia that will not easily be changed short of direct assault on these attitudes. Boys will be less likely to report abuse as long as it is considered unmanly to ask for help or suffer a hurt and as long as being the victim of sexual assault is a threat to masculinity. So those who would work to increase reporting must help to change these attitudes as well. (Finkelhor, 1984, p. 233)

Perhaps the greatest significance of this study is the slow and methodical influence that this research may have on the attitudes that perpetuate underreporting. This publication will hopefully expand and emancipate prevailing public consciousness about issues of gender so that it will become more permissible for males in the future to seek out assistance in coping with sexual abuse.

Limitations of the Study

These are clear limitations to using a college population for research purposes. The major drawback is the homogeneous nature of the sample and the lack of representativeness. The specific attributes which characterize a college population also amplify the limits of its generalizability to the

population at large. "Only about 40% of an age group currently attends college in this country, and this 40 percent contains the brightest, the most motivated, the most upwardly mobile, the mentally healthiest, and of course, the most well-to-do." (Finkelhor, 1979, p. 39). This somewhat elite sample does not accurately convey the realities of those less fortunate individuals who may have markedly different experiences of childhood sexual abuse. In fact, more troubled or disadvantaged people may be at higher risk for abuse, thus potentially clouding the actual prevalence of this event in the lives of men.

Although the research protocols used in this study encouraged anonymity in disclosing potential experiences of child sexual abuse, inhibitors to recognizing these abuses for males may still keep reporting levels low. This unrepresentative sample also suffers from a small and underestimated pool of subjects from which to generalize to other males. Furthermore, those who volunteered to be interviewed directly may be a select group of men who have already struggled with the impact of these events in their lives, thus creating the impression that most other males have dealt with their abuse in similar ways. Given the social impediments to publicly discussing these experiences, those men who chose to be interviewed may be a very distinct and separate sample than most other males. All of these factors limit the generalizability and wider applicability of the results uncovered here.

Finally, the qualitative analysis of interview transcripts inevitably introduces researcher bias and subjectivity when reporting findings and correlating these results to quantitative data. Although the reciprocal influence of this researcher's historical context and current perceptual approach to this subject will be openly discussed, it nonetheless skews the ethnography used to represent the males who were interviewed. It was not often possible, given the mass of qualitative data gathered, to include complete

excerpts from the transcripts, including interviewer questions. It is certain, however, that other researchers would interpret, process, and present this data differently. The strength of this research rests upon this researcher's ability to demonstrate a firm command of the literature in the field, a sensitivity to the issues being addressed, and a willingness to publicly account for the influence of his own presumptions and biases upon the creation of this work. The success of these endeavors can only be evaluated by each reader, and the difficulties inherent in questioning the validity of these results will be a potential limitation to any qualitative research undertaken.

Outline of Chapters

This dissertation consists of five chapters. This first chapter has overviewed the primary components of the male ethic that preclude accurate reporting of cases of male sexual victimization. This introduction has also underscored the importance of context and meaning in understanding these intricately social interactions of child sexual abuse, and has oriented the reader to the present intent and organization of this current study.

Chapter II will review the literature in the field of sexual of abuse to males. The chapter will begin with an important discussion of the problem of defining sexual abuse and will proceed to look at prevalence rates, victim, family, and perpetrator characteristics, psychological effects to males, gender differences in child sexual abuse, and a number of selected topics in the literature. These topics include differences in intrafamilial versus extrafamilial abuses to boys, risk factors predisposing some boys to higher risk of abuse, and future directions for research in the field. This chapter attempts to update the reader on the current knowledge in the field so as to have a point

of reference to compare the findings uncovered here with other similar projects already conducted.

Chapter III describes the design of the study and the format for interpretation of the data. It provides an explanation of the quantitative measures being utilized as well as scoring techniques and validity and reliability indicators. The qualitative methodology is also described, including the differentiation of the contextual variables being examined and the ways in which these factors are constructed and identified. The statistical correlations and integration of both kinds of data are also discussed and procedures detailed for how the results will be generated.

Chapter IV is a presentation of the findings from this study. These results are organized into two sections. The first part of this chapter describes the quantitative results from the college survey that was performed. The whole research sample is first characterized according to demographic, environmental, and attitudinal differences amongst all the college men surveyed. The data is then separated into three distinct comparisons; correlations between those students who identified a childhood sexual experience as stipulated in the research questionnaire versus those students who did not, differences between those men who reported a sexual experience either up until age twelve or after age twelve, and a comparison of those respondents who disclosed a sexual experience with another male as opposed to those who reported an experience with an older female.

The second part of this chapter will describe those men who volunteered for follow-up interviews according to the quantitative data they provided. Analyses of the interviews they gave will then identify and distinguish between contextual variables that were discussed in the interview and how language was used to present these constructions of meaning. There

will be a grouping of these men together depending upon perceptions of their family life and adult adjustment as either positive or negative, independent measures of poor interpersonal adult adjustment, and strong adherence to hypermasculine beliefs and attitudes. A classification of the contextual variables that were elicited through the structured interview will be discussed according to this grouping and initial comparisons discussed.

Chapter V will analyze the results of this study, highlighting the significance of those findings that have strong implications for our knowledge in the field, and comparing these conclusions with others generated from similar research. Attempts will be made to link the quantitative to the qualitative data and the ramifications of these correlations will be addressed. Interviewer bias and influence upon the gathering, presenting, and interpretation of the results will also be examined for its relative impact on these findings. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the study and the relevant information that was generated from each of these five chapters.

CHAPTER II

REVIEWING THE LITERATURE ON SEXUAL ABUSE TO MALES

Introduction

Rapid developments are being made in empirical research and written discussion of male victims of abuse. Journal articles and studies now appear regularly examining the prevalence, impact and specific characteristics of child sexual abuse to male children. As late as 1987, most of the available books and research articles focused predominantly on victims of father-daughter incest. As the realization has grown that abuses occur frequently outside of the home, more chapters are being written on extrafamilial abuses to children (McFarland, 1986; Van Scoyk et al., 1988). This has stirred interest in the possibility that boys may be having sexual experiences in and out of their homes that would clearly be descriptive of most definitions of sexual abuse. The first random national survey (Timick, 1985) was just recently conducted and several current research projects are beginning to delineate differences between male and female responses to sexual abuse. The data and observations found in the literature offer a starting point from which to start generating initial theories and models for working with abused boys and men.

The literature in the field of male sexual victimization includes a variety of qualitative and quantitative studies. In reading these accounts, there are significant differences between the sampling techniques used, the operational constructs of sexual abuse, the measures used to evaluate the findings, and the target audience for these reports. Results from such studies can be as inconclusive as clinical case studies that attempt to generalize from one or two

case examples.. When the definitions of abuse being used amongst studies are carefully examined, there are large discrepancies in the specific criteria used to verify that sexual abuse has occurred. The majority of research samples (Finkelhor, 1984; Conte, 1985; Vander Mey, 1988) including male participants are a fraction of the size of female subjects. This not only reduces the power and generalizability to which conclusions can be drawn but also conveys the impression that males are only a small percentage of children being abused. When coupled with the heavy reliance on post-factum self-reports and the lack of replication studies, these limitations exacerbate the relative weakness of the literature in this field. These shortcomings are now well documented in articles critiquing research methodology and design (Wyatt & Peters, 1986a, 1986b; Fantuzzo & Twentyman, 1986; Smith, Rachman & Yule, 1984; Haugaard & Emery, 1989). Despite these gaps and inadequacies in our current knowledge base of male victimology, there is growing recognition and concern that males need stronger representation in future research projects and clinical services. We are moving steadily toward a substantive pool of explanatory data in this emerging field.

Articles and books which discuss male victims focus on a broad array of populations and perspectives. Some studies focus on boys or men exclusively (Dimock, 1987; Bruckner & Johnson, 1987; Friedrich, Urquiza & Beilke, 1986), while other studies (Mian et al., 1986; Johnson & Shrier, 1985, 1987) specifically research male children under twelve years of age, or adolescents. Reports vary in terms of the males relationship to the offender (Finkelhor, 1980; Krug, 1989; Halpern, 1987), the gender of the offender (Johnson & Shrier, 1987), and the comparison of adult males and boys to adult females and girls (Faller, 1989; Pierce & Pierce, 1985). Studies draw their samples from hospitalized psychiatric patients (Hussey, 1989), mental health clinic clients

(Swift, 1976; Briere et al., 1988), runaway youths (McCormack, Janus & Burgess, 1986; Janus, Burgess & McCormack, 1987), hotline callers (Thomas, Johnson & Bransford, 1978; Woods & Dean, 1984), hospital and social service records (Ellerstein & Canavan, 1980; Rimsza & Niggeman, 1982; Finkelhor, 1984), and most commonly from college undergraduate volunteers (Finkelhor, 1979, 1984; Fromuth and Burkhart, 1988). There are fewer empirically based articles written by clinicians who have worked with male abuse victims regarding the salient therapeutic issues in the treatment process (Stuart & Greer, 1984; Sebold; 1987). However, there are now many personal accounts of recovery from male abuse survivors themselves (Lew, 1989; Hunter, 1990; Bolton, Morris & MacEachron, 1989). This writing focuses predominantly on prevalence rates, descriptive characteristics of abused males and their offenders, gender differences in response to abuse, the psychological impact of abuse on males, risk factors for males, and treatment approaches with this population and their families. It is this collection of literature from which our present survey is drawn. This chapter attempts to exhaustively review these findings as they illuminate our present understanding of this neglected population.

It is noteworthy to emphasize here that conclusions arising from these studies must remain tentative at best. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, reported levels for male abuse victims are likely to be underestimated, thus restricting researchers to a small, and potentially unrepresentative pool of male subjects. Studies and clinical accounts posit theories and clinical indicators but these isolated analyses of self-reports from both client and therapist remain speculative and unconfirmed. The significant methodological shortcomings in these findings continue to lower the validity and reliability of any stated conclusions. Until more national random surveys of males are performed and replicated, these early inferences remain highly unconfirmed, and can only

point to broader areas for further exploration. The complexity of these issues will be carefully examined and synthesized in the remainder of this chapter.

Problems of Defining Sexual Abuse

There are widespread debates over how researchers operationalize the concept of sexual abuse. Wyatt and Peters (1986a) have examined this issue by comparing four different definitional constructs used in available research studies that are likely to be of importance in defining child sexual abuse: 1) the upper age limit of the child, 2) the inclusion or exclusion of experiences involving peers, 3) the criteria used to define a given sexual experience as abusive, and 4) the use of different criteria for incidents occurring during adolescence. Each of these component variables deserves clarification in that each opens up other controversial issues of particular relevance to male victims of abuse. Each variable will be discussed separately with examples used to highlight the differences in outcomes resulting from variations in these definitions.

The Upper Age Limit of the Child

There are ongoing questions in the field of sexual abuse research and treatment regarding the age at which a child is able to responsibly consent to participate in sexual relations with others. These questions are borne out of controversy and debate, involving discussions about developmental maturity levels, sexual experience and knowledge levels, and one's emotional and cognitive abilities. Although most states have legislation defining incest, statutory rape and indecent exposure to a minor, these laws vary widely as to

the age limits of the child and what constitutes illegal sexual interactions (Vander Mey, 1988). This is also true of research studies assessing the prevalence and impact of child sexual abuse. With considerable discrepancies arising from these definitional differences, there is little uniformity in the research results obtained which would allow for broader generalization. Therefore, these differences must be interpreted with caution and sensitivity to the specific parameters being upheld in defining sexual abuse.

For example, one study (DeJong et al, 1982) reviewed case records in a rape crisis center over a four year period of time (1976-1980). The researchers chose to look at recorded allegations of sexual assault complaints from male children under the age of eighteen. These same files were analyzed over a three year period of time (DeJong et al., 1983) for both male and female children using children under the age of sixteen. In both cases, sexual assault was not overtly defined and the prevalence rates for males varied from 14% of all sexual assault victims under 18 years old to 18.2% of all victims under 16 years old. To further highlight the specific context of the data gathered, this sample came from an inner-city hospital where 72-74% of the children were black.

Finkelhor (1984), in a well documented survey of New England college students asked them about childhood sexual experiences with a much older person - defined as five or more years older for a child under 13, and 10 or more years older for a child under 17 (pp. 152-154.). It is noteworthy that the definition of abuse used in this study specified that the sexual experience needed to include physical contact with the child. Prevalence rates varied from 4.1% of all college males having childhood sexual experiences under 13 years old, to 8.7% of males having had either or both sexual experiences before 13 or before 17 years old according to the above stipulations. For purposes of

comparison to other studies looking at national prevalence levels, Finkelhor (1984) highlighted the results describing males who reported an abusive experience as prepubescents. These differences are significant when figures such as these are then generalized to males in the larger society.

Experiences Involving Peers

When considering whether or not to include experiences involving peers in abuse definitions, there are many questions still unanswered regarding the potential for abusive sexual interactions amongst siblings, cousins, and peers (DeJong, 1989; Finkelhor, 1980; Smith & Israel, 1987). Judith Becker and her colleagues (1986) studied adolescent incest perpetrators and questioned the differences between "normal "sex play of an innocent nature or sex acts as a consequence of the "normal aggressiveness of a sexually maturing adolescent versus the outright aggressive sexual victimization of a peer" (p.86.). DeJong (1989) reexamined previous data from his earlier hospital case records and expanded upon Finkelhor and Hotaling's (1984) criteria for defining sexual contact as abusive;

1. Sexual contact is abusive in a child less than 13 years of age if the perpetrator is at least 5 years older than the victim, and in a child 13-16 years of age if the perpetrator is at least 10 years older than the victim.
2. Sexual contact is abusive if it occurs as the result of force, threat, deceit while unconscious or through exploitation of an authority relationship, no matter what the age of the partner. (p. 276)

DeJong included in this definition of assaultive behavior any attempted or completed penile-vaginal or penile-anal penetration and/or documented

physical injury in the victim. "When any one or more of these four factors were present, the contact was considered abusive" (DeJong, 1989, p. 276.). There were, however five cases in his study that involved an adolescent male perpetrator who was four years older than the preadolescent victim. DeJong speculated that "the developmental level of the perpetrator was not the same as the victim's and the sexual interactions were probably abusive (p. 276). These cases, which comprised 14% of the sibling cases reported to the Rape Crisis Center, did however include attempted intercourse, and three of the five cases were medically documented with physical injuries.

What remains unclear is whether sexual activity between children of different developmental levels or ages is necessarily exploitive. DeJong believes that the age criteria developed between the older and younger participants are a proxy for developmental differences which thus constitute abusive behaviors. However there are no direct correlations between a child's actual age and specific developmental abilities which are currently used in defining abusive incidences. Fromuth & Burkhart (1986) varied their definitional constructs in replicating Finkelhor's survey of college students and found significant differences (15% versus 21%) when the older participant had to be at least 16 years old irregardless of the age differential.(versus the child being under 13 years old with a perpetrator five years older or the boy over 13 with a perpetrator who was at least 10 years older). Finkelhor (1980) found in his college survey that at least 25% of sibling sexual activities had an exploitive quality to them, usually involving "misusing their authority and sophistication by misrepresenting moral standards and by manipulating incentives for a younger child." (p. 177). This kind of exploitation can and does occur amongst peers even when force or threats are not involved. In our current sample of research studies, many

abuse definitions do not include sexual contact between peers and when adolescent perpetrators are included, they must conform to arbitrary age differences or self-reported disclosures detailing the use of force or threats. When overt force or threat is not apparent or the older peer falls short of the age differential needed to substantiate abuse, these cases do not get included in the data analysis, and may substantially alter prevalence rates or descriptive accounts of sexual abuse to males.

The Criteria Used to Define a Sexual Experience as Abusive

The range of sexual behaviors that are specified in definitions of sexual abuse will also modify the results obtained from research projects. There are two broad distinctions made in most definitions of childhood sexual abuse between contact and noncontact sexual behaviors;

The term noncontact abuse refers to sexual behaviors that do not involve physical contact between perpetrator and victim, such as exposure of the genitals and solicitations to engage in sexual activity. The term contact abuse encompasses those types of abuse that do involve sexual contact, including fondling, rubbing of genitals against the victim's body, attempted or completed vaginal intercourse, oral sex, and anal sex. (Wyatt & Peters, 1986, p. 232).

In examining two studies where contact and noncontact abuses were reported (Russell, 1983; Wyatt, 1985), Wyatt and Peters (1986) found that "the inclusion or exclusion of women who experienced only noncontact forms of abuse has a substantial impact on prevalence rates" (p. 235). Differences of 16% and 17% were reported in both these studies when noncontact abuses were included in prevalence rates. Fromuth and Burkhart (1986) report prevalence rates

among male college students that are consistent with the statistics uncovered by studies of women. These researchers, however, asked subjects to try to remember the sexual experiences they had while growing up. By "sexual" they meant "a broad range of things, anything from playing "doctor," to sexual intercourse- in fact, anything that might have seemed sexual." This broad definition leaves it up to the subject to define noncontact sexual behavior and may elicit experiences not subsumed under exhibitionism or a sexual request. Subsequently, prevalence rates varied from 9% for men who were involved in sexual behaviors where physical contact was involved as opposed to a 24% rate when noncontact behaviors were included. This difference demonstrates that research involving male subjects and childhood sexual experiences can have a significant impact on reporting rates depending upon the criteria used to define such an experience as abusive.

Abuses Occurring in Adolescence

Finally, different definitions have been used for sexual experiences involving adolescents (Russell, 1983; Finkelhor, 1979; Wyatt, 1985). The stipulations added to experiences involving adolescents often include lack of consent (or the experience being "unwanted"), the use of force or threats, experiences only occurring with an older family member, or those behaviors limited to completed or attempted rape. The rationale operating here is the belief that adolescents have developed adequate cognitive, emotional and physical maturity to consent to sexual experiences with older persons. However, the issue of an adolescent victim's responsibility for the sexual event with or without consent remains controversial. After reviewing the varied definitions of sexual abuse, Wyatt and Peters (1986) suggest that the legal

system reinforces the existence of a double standard for abuses occurring in childhood versus adolescence. Statutory rape laws in most states are discussed as inclusive of adolescents whereas lewd and lascivious acts are included as sexual assault cases only when the victim is 13 years old or younger (p. 238). As discussed earlier, there are disagreements over whether children can exert power over other children. If researchers continue to impose highly restrictive criteria involving sexual experiences amongst adolescent peers;

there may be a tendency not to collect data that may, in fact, be considered sexually abusive under another definition and that may also have an impact on the psychological adjustment of the victim. The deletion of this kind of material in data collection, without sufficient justification, may also reinforce to subjects that these experiences are not considered to be sexual abuse. (p.239)

These authors propose that data be collected on all abuse experiences regardless of the type of sexual behavior, the age of the subject or the perpetrator, or of their relationship to each other, with the exception of consensual incidents with peers. In this manner, analyses can be adjusted to fit a variety of definitions, thus allowing for more unification between studies and greater empirical differentiation between child and adolescent sexual abuse.

In addition to the differences in particular facets of the abuse definition, there are significant disparities in the specificity of the language used to describe these experiences, ranging from overly inclusive to narrowly precise. David Walter (1975) defines sexual abuse as "the utilization of the child for sexual gratification or an adult's permitting another person to so use the child (p.29)." This definition broadly implies that the child could be

potentially "utilized" simply by bathing, sitting on someone's lap, or getting undressed. Vander Mey (1988) suggests that sexual victimization implies "the aggressive and coercive exploitation of an individual which is sexual in nature and renders an individual a victim" (p.62). Unfortunately, the aggressive and coercive element of this definition does not account for a large portion of incidents where a confused, curious, and uninformed child unknowingly complies with the abuser's requests, simply by not resisting or saying no. Brandt and Tisza (1977) propose a more moderate definition which relabels abuse as misuse; "Sexual misuse of a child is the exposure of a child to sexual stimulation inappropriate for a child's age, level of psychosexual development, and role in the family" (p. 81). However, it is unclear according to this construct whether the child must be directly stimulated or if he can simply witness sexual stimulation not involving direct contact. This definition also allows for peers to stimulate peers without using force or threat.

Definitional Constructs Utilized in this Current Research

The definition most encompassing of each of the above definitions was developed by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect in 1978:

Contacts or interactions between a child and an adult when the child is being used for the sexual stimulation of the (older) person. Sexual abuse may be committed by a person under the age of 18 when the perpetrator is in the position of power or control over another child. (p.7)

As suggested in the opening chapter, boys are more often encouraged to explore their sexuality at earlier ages than girls, and boys may often comply with strong social pressures to perform adequately in sexual situations in

order to safeguard their masculinity. When there is a significant age difference between the child and the older participant and the younger participant is exposed to sexual stimulation, power imbalances are inherent in the interactions, particularly in regard to age, level of sexual experience and knowledge, and perceived authority position. When an older person takes advantage of this powerful position for their own gratification, they have clearly abused their power at the expense of the child. The NCCAN definition does not adequately address these developmental variables nor does it go far enough to delineate differences in power and control between people.

Suzanne Sgroi, a child psychiatrist who has worked extensively with sexually abused children and their families offers a comprehensive definition of child sexual abuse in her widely regarded Handbook of Clinical Intervention in Child Sexual Abuse (1982), which will serve as an organizing framework from which to understand the concepts being reiterated throughout this work:

Child sexual abuse is a sexual act imposed on a child who lacks emotional, maturational, and cognitive development. The ability to lure a child into a sexual relationship is based upon the all-powerful and dominant position of the adult or older adolescent perpetrator, which is in sharp contrast to the child's age, dependency, and subordinate position. Authority and power enable the perpetrator, implicitly or directly, to coerce the child into sexual compliance. (p. 9)

Despite the comprehensive scope of this definition, there are still several variables in this definition that cannot be uniformly defined due to a lack of consensus between professionals; 1) the actual age differential between participants which constitutes dominance or power, especially when no force or threat is involved, 2) the developmental indicators of "maturity" in children that inherently endow a child with informed consent in sexual

decisions, 3) the kinds of contact and noncontact sexual experiences that can be coercive and imposed on children, and 4) how power and authority are defined between participants. These four factors pose difficult challenges for researchers and clinicians and they magnify in complexity when examining gender socialization and the impact of language on one's self-perceptions. These issues will first be discussed before proceeding with this review.

Sex-Role Socialization Influences

Gender biases come sharply into focus when considering male victimization by female offenders. Given the physical power differential that allows most males to use force against females, it is often assumed that women will be unable to protect themselves physically against men. Feminist literature has also focused direct attention on the ways in which a patriarchal social system breeds the oppression of women. Therefore, a fifteen year old girl being propositioned to become sexually involved with an older man is likely to elicit concern for the girl's vulnerability to being taken advantage of by a sexually aroused older male. The added possibility of force, threats, or coercion further highlights the female's potential vulnerability to being oppressed, abused, victimized, or misused. More recently, date rape and marital rape have come into widespread public media exposure and serve to underscore the woman's vulnerability to abuses of power in peer sexual relationships as well.

This vulnerability factor is not often considered when assessing a teenage boy engaging in sexual activity with a significantly older woman. Pervasive social attitudes regarding a boy's high sexual curiosity and hormonal levels, his assumed ability to physically protect himself when in

danger, and the desirability to have frequent heterosexual experiences influence boy's reactions and responses in markedly different ways. The boy may experience fear, confusion, ambivalence, and lack of sexual and emotional maturity despite consenting to or not resisting the sexual opportunity. Under these circumstances, if he chooses to disclose his sexual experiences with an older person, he is likely to fear that his masculinity may be questioned because he did not feel adequate, comfortable, or in control of his sexuality. This distinct perceptual difference in assessing girls and boys creates an ambiguous frame of reference when attempting to determine age differences between participants and appropriate consensual ages to substantiate sexual misuse or abuse.

These dilemmas also raise concerns regarding the kind of language used by researchers and clinicians to assess for childhood sexual abuses. "Victim" of abuse implies that the experience was forceful, against one's will, and beyond one's control. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines "victim" as "1. a living being offered as a sacrifice in a religious rite, 2. an individual injured or killed (as by disease or accident), or 3. a person cheated, fooled, or injured." A child who may not have the developmental maturity to assess his readiness to engage in sexual relations is vulnerable to being fooled or cheated into believing that engaging in sexual activity will be beneficial to the youngster.

Summary. What is in question here is the ability of researchers to arrive at a consensus that creates an equitable standard by which to define sexual abuse for both males and females. This will elicit more representative and comparative data in future research studies. While societal double standards will continue to permeate public opinion regarding what is appropriate sexual activity between male children and older participants, the

future literature in the field can contribute significantly to our understanding of what constitutes sexual abuse by constructing operational definitions regardless of gender. Given that prosecution is often an active and powerful component of some victim's recovery, getting validation from the legal justice system will allow male children more socially sanctioned outlets in which to publicly argue their grievances. Although laws can be misconstrued depending upon how they are implemented, the proposed research can have decisive implications for legal statutes used to prosecute abusers- which will ultimately allow both boys and girls equal protection to prosecute their offender under the law.

In the next section, the estimated prevalence of sexual abuse to male children will be examined. In this way, we can better appreciate the extent to which this problem has been overlooked and underresearched.

Prevalence Studies

Previous research projects attempting to account for the prevalence of sexual abuse to male children have uncovered widely divergent results. These variations are likely a result of small and unrepresentative community samples, inconsistent definitions of abuse, and the sex-role barriers (discussed in Chapter I) precluding the accurate reporting of male victimizations. Although it is conceivable that males are infrequently abused, there are significant indications in the research that suggest otherwise. A recent survey of adults that has been analyzed and written up by reporters and researchers alike (Timick, 1985; Finkelhor et al., in press) marks the first national random study examining prevalence and characteristics of sexual abuse victims and their offenders. These results offer the most conclusive

indications of true prevalence rates in the general population and form the basis of comparison to other less rigorous studies. This study will be examined in detail and contrasted to other research findings in an effort to estimate the extent to which males are sexually abused in this country.

In July of 1985, the Los Angeles Times conducted a phone survey of 2,626 American men and women from all 50 states in the union. Households were randomly polled after phone numbers were generated by computer to include listed and unlisted phone numbers nationwide. All of the 1,145 male and 1,481 female respondents were questioned for approximately 30 minutes on the topic of sexual abuse; the identity of these subjects were unknown to the survey research organization. This study reportedly conformed to census demographics for the whole United States and the results were weighted to account for household size and times at home. Of the total number of subjects contacted for this poll, 24% refused to participate in the study (Finkelhor & Hotelling, in press).

Subjects in this survey were determined to have been sexually abused if they responded affirmatively to at least one of four questions:

1) When you were a child (18 years old or younger), can you remember having any experience you would now consider sexual abuse—like someone trying or succeeding in having any kind of sexual intercourse with you, or anything like that?

2) When you were a child, can you remember any kind of experience that you would now consider sexual abuse involving someone touching you, or grabbing you, or kissing you, or rubbing up against your body either in a public place or in private—or anything like that?

3) When you were a child, can you remember any kind of experience that you would now consider sexual abuse involving someone taking nude

photographs of you, or someone exhibiting parts of their body to you, or someone performing some sex act in your presence- or anything like that?

4) When you were a child, can you remember any kind of experience that you would now consider sexual abuse involving oral sex or sodomy, or anything like that? (p. 4)

There are some potential ambiguities in relying on a subject's memory to recognize sexual situations "anything like" the sexual behaviors described which they can readily identify as "abusive." It has hopefully been demonstrated earlier in this chapter that males are more reticent to see themselves as victims of abuse and thus may not associate certain sexual experiences as abusive. Subjects may have unwittingly forgotten about certain experiences that might have been seen as sexual abuse and it is also quite common that adults will experience some dissociation from painful memories in childhood, including sexual abuse. One's interpretation of "anything like that" may or may not conform to what the researchers were looking for and this may in turn, distort some of the data. In actuality, it is likely that reluctance to report such experiences and memory lapses that keep abuses hidden substantiate the conservative direction of the prevalence rates obtained.

Methodological analyses of prevalence studies (Peters, Wyatt, & Finkelhor, 1986) show that multiple opportunities to disclose and a variety of cues about what kinds of events researchers are interested in generate more disclosures from research subjects. Therefore, it is also likely that the participants involved in this survey had sufficient clarification to understand what was being asked of them. Coupled with the anonymous nature of the survey interaction and the randomness of the sample, generalizations of these results to the population at large appear highly reliable.

Results from this survey (Timock,1985) indicated that a history of sexual abuse was reported by 27% of the women and 15% of the men surveyed. These percentages fall in the middle of a six percent confidence interval determining 95% confidence in the validity of these results. Therefore, between 12 and 18% of the men in this society acknowledge having been sexually abused. If we take into account the men who did not consider their childhood sexual experiences to be abusive, add to these figures the men who were too ashamed or unable to identify themselves as sexual abuse victims, and further make room for potential subjects involved in childhood sexual activities not included in the definition (i.e. being exposed to pornography, having only to touch someone else digitally, coercive mutual masturbation, etc.), the higher end of this prevalence range appears to more accurately describe the frequency of sexual abuse to males. Even if the true prevalence of male sexual victimization were only 12% of the general population, extrapolations of U.S. Bureau of the Census figures for 1988 would indicate that approximately 14 million American males were sexually abused as children. If the rate of new cases remained fairly constant, we could expect to see a conservative estimate of 132,000 new cases of male sexual abuse every year.

Other research studies reporting prevalence rates for men pale in statistical comparison to the L.A Times poll. The majority of the community samples that even include males lack rigor and generalizability. In fact, one of the most comprehensive reviews of the literature in the field of sexual abuse (Peters et al.,1986) chooses not to focus on prevalence rates for male children." Of the eight most recent studies with male subjects, all but two have relied on self-administered questionnaires to collect data on abuse experiences. As a result, the possibilities for methodological comparison are somewhat limited" (p. 22). This absence of methodological variation along

with discrepancies in definitions applicable to males impose significant restrictions on the utility of these studies.

The findings that most significantly shed light on our understanding of the prevalence of sexual abuse to males are presented below. Many of the studies not discussed in detail here, such as those with overly small sample sizes and ill-defined constructs of sexual abuse are made reference to in order to underscore the lack of substantive research done in this field of study. The disparity in the obtained prevalence figures will further highlight the broad range of approaches to this research and the lack of corroboration or replication between studies.

The National Incidence Study of Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN, 1988) has collected data on the number of reported cases of child sexual abuse from a variety of different agencies throughout counties nationwide. Most cases not involving an offender who was a caretaker or a parent were excluded in the final tally. Despite the high proportion of boys abused outside of their home, NCCAN reported 30,400 males who were sexually abused in 1986 resulting in a 9% prevalence rate per 1000 boys. Sexual abuse to boys constituted 12% of all abuses to boys and it is likely that cases reported upon in 1986 may have also been reported on in previous years and are also likely to be incorporated into statistics for upcoming years. The increase in reports of male victimization rose from 7,600 cases in 1979 to 30,400 in 1986, an increase of 400% in 7 years. With heightened awareness and availability of media and educational resources for children in this area, it is likely that incidents of child sexual abuse to male children are now coming to public attention more readily, although these figures do not even begin to approach estimates of prevalence in the general population as demonstrated above.

A random sample of Texas residents who held valid drivers licences (Kercher & McShane, 1983) were surveyed by mail to study the incidence of sexual abuse in this state. Of the 2,000 residents contacted, 53% of the surveys were completed. Interestingly, only 44% of the male residents returned the survey versus 56% of the female Texans. The definition of sexual abuse used in this survey was very broadly worded, and given the self-selection process in choosing to return the survey or not, the 3% prevalence rate of males reporting childhood sexual abuse may not begin to approach the true prevalence of these occurrences to males in this one geographical region. In contrast, Finkelhor(1981) conducted a random community sample of 185 fathers of children age 6-14 in the Boston area and found that 6% of these men had experienced physical contact that they would have defined as "abuse" with a person five or more years older prior to age 17. However, these men, in relation to the women surveyed, accounted for 16% of the adults who reported being abused as children. In addition, when these parents were asked whether or not any of their children had ever told them about victimization experiences, 39% of the children reporting sexual abuses to their parents were boys.

Risin and Koss (1987) conducted a nationwide survey of sexual assault experiences also using a self-report questionnaire given to 6,159 students in 32 colleges or universities throughout the country. The institutions surveyed were equally sorted by region of the country, location in or outside of an urban area, enrollment size, minority enrollment, public versus private schools, and the type of institution (technical, 4-year, junior college, etc.). Target classes were chosen randomly from course catalogues and questionnaires were administered by post-masters level clinical psychologists. A total of 2,972 male students completed questionnaires that asked specifically

to recall sexual experiences before the child was 14 years of age.

Unfortunately, the questions used to define abuse experiences did not clearly stipulate that the other person needed to be older than the respondent so that reported incidents could have included sexual interactions amongst peers that may not have involved force or threat. The definition also did not clarify who initiated these experiences and thus the child may have been the primary offender. Just over 7% of the men surveyed identified having had an abusive experience before age 14, with the likelihood that this figure would be higher if the age range were increased to include abusive experiences during adolescence.

Comparing these results to other college surveys, Finkelhor (1979) obtained questionnaires from students from seven New England colleges or universities. Using clear parameters of distinct age differences between participants, Finkelhor uncovered a prevalence rate of 4.1% of all males under 13 years of age identifying childhood sexual abuse and this figure notably increased to 8.7% when boys up until the age of 16 were included. Fritz, Stoll and Wagner (1981) surveyed 410 male psychology students at the University of Washington specifically to account for prepubescent boys having direct physical contact with postadolescent individuals and found 4.8% of the male respondents reported such experiences. The limitations of this kind of definition reflect upon the validity of the prevalence rate collected here. Using a more inclusive definition of childhood sexual experiences (anything that seemed sexual to you involving an older person or a peer using force or threats) in two distinct geographical locations, Fromuth and Burkhart (1986) found that 20-24% of the college men reported childhood sexual experiences that fell within this definition of abuse. Finally, Landis (1956) surveyed 1,800 students during a 5 year period and found that 30% of the males said they had

had a sexual experience with a sexual deviate, "involving all types of sexual approaches that are considered antisocial, or socially or morally unacceptable in the situations in which they occur" (p.92.). The significant discrepancies in prevalence rates among college students again demonstrate the lack of consensus in operational constructs and reiterate the need for caution when trying to compare and apply these findings to the larger population

To demonstrate the absence of studies involving adolescents, an anonymous tele-tape study was conducted in Knoxville, Tennessee (Thomas, Johnson & Bransford, 1981). Telephone callers were given an opportunity to stay on the line following a taped informational program on sexual abuse to speak to or ask questions of a telephone counselor. The caller was then invited to participate in a subsequent face-to-face consultation about his or her personal problem. After widespread community advertising of this project aimed especially at sexually maltreated adolescents, 9,655 calls to the tape were recorded over a nine month period of time. There were 863 follow-through calls registered with 44.1% of these calls involving separable reports of child sexual maltreatment. Eighty five percent of all identified callers were adolescents, with 37.2% of all reports involving abused adolescent boys. This prevalence rate far exceeded the 7.5% figure of the total number of male referrals reported by the Knoxville County Department of Human Services. The community's established referral systems which usually screen for cases involving parents or caretakers appear unable to track the alleged cases that found their way to this tele-tape resource. Given that most research studies present the majority of their adult male subjects disclosing childhood experiences under the age of thirteen, this study showed significantly higher prevalence rates for teenage boys. If assertions are accurate that older boys will see disclosing their abuse as a stronger threat to their masculinity and

sexual development than younger boys, this study (offering anonymous opportunities to disclose) suggests that there may be a substantial majority of abused adolescent males who remain hidden from public awareness.

Summary

What is clear from most studies examining prevalence issues is that male victimization is highly underestimated, leaving incidence rates wavering anywhere between 3% and 30%. Conservative national prevalence rates of sexual abuse to males fall within the middle of this range and more than substantiate what has previously only been suspected: boys are frequent victims of sexual abuse and the incidence of these occurrences is more than likely to approach one in every five or six boys. Protective and clinical services will inevitably be confronted by the growing needs of this underserved population as boys begin to feel less stigmatized and are given more permission to come forth to talk about these experiences.

The particular characteristics of these abuses will now be discussed in order to create a number of profiles of the abused boy's actual experience. It is important to establish recurring patterns of male victimization so that professionals and families alike can compare specific cases of abuse so as to have an overriding framework for fitting those characteristics into the most common and frequent occurrences known to us from the literature. In this way, our appreciation of the individual's distinct experience of abuse can be tempered by an awareness of the frequency and reoccurrence of these variables for abused males in general.

Characteristics of the Male Victim and his Offender

Questionnaires and surveys not only look for incidence rates of sexual abuse but probe for the particular characteristics of the abuse episodes that get reported. Specific aspects of the experiences inquired about include individual and family demographics, the frequency and duration of the events, the sex of and relationship to the older participant, the extent of the physical or noncontact activities, the ways in which participation was enlisted, the emotional reactions of the abused child during and after the abuses, and the impact of the abuse on the child or the adult's life presently. Most often, this information is secured by post-factum written self-reports by abuse victims who are directly or indirectly interviewed, but occasionally, case records are reviewed.

As in all other facets of data collection, the kind of samples surveyed will influence the responses obtained. College students predominantly fall into narrow homogeneous demographic categories and their responses underrepresent a wide spectrum of males in other socio-economic stratum. Community samples that draw subjects from substantiated cases of sexual abuse exclude sexual assault cases outside of the child's home or cases not referred for treatment. Sometimes, the abused child's disclosure is brought forth as a result of an inpatient hospitalization during times of high emotional stress, and at other times disclosures come after years of treatment and are initially presented as incidental details. Crisis centers, acute care hospitals, emergency rooms, and telephone hot lines elicit particular characteristics of victims that are markedly different from the characteristics uncovered by undergraduate researchers or third-hand interpreters of case files. Therefore, what we know about the specific nature of sexual abuse to boys will vary depending upon the

types of information solicited, the amount of time that has transpired since the reported abuse, the context of the sample population, and the degree of clarity or interpretability of the information presented. The profiles included in this section are presented with these variations in mind and have been organized according to the type of study;

1. Hospital Studies
2. Community Samples
3. College Student Surveys
4. State Human Services Files

The specific characteristics of male victims and their offenders composing this research are charted within each of the above study types and include partial to full responses to the following variables:

VARIABLE

- A. Number of boys in the study
- B. Percentage of boys in sample
- C. Mean age at time of study
- D. Frequency of abuse(s)
- E. Gender of the offender
- F. Age of the offender
- G. Relationship to the offender
- H. Extent of sexual activities involved
- I. Physical evidence and use of force

SYMBOL/NOTATION

USED IN SUMMARY TABLES

N

%

X AGE

1X (one time) and

≥1X (more than one time)

MALE

≤18 YQ (less than 18 years old)

FAM (family)

AQUA (acquaintance)

STRNG (stranger)

FOND (fondling)

ORAL (oral-genital contact)

PNTR (penetration)

PHYS (physical evidence)

FOR (use of force or threats)

It is beyond the scope of this inquiry to detail the intricacies of each of the studies that are included in this section. However, significant characteristics that differentiate one study from another will be mentioned in hopes that they generate questions and concerns for future research in this field.

Hospital Studies

Nine hospital studies were selected as the best representation of hospital research available on male abuse victims. Several other remaining hospital studies (Kohan et al, 1987; Mian et. al.,1986; Sherzer et al, 1980; Kahn & Sexton, 1983; Tilelli et al. 1980; Hobbs & Wynn,1989) make reference to boys in their studies but are not included in this overview because their limited sample size or lack of gender delineation do not adequately represent a substantial male population. As Table 1 illustrates, several portions of data were not available from some studies or were not separated from statistics including female victims. Certain hospital records were unable to be deciphered for specific data and thus some of the figures do not represent all of the children studied.

There is confusion over two categories studied here: 1) the mean age of the child and 2) offenders who are family members. The mean age of the child could either refer to the documented age of the child at the time of the hospital evaluation or at the time of the actual sexual abuse. These ages are potentially synonymous but without more explicit clarification, data must be interpreted cautiously. Children are more likely to be seen in a hospital clinic shortly after alleged injury or trauma but retrospective accounts of these records (sometimes years after the hospital visit) are subject to potential inconsistencies. Secondly, whether the offender was a family member may

TABLE 1: HOSPITAL STUDIES

STUDY	N	%	XAGE	1X	>1X	MALE	<18 YO	FAM	AQUA	STRNG	FOND	ORAL	PNTR	PHYS
Reinhardt (1987)	189	16.4	5.9	--	--	96	27	38	58	04	43	35	40	34
Spencer et al.(1986)	160	9.0	7.2	29	53	98	21	49	34	12	24	46	62	68
DeJong et al.(1982)	142	14.0	8.6	87	13	98	54	21	38	37	09	07	78	24
Rogers et al.(1984)	101	25	-	57	43	--	56	08	63	15	--	--	56	18
Showers et al.(1983)	80	13.0	7.9	62	38	89	57	37	43	20	26	47	41	35
Rimza et al.(1982)	43	14.0	7.8	51	30	100	--	25	65	10	12	--	58	53
Johnson et al.(1985)	40	--	7.6	92	08	100	--	15	62	23	--	--	--	50
Jaffe et al.(1975)	34	12	10.7	--	--	100	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Ellerstein et al.(1980)	16	11.0	9.7	--	--	96	19	13	31	56	--	--	--	50
MEAN	(805)	14.3	7.8	75.6	29.4	97	39	25.7	49.2	22.1	22.8	34	55.8	42

have been determined either strictly by blood relationship or on the basis of being a family caretaker for the child. Thus, the figures reported may include distant relatives outside of the home or may potentially exclude non-family members who live within the home. It will be difficult under these circumstances to obtain a clear picture of prevalence of incestuous abuse from these hospital studies.

Eight hundred and five cases of male sexual abuse were considered in the nine studies performed at the various child abuse hospital clinics nationwide between January of 1976 and December of 1985. The cumulative data from these sources show some clear similarities as well as wide variations in reports. The most uniform data came in the category of the sex of the offender, with every study reporting male offenders almost exclusively (97% mean). Minimal variation occurred in regards to the percentage of boys representing all children being evaluated in the hospital clinic, and the mean percentage from all of these studies (14.3%) is consistent with national random statistics for males in the general population. The mean age of the child clustered near the eight year old mark but as mentioned above, this may not clearly indicate the most common age at which boys are abused. Many of the hospital studies concurred regarding the range of sexual acts imposed on these children, with a surprisingly high incidence of actual or attempted anal penetration (56%). Given the nature of the evaluation site, it is likely that anal examinations are more routinely performed and thus are likely to provide more evidence of this kind of sexual act. However, Reinhart (1987) notes that "some reporters recorded the worst of the events disclosed and omitted lesser acts and some acts would be omitted by the child (often the most embarrassing)" (p. 234), thus potentially distorting the true rates of sexual acts imposed on the child. Most studies showed equally high incidences of physical

evidence of sexual abuse, with a mean percentage of physical trauma at 42%. Again, medical evaluations are far more likely to elicit these findings and when performed, can provide more conclusive indicators of actual abuse occurring.

Several characteristics yield significant differences in these studies and the nature of these distinctions may warrant speculation. The frequency of sexual abuse to males varied between studies despite the high preponderance of reports involving only one incident (mean of 76%). The reticence males often demonstrate in disclosing sexual abuse at all may suggest that multiple occurrences of abuse are more likely to be minimized. Discrepancies may also occur here depending upon the questions used to obtain data on frequency. Some studies report statistics on multiple offenders (Rogers & Terry, 1984; Reinhart, 1987) while other studies (DeJong et al., 1982) highlight data on boys abused by the same perpetrator multiple times. Some studies (DeJong et al., 1982) report multiple victims in single incidences; other studies (Showers et al., 1983) extract information on multiple abusers during a single incident; while other studies (Spencer & Dunklee, 1986) simply document multiple episodes of assault. Consistent with a medical setting, one time "acute" episodes of abuse may be more likely to be responded to in a urgent manner and subsequently receive medical attention. In any event, it is unclear whether hospital clinics see more children who were sexually violated more severely on one particular occasion or whether they are more likely to find physical evidence of abuse resulting from ongoing injuries which do not get fully reported.

In regards to the relationship of the offender to the male child, the confusion regarding caretakers and extended family members can be clarified somewhat by delineating between those offenders known to the child and

those who were strangers. After collapsing family and acquaintance data together, 75% of the total pool of subjects knew their assailant, with the large majority of these offenders being non-family members. Variations in the percentages of stranger offenders may be a function of sample sizes and ages. Several studies report that younger children are more likely to know their offenders (DeJong et al., 1982; Tilelli, 1980) while older children are more likely to be abused by strangers (Spencer & Dunklee, 1986). This is easily explained by the increasing opportunities for older children to have more unsupervised contact in the community. Coincidentally, the lowest stranger percentages come from studies with the lowest mean age of the subjects. The highest percentage rate of stranger abuse comes from the study with only 16 male participants and is not necessarily reliable or representative. Despite these differences, stranger abuse from hospital records constitutes roughly 20% of reported cases.

The last incongruity in hospital results involves the age of the offender, with juvenile offender rates ranging from 19% to 57%. These quantitative differences may reflect disparities in both definitions of juvenile versus adolescent age ranges and whether or not information regarding abuses by teenage offenders was solicited. Interestingly, the three studies reporting the lowest percentages of juvenile offenders did not specify offender age as a methodological criteria in reviewing their hospital charts. As with data on strangers, two of these studies had the youngest mean age of male victims while the third study had a very limited sample size. It is more likely, even with an estimated mean average near 40%, that adolescent offenders, according to hospital studies, may constitute up to half of the reported cases of child sexual abuse to boys.

Two other important variables are discussed in these studies which deserve brief mention. Due to the lack of uniformity of these characteristics across studies, they were not included in the summary chart above. These variables are the location of the abuse and the use of force or threats to gain compliance. Three studies (Showers et al., 1983; DeJong et al, 1982; Ellerstein & Canavan, 1980) report similar data on the location of the sexual abuse to males. Between 53-64% of all abuses reported by boys initially occurred in public places, with approximately half of these occurring outdoors and the other half in public buildings. The remaining 36-51% of abuses occurred in the child's home or the offender's home. Despite the need for further corroboration, the striking similarities of these results suggests a strong likelihood that abuses to male children occur as frequently in the community as behind the closed doors of victim and offender homes.

Equally congruous are the results obtained by three of the studies under examination (DeJong et al, 1982; Showers et al.,1983; Rogers & Terry,1984) regarding the use of force or threats to elicit compliance in male victims. Of all males in these studies, 44-51% were threatened or physically forced to engage in sexual acts, with older victims reporting significantly more incidents of threatened or actual physical violence than younger children. It can be speculated that older boys may not be as willing to consent to sexual experiences given their broader awareness and knowledge of sexuality, provoking offenders to resort to more fear-inducing tactics.

Summary. Hospital studies offer the most concentrated collection of research available describing sexually abused boys and their perpetrators. These studies also run the highest potential for biased reporting. As emphasized by Ellerstein and Canavan (1980), "patient selection was based on

initial complaint and not final diagnosis. As such, only children with overt complaints of sexual maltreatment were able to be identified. This procedure may have selected a patient population with a higher frequency of positive findings" (p.256). The likelihood of less acute, ongoing episodes of abuse coming to the attention of hospital clinics as sexual assault complaints is thus diminished and may distort the actual clinical profile of sexually abused boys.

We can clearly conclude on the basis of the data gathered here that boys comprise one out of every six substantiated hospital evaluation of sexual abuse and that the abuser in these instances are almost always men known to the child. School-aged children appear to be most often abused and three of four hospital reports disclose only one abusive episode. In addition, almost half of the cases of male abuse reported in medical settings appear to have been perpetrated by a teenager in a public place, with the use of force or threats of violence, and involving attempted or actual anal penetration. This initial profile can now serve as a template from which to compare other reports of male victimization uncovered in different contexts.

Community Samples

Table 2 illustrates the limited range of studies derived from community sources. Of the four studies included, two are random or probability samples (Finkelhor, 1984; Timock, 1988), one study (Faller, 1989) consisted of validated cases of sexual abuse from several social service agencies, and the other (Woods & Dean, 1984) involved anonymous respondents to a community sexual abuse phone helpline. Several other community samples (Kercher & McShane, 1983; Swift, 1977; Zvodnick, 1988) do not provide clear or distinctive data on male victims and could not be included in this survey. The disparity of

TABLE 2: COMMUNITY SAMPLES

STUDY	N	%	XAGE	1X	>1X	MALE	<18 YO	FAM	AQUA	STRNG	FOND	ORAL	PNTR	FOR
Timock (1985)	172	15	9.9	73	17	83	—	11	49	40	—	—	62	15
Woods & Dean (1984)	86	—	—	6	94	25	—	40	57	03	95	75	66	—
Faller (1989)	87	28	6.3	—	—	63	—	63	32	00	—	—	—	—
Finkelhor (1984)	11	06	11.4	73	17	94	—	23	77(non-family)			—	—	—
MEAN (356)		16.3	9.2	50	43	66	—	34	54	14.3	—	—	64	—

sampling techniques used and the partial availability of data regarding males in the samples may begin to explain the differences in reported results.

Taken by themselves, the data obtained are more informative than collapsing percentages together. For this reason, each study will be discussed separately.

The national random study detailed in the previous section of this chapter potentially reveals the most representative profile. The mean age of 9.9 years is somewhat higher than hospital study reports, but is consistent with the other random community sample involving adult men (Timock, 1985; Finkelhor, 1984). Community agencies are not as likely to receive reports from older adolescents and thus surveys of adults will yield a higher percentage of older victims. Also consistent with other studies is the high percentage of single episodes of abuse perpetrated by male offenders involving actual or attempted penetration.

However, the high rate of stranger abuse (40%) and the low rate of force or threats (15%) are inconsistent with previous findings and invite speculation as to the apparent discrepancies. Because this study included experiences involving exhibitionism (which was identified by 17 or 1% of the men surveyed) this may have elevated the rate of stranger abuse above the rates found in most other definitions of abuse that do not include non-contact sexual experiences. Finkelhor (in press) addresses the issue of coercion by pointing out the potential bias in the questioning used, which offered discrete examples of very serious force, and may have precluded instances of intimidation, bullying, or covert manipulation. These figures will be most representative of the broadest definitions of childhood sexual experiences involving the most forceful means of coercion.

The other random community sample (Finkelhor, 1984) adds little new information into the existing pool of data, primarily because it doesn't

adequately delineate gender differences when reporting its results. The mean age of the abuse is higher than most hospital studies and as mentioned above, is likely to include sexual abuses occurring to adolescent boys. The high rate of male offenders concurs with hospital studies but serves as the greatest source of variance with other community samples. No other descriptive data solely pertaining to males in this sample was available.

In a study (Faller, 1989) that collected validated cases of sexual abuse from a variety of community agencies in Michigan, almost half of the 87 confirmed cases of sexual abuse to males (43.7%) came from child protection agencies where the offender was necessarily a caretaker to the child. The mean age of onset was much younger than the random samples discussed but fairly consistent with hospital data in this area, highlighting the probability that younger boys are more likely to be incestuously abused than older male children. The high rate of intrafamilial abuse in this sample (63.2%) attests to the skewed nature of the data source toward child protection cases involving caretakers. In fact, boys abused within their home were significantly younger (5.7 years old) than those males victimized outside of the home (7.4 years old). The majority of boys abused by males was not as high as other studies but when coupled with abuses involving male and female offenders conjointly, this figure rose to 92%. Compelling data was reported involving comparisons between male and female victims of abuse which will be presented in the following section of this chapter. No further data was available on the frequency, severity, or coerciveness of these experiences.

The final community sample overviewed here (Woods and Dean, 1984) involved a self-selecting sample of men who shared information anonymously by way of a telephone survey. This sample resulted in 86 men who presented strikingly different characteristics of their childhood sexual abuses than in

other accounts. The high rate of multiple abuses, female offenders and the long duration of these abuses dramatically contrasts with other studies previously discussed. Fifty-four percent of these men reported that their abuses occurred for over one year, and over one fourth of this population reported continued abuses for over three years. The generalizability of this sample is low given the self-selection process, but the anonymity of this study raises some interesting conjectures. If we assume that the men were more willing to provide data for this study due to the anonymous nature of the project, it is possible that males are more hesitant and threatened to disclose ongoing, multiple episodes of abuse that involve female offenders. These sexual events may never have been experienced as abusive, or in actuality, they may have posed a more serious threat to the male's sense of sexual adequacy because he was victimized by a woman. In any event, further corroboration of this speculation involving the sex of the offender will be offered when other anonymous studies involving college men are reviewed below.

Summary. Community samples offer little consensus between studies to add to the existing profile of the abuse of boys. There are indications here that community samples point to abuses involving later ages of onset with increased probability of female offender involvement. The frequency and severity of these abuses remains clouded by inconsistent and limited indicators. Random national statistics still hold the most compelling descriptions of male sexual victimization and they reinforce our existing knowledge that boys most often know their predominantly male abuser and are subjected to invasive acts that are frequently reported as one time occurrences. College samples pick up where community samples leave off in

expanding those areas in the research previously discussed that remain inconclusive and controversial.

College Studies

The most common source of available research subjects are college students. They are generally regarded as motivated, intellectually curious, interested in understanding themselves better, and they are also the youngest consenting adults with the shortest recall of childhood experiences. Students are often surveyed in large introductory social science courses and provide willing participation in exchange for fulfillment of research requirements or extra course credit. Students, however, have already demonstrated a level of social and academic competence, usually as a result of privileged socioeconomic background that accentuates a selective and homogeneous group of high functioning young adults. Although far from a representative sample, students offer an abundant source of confidential information that easily lends itself to replication studies.

The results from the following six studies involving male college students are charted in Table 3 below. The mean totals from each descriptive category offer general trends from this type of study, however significant scattering of scores within specific areas may reveal the limitations or unsubstantiated areas of study in this field. The most widely diverging results will be discussed in relation to other types of studies and to the potential sources of variation inherent in these studies themselves.

According to the investigations surveyed, prevalence rates of male victimization in a college aged population range from 4.8 to 14 percent (mean average of 8%) and are directly proportional to the limitations or breadth of

TABLE 3: COLLEGE STUDIES

STUDY	N	%	X AGE	1X	>1X	MALE	<18 YO	FAM	AQUA	STRNG	FOND	ORAL	PNTR	FOR
Risin & Koss(1986)	216	7.3	9.8	53	47	53	43	22	63	15	35	-	31	47
Urquaiza & Crowley(1986)	133	8.2	-	-	-	65	-	17	64	18	89	57	25	-
Fromuth & Burkhardt (1987)	81	14	-	51	49	25	-	-	-	11	-	30	24	13
Finkelhor (1984)	23	8.6	11.2	60	40	84	39	17	53	30	55	-	4	55
Fritz,Stoll, &Wagner(1981)	20	4.8	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seidner & Calhoun(1987)	17	5.1	-	47	53	18	-	23	65	12	35	6	59	6
MEAN	(490)	8	10.5	53	47	47.5	41	20	61	17	53.5	31	29	30

the definition of abuse used. The lowest prevalence rates are limited to sexual encounters between a post-adolescent individual and a pre-pubescent male involving direct physical contact, whereas the highest rates included contact and noncontact sexual experiences from childhood through adolescence. This narrow representation of males in the general population may explain why these rates are somewhat lower than hospital and community samples.

The mean age of abuse for college men (10.5) is consistent with other community studies including adults. These men report equal rates of one time and multiple episodes of abuse and this data supports the high incidence of abuses involving adolescent offenders found in hospital studies. In one study (Urquaiza & Crowley, 1986), which didn't report age ranges of offender statistics, the mean age of the offender was 19.6 years of age. Juvenile offender rates in community studies were unavailable and could not be compared here.

Other consistent data in college samples include the relationship of the offender to the male child, with almost three quarters of the subjects reporting knowing their abuser. As in hospital and community samples, about one fifth of the offenders were family members, and slightly fewer offenders were strangers. The range of sexual acts disclosed again points to significant occurrences of penetration, although the varying figures cited seem somewhat correlated to the extent to which female offenders were identified. This was also true for the evidence of force or threats to gain compliance, with higher rates reported in studies with larger percentages of male offenders. This may suggest that older, more powerful females convey higher levels of nurturing and caring regard for boys who in turn are less fearful and less resistant to these sexual experiences. If women do in fact, have less potential

need to use fear inducing tactics, boys may be more willing to participate in more involved and invasive forms of sexual behavior.

The most prominent distinction arising in data from college-aged males is the extent to which they are victimized by men and women. According to mean averages from this data, an equal number of college men report sexual experiences with men and women. Inherent in these findings, however, is how boys and men distinguish between abusive, inappropriate, benign, or enjoyable sexual experiences, regardless of their level of consent. All but one college study discussed here leaves this question open-ended and has students simply report about childhood sexual experiences with someone significantly older. This is in sharp contrast to other hospital and community samples that stipulate that the sexual event be regarded by the research subject as abusive. Even the highest rate of male sexual offenses to boys (Finkelhor, 1979) includes a 16% prevalence rate of female offenders. This far exceeds similar statistics in hospital studies, even though these figures differ from other rates within this same category. Given the likelihood that males have become increasingly more aware of the occurrence of child sexual abuse since 1979, these figures could reveal more reticence or inhibition at the time in reporting experiences involving women offenders. This however does not account for a study published two years later (Fritz et al., 1981) that found upwards of 60% of all offenders being women. This study was also limited to boys under 13 years of age being sexual with adults which further confounds the inconsistencies of this research.

What appears most subject to dispute and dissent is how particular research study questions inform subjects about the data they are pulling for, leaving college students to subjectively determine whether their experiences as children were even "sexual" or "abusive". Clearly, many college men were

open and revealing about these events regardless of the sex of the older participant. They may have even felt proud or accomplished to recount early sexual experiences with women, as this process has been glorified in films and literature as "male sexual initiation." The inconsistencies in these reporting rates for college men, however, remain clouded and they strongly invite further research and more specific examination of the differences in meaning and understanding of sexual experiences between boys and older men and women.

Summary. Our evolving profile of the sexual abuse to male children has become more solidified and concurrently more open to further investigation. Eight to 15% of all male children are exposed to sexual stimuli most often agreed upon as inappropriate for their developmental age and maturity level (usually between the ages of 8-11 years old) with someone they know most often outside of their home. Boys are often abused by older adolescents and are subjected to a range of sexual behaviors that can well include oral-genital contact and penetration. Up to half of this population are abused more than one time, and boys abused by men are more likely to experience force, threats, or coercion from the offender than those abused by women. The degree to which women involve younger boys in inappropriate sexual experiences is unclear, but it is potentially more prevalent than previously imagined. We will need to await more carefully designed research that delineates between consensual versus nonconsensual participation, women acting alone or in conjunction with someone else, and the differences in boy's accounts of abuse, misuse and seduction as they relate to professional definitions of sexual abuse for girls and boys.

Protective Service Studies

Initial community concern over the rights and welfare of children grew out of a larger child protective services movement. Funds were allocated from state and federal sources to specifically monitor potential failures of parental care that were injurious to the health and upbringing of children in families. Thus, many of the social service agencies overseeing the disclosure, substantiation, and subsequent treatment of children were borne out of this movement and specifically look for intrafamilial abuses that might jeopardize the child's safety or the offending caretaker's continued presence in that home.

It is vitally important to understand and distinguish between the nature and dynamics of incest and extrafamilial sexual abuse. This rarely happens in most published accounts of research in this area, particularly in studies involving boys. Child protective cases will necessarily involve offenses incurred by parents and caretakers and are most likely to occur within the family home. The following three studies begin to describe the characteristics of male children abused by caretakers and they serve to contrast the profile generated by other available studies that only include roughly one-fifth of these boys in their research. The studies are briefly charted, discussed individually and collectively, and are then compared to the results found in the earlier sections of this chapter.

As noted in Table 4, Finkelhor's (1984) analysis of 803 substantiated cases of abuses to boys far exceeds any other published inquiries in this area. This researcher and noted sociologist however is cognizant of the "severe" limitations of the case samples used:

First of all, these are 'officially reported cases,' so it is doubtful that they are representative of all sexual abuse cases....only a fraction of all sexual abuse cases come to professional attention and only a fraction of these are 'officially reported.' The fraction that does get reported is probably very different from the large pool that does not. It is probably more severe. It is probably more long term. It is probably more like the stereotype of what professionals and child welfare workers think the sexual abuse of boys should look like. So conclusions drawn from these cases cannot readily be extrapolated to the problem as a whole. (p. 159)

Despite these limitations and the need for further research, several directional trends can be noted here. Boys reported to child protection agencies appear to constitute a similar percentage of abused children as in other types of studies (16%) and are most often abused by a male offender. The age of onset of the abuse is significantly lower than other accounts which may be related to the high percentage of abuses perpetrated by family members. Previous speculation posited that increased, unsupervised community contact may predispose older males to greater likelihood of extrafamilial abuses. Boys predominantly abused at home would then tend to be younger and less able to access resources outside of the family. These figures strongly concur with a study included in the community sample (Faller, 1989) that also involved a large proportion of protective service cases.

Results of these studies were inconclusive in regards to the degree to which juvenile offenders abused boys and what sexual acts were involved in these abusive episodes. Cases most often occurring in the child's home are less likely to involve adolescents unless it is an older sibling, young baby-sitter or an extended family member. Therefore, a low rate of adolescent offenders would be expected. In one study (Deveney et al., 1987), 74% of all the child

TABLE 4: PROTECTIVE SERVICE STUDIES

STUDY	N	%	X AGE	1X	>1X	MALE	<18 YO	FAM	AQUA	STRNG	FOND	ORAL	PNTR	FOR
Finkelhor (AHA,1984)	803	13	8.46	—	—	86	—	74	23	—	—	—	—	—
Deveney et al. (1987)	46	23	6.1	—	—	85	—	71	30	—	80	50	82	98
Pierce & Pierce (1985)	25	12	8.6	—	—	—	—	71	30	—	72	52	—	—
MEAN	(874)	16	7.7	—	—	85.5	—	72	27.7	—	76	51	—	—

victims reported more than one type of sexual act with a startling rate of 82% attempted or actual penetration. This included genital, digital, and foreign object insertion and further testifies to the widespread severity of abuses to boys. Force or coercion in this study was also seen in 98% of all cases and included seven different forms of coercion; using position of authority, threatening physical harm, threatening family breakup, using bribes or rewards, threatening loss of affection, actual inflicted harm or injury, or other forms of coercion not mentioned. Given the caretaker's powerful role in the child's life and the subordinate, dependent status of the child, it is not surprising that the children seen reported the offender using their position of authority in 65% of all the abuses documented. It is highly probable that there is evidence of some form of coercion in other such studies however this information was unavailable.

It is notable that in each of these studies the incidence of other victims being abused in conjunction with the abused boy was significantly higher than for children abused in conjunction with abused girls. This rate ranged from 40-65%, and suggests the possibility that male victimizations may go unnoticed in the face of focused attention to female victims in the family. Finkelhor (1984) was also able to ascertain from his large sample that boys tended to come from poorer single-parent families than girls, and were more likely to show evidence of physical abuse as well. The data that incestuously abused boys are more likely than girls to live with mothers without a father present is supported by another of these studies (Pierce & Pierce, 1985, p.197) which further concluded that "mothers of abused males were more likely to be seen as emotionally disturbed, suggesting less emotional support for boys from their available parent." Again, these findings are extremely tentative and

they have the potential to be misinterpreted out of context, yet they may also point to important areas for future research.

Summary. We can glean from child protective cases that intrafamilial abuses to boys are reported at significantly younger ages than abuses to males outside of the home, and they are predominantly coercive, multiple occurrences perpetrated by male caretakers involving a wide range of sexual acts. Family loyalties and dependent status suggest a longer and more insidious nature of these abuses to boys and may involve the sublimation of physical and sexual discomforts at the expense of getting emotional and nurturance needs met. The characteristics of the abused male in and out of his family are becoming more focused and will become even more sharply defined as they are differentiated from characteristics of abused females in the proceeding section of this chapter.

Summary of Characteristics of Male Sexual Abuses from Combined Studies

Table 5 recapitulates the average trends that were noted from the four distinct research samples analyzed here. A total of 2,525 cases of male sexual abuse were examined throughout all of the empirical accounts included in this section and they constituted over 13% of all reported cases of sexual abuses to children. Boys were on average abused most frequently just before they turned nine years old and three out of five boys were only known to have been abused on one occasion. Males represented three quarters of all offenders to boys and 40% of all offenders were under eighteen years of age. Averages of the offender's relationship to the boy were skewed by the unique characteristics of protective service cases, however collapsed together, over

TABLE 5: COMBINED STUDIES

STUDY	N	%	X AGE	1X	>1X	MALE	<18 YO	FAM	AQUA	STRNG	FOND	ORAL	PNTR	FOR
HOSPITAL	805	14.3	7.8	76	29	97	39	26	49	22	22.8	34	55.8	--
COMMUNITY	356	16.3	9.2	50	43	66	--	34	54	14	---	--	64	--
COLLEGE	490	8.0	10.5	53	47	47.5	41	20	61	17	53.5	31	29	30
PROTECTIVE	874	16	7.7	--	--	85.5	--	72	27.7	---	76	51	--	--
COLLECTIVE MEAN		13.4	8.8	60	40	74	40	38	48	17	50.7	38.6	49.6	--

85% of all perpetrators were known to the child. These approximate figures roughly approach 30% family member, 50% acquaintance, and 20% stranger abuse. Fondling of the male child was as likely to occur as attempted or actual penetration in half of the cases surveyed, with slightly fewer cases involving oral-genital contact. Insufficient data prevented any general implications regarding the use of force or threats in the abuse, however coercion was evident in a majority of intrafamilial cases of sexual abuse to boys and was higher in studies with larger percentages of male offenders and boys abused at older ages.

This preliminary data elucidates the specific nature of abuses to males but remains contingent upon the investigator's definition of sexual abuse and the way in which these parameters are worded and understood by each male subject. What is notably absent from most of these accounts is an open-ended interpretation of a variety of childhood sexual experiences by the male subject himself. The increase in documented sexual experiences of boys with older women in college surveys attests to the phenomenon that a wider range of sexual events is likely to create a broader range of definitions and meaning associated with different types of experiences. The early consensus in the field that child abuse is an act of force, violence, or coercion against an unwilling subordinate is being challenged by the literature on abused boys and may initiate inquiry into other forms or degrees of child maltreatment. Nevertheless, before this can occur, distinctions must first be drawn between the kinds of abuses that are reported by girls and boys in order that the diversity of abuses that are influenced by the gender of the child are fully comprehended. This important correlation is evaluated in the following section.

Comparisons Between Male and Female Victims

Only a small handful of studies (Faller,1989; Finkelhor,1984; Pierce & Pierce,1985; Fritz et al, 1981) examines the descriptive differences between boys and girls who have experienced child sexual abuse. This dearth of information is endemic of the limitations in this research field as a whole. Few investigations even include boys, and the ones that do have insignificant samples sizes that preclude reporting data on gender differences. The recent interest in male victimization has resulted in several studies that focus exclusively on boys which also limits its range of descriptive detail. Caught between the inaccessibility of abused males as research subjects and the complexities of correlating gender variables statistically, most researchers have opted to pool their samples and omit this important distinction. Several studies solely look for gender differences in relationship to the psychological impact of sexual abuse to boys versus girls, and this will be taken up in the next section of this chapter.

Of the studies surveyed here, the ratios between the incidence of male to female victimization fell consistently between one abused boy to every two to three abused girls. If in fact girls are more likely to bring their abuses to public attention more often than boys (Finkelhor, 1984; Fritz et al., 1981), these ratios could be somewhat closer to one boy for every two girls or one boy for every one girl. As mentioned earlier, there are some studies (Queens Bench,1976; Swift,1979) that find that boys are as likely to be abused as girls although future research will need to bear this out. The national random survey of adult men and women (Finkelhor et al., in press) found that 27% of the women versus 15% of the men reported a history of childhood sexual abuse

which would further corroborate the strong consensus that present incidence ratios more accurately approach a 2:1 ratio.

None of the studies cited report any differences in their sample in regards to racial differences. There are however, discrepancies in socio-economic status of the abused child's family. Faller (1989) reported that girls tended to come from lower class families (80% of girls vs. 54% of boys) whereas boys were more often living in middle class families (46% of boys vs. 21% of girls). It was suggested (Faller, 1989, pp. 283-284) that the majority of females abused intrafamiliarily are more likely to be referred to child protection agencies, and evidence is documented that poorer families are more likely to be reported to child protection agencies. In contrast, Finkelhor (1984) in his analysis of 6,096 protective service cases of child sexual abuse found that 62% of boys' families were receiving public assistance as compared to 40% of the girls' families. This was clearly linked to his statistics that boys more often came from single parent families (48% of boys vs 31% of girls) which were predominantly headed by single women. Finkelhor posits that a larger number of girls are abused by fathers or step-fathers and because men are better compensated financially than women in the workplace, this affords these families with more available resources (p.163). According to this rationale, families where a male parent is present also increases the likelihood that both parents can provide for the family's income or that one parent can be readily available to the child more often, as opposed to a single mother-headed household. At first glance, both explanations appear plausible but each requires further verification before we can better describe the differences in families where male and female children are abused.

What does seem clear is that boys are more likely to be abused outside of their families than are girls. This is substantiated by every study surveyed

here, most notably the national random study. Boys in this study were more likely to be abused by strangers than girls (40% vs. 21%) whereas girls were more likely to be abused by family members (29% vs. 11%). Finkelhor (1979, 1984) uncovered similar results in three research projects he conducted. As noted in Table 6, the differences in intrafamilial abuses rise sharply when looking at protective service cases.(Finkelhor,AHA,1984; Pierce & Pierce,1985).

TABLE 6: GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ABUSES OCCURRING WITHIN AND OUTSIDE OF THE FAMILY

<u>STUDY</u>	<u>ABUSES BY:</u>			
	<u>FAMILY MEMBER</u>		<u>NONFAMILY MEMBER</u>	
	<u>BOYS(%)</u>	<u>GIRLS(%)</u>	<u>BOYS(%)</u>	<u>GIRLS(%)</u>
Ellerstein et al. (1980)	13	25	87	75
Faller (1989)	63	89	37	11
Finkelhor (1979)	17	43	83	56
Finkelhor (1984)	--	--	77	66
Finkelhor AHA (1984)	--	--	23	14
Pierce & Pierce (1985)	60	71	20	06
Rogers & Terry (1984)	--	--	75	48
Timick(1985)	11	29	40	21
Urquiza & Crowely(1986)	17	43	81	56
MEAN	34	55	55	35

Several researchers have noted that boys are less likely than girls to be solo victims of abuse (Finkelhor,1984; Faller,1989; Reinhart, 1987). Boys were three times more likely than girls to be a multiple victim outside of the home when there was evidence that at least one other child had been abused by the same offender (Faller,1989; Finkelhor,1984). Girls in contrast, were 2.5-3 times more likely to be the only victim to be abused. These studies conflict with one another in regards to where solo victimizations to boys and girls occurs, however, they consistently show that boys tend more often than girls to be abused by perpetrators who abuse other children as well.

Lone boy victims were also more likely than girls to be abused by someone under the age of 25, and 38% of these boys were under six years old when the abuse was reported. Faller (1989) confirms that lone boys were on the average 3.6 years old at the onset of the abuse compared to boys in intrafamilial multiple victimization situations (6.2 years old at onset) or compared with extrafamilial multiple victimizations (7.7 years old at onset). This suggests that abuses to boys alone may be characteristically different than multiple abuses although it is still unclear what variables intrinsic to these different contexts account for such significant variations.

There is no conclusive data to suggest that boys are abused more frequently by multiple offenders than girls, although preliminary figures lean slightly in this direction. There is, however, fairly clear consensus that boys are more often abused by women than girls. Boys tended to be between 2.5-8 times more likely to be abused by a woman alone. They were nearly two times as likely to be abused by a male where a female was involved for every one occurrence of female abuse where a women was involved. As discussed in the previous section, several studies report high incidences of female

offenders to boys whereas these reports are virtually absent when scanning the literature on abused girls.

There is also contradictory evidence when comparing the median ages of abuse between girls and boys. Several studies (Faller,1989; Finkelhor, 1979,1984; Gebhard et al., 1965) suggest that boys are somewhat older than girls, while other studies (AHA,1981 in Finkelhor,1984; DeJong et al., 1982; Ellerstein & Canavan,1982; Rogers & Terry,1984) found that abused boys were younger than girls. In the two studies extensively discussed here, between 32 and 57% of the boys were under six years old. The high proportion of child protective cases in these samples may explain these high figures. In any case, it is still unclear how males compare to females in terms of age at the time of the abuse.

Finally, abuses by mothers and fathers were examined (Faller,1989) to find that girls are almost twice as likely to be abused by a father or step-father than boys (60% vs. 42%) and boys are twice as likely to be abused by a mother or step-mother (12% vs. 6%). This data was broken down into biological parent versus step-parent abuse, and in all cases a biological parent was more likely to abuse the child than a step parent (26% of fathers abuse boys vs. 16% of step-fathers; 10% of mothers abuse boys vs. 2% of step-mothers; 38% of fathers abuse girls vs. 22% of step-fathers; 5% of mothers abuse girls vs. 1% of step-mothers). Apparently, boys abused by fathers (Finkelhor,1989) are four years younger when discovered than girls victimized by their fathers, and the boy abused by his father is almost half as likely to be the only child in the family (14% vs. 23%). Mothers in this sample tended to abuse girls at older ages than boys (9.04 years old vs. 7.81%) and most often chose their oldest son or daughter equally as opposed to an only child (63-66% vs. 23-24%). It is noteworthy that abusive mothers tended to be significantly poorer than

abusive fathers and were three times more often black than abusive fathers. Women who abused their children were also more likely to combine physical and sexual abuses and this occurred in over half the cases involving boys and girls.

Summary

These preliminary findings point to several significant differences between male and female abuse victims. Boys appear to be more often abused outside of their home, more often in conjunction with other children, and more often abused by a female offender than girls. Abused boys may also experience a combination of physical and sexual abuse which may be indicative of a stressful single parent household, with less consistent supervision or financial resources. Boys who are abused alone are likely to be very young males who may also exhibit unique characteristics in these abuses than other boys. It is still unclear from existing research to what extent these abuses may contrast with abuses to older boys or to girls. The section that follows will examine the psychological impact of sexual abuses on boys and will continue to highlight significant variations in empirical and self-report measures between abused boys and girls.

Psychological Effects of Sexual Abuse to Males

Many studies have recently been undertaken to look at the differences between abused and nonabused children and adults (Briere & Runtz, 1988a, 1988b; Peters, 1988; Russell, Schurman, & Trocki, 1988; Stein et al., 1988; Conte & Shuerman, 1988; Friedrich, Urquiza & Beilke, 1986; Briere & Runtz, 1988; Conte &

Schuerman,1987; Urquiza & Crowley,1986; Seidner & Calhoun,1984). They attempt to draw comparisons in the area of psychological and emotional functioning. What has become apparent in this research is the broad heterogeneity of the samples involved given the wide range of particular variables in each incidence of abuse. This fact has guided the literature to examine what mediating factors exacerbate or minimize the impact of abuse on children as they develop into adulthood. The impact of abuse is measured by a variety of psychological scales, questionnaires, tests, and indicies that look for indications of psychopathology, family dysfunction, self-concept, social adjustment, and sexual functioning. Several of these accounts delineate gender differences amongst subjects and these will be the focus of this section.

Seidner and Calhoun (1984) succinctly distinguish between predictor variables that might account for differences in the adjustment of child sexual abuse victims. These variables were divided between Assault Variables and Cognitive Variables. A list of these factors is presented in Table 7.

The assault variables are self-explanatory, whereas the cognitive variables describe the individual's interpretation of their role in the abusive experience. Internal attributions suggest some degree of personal responsibility and blame for the abuse as opposed to external attributions which explain the abuse as caused by the perpetrator. Stable attributions point to broad generalizations about the victim and the world (e.g. all adults betray helpless children) while unstable attributions interpret the abuse as circumstantial and contextual. "Finally, victims who attribute their experiences to global factors (e.g. 'I was molested because the world is a terrible place') rather than specific ones (e.g. 'The offender was a terrible person') should demonstrate greater adjustment deficits (Siedner & Calhoun,1984, p.1). It is not surprising that a combination of both types of

predictor variables was needed to provide the greatest degree of explanatory power. The only variable that did not appear as a significant predictor in the above study was the individual's emotional evaluation of the experience (positive-neutral-negative). The predictor variables that appeared most often were the amount of force used, the frequency of the incidents, and the stable-unstable dimensions of attributions (Seidner & Calhoun, 1984).

TABLE 7: PREDICTOR VARIABLES IN ADJUSTMENT TO ABUSE

<u>Assault Variables</u>	<u>Cognitive Variables</u>
1. amount of force used	1. internal-external attributions
2. degree of sexual contact	2. global-specific attributions
3. relationship btwn. victim and perpetrator	3. stable-unstable attributions
4. frequency of incidents	4. evaluation of the abuse ; positive-neutral-negative
5. duration of experience	
6. age difference between victim and perpetrator	
7. age of victim at last incident	
8. sex of perpetrator	
9. multiple experiences (more than one perpetrator)	
(Seidner and Calhoun, 1984, pp.4-5)	

Other studies focused predominantly on assault variables and their impact on female sexual abuse victims. Finkelhor (1979) found that older victims with older partners involving force were associated with more

traumatic reactions. Russell (1984) randomly surveyed households in San Francisco and highlighted the severity of the sexual behavior and abuse of longer duration and higher frequency as linked to more negative effects. Tsai et al. (1979) concurred with each of these same factors except for the use of force as a predictor of more negative impact. Peters (1988) found that the number of incidents, the duration of the longest incident, and abuses occurring at older ages contributed to greater psychological difficulty. Conte (1985) determined that the presence of force, the longer the duration, and the older the victim at the last incident increased negative impact. Russell and her colleagues (1988) compared matched groups of Afro-American to White women residents randomly sampled in San Francisco and found severe levels of sex acts, force, and the perpetrator being middle aged (rather than younger or older) as factors associated with a greater degree of trauma. Wyatt & Mickey (1988) found a strong positive correlation between severity of abuse, level of family support, and attitudes toward men as interrelated to more difficulties for female abuse victims. Conte and Shuerman (1987) confirm the finding that the victim's support system plays a powerful role in reducing the impact of sexual abuse. Those children who had significant problems in living or who had more indicators of a "pathological" family did significantly worse than other abused children. The only study which discriminated between predictor variables for boys and girls (Friedrich et al., 1986) found that boys were more at risk for negative impact when the abuse was of a longer duration, when the offender had a closer relationship to the boy, and when there was longer duration since the last incident. For girls, the more frequent, more severe, and the closer the relationship to the offender, the greater the impact. These findings point to the complexities and interrelationships between these variables and hopefully sensitize the reader to the potential impact of any and

all of these indicators on our understanding the effects of sexual abuse to children.

The literature written in this area overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that sexually abused girls do exhibit poorer psychological adjustment and greater degrees of mental health problems as adults compared to their nonabused counterparts (Fromuth,1983; Seidner & Calhoun,1984; Briere & Runtz,1988; Bagley & Ramsey,1985; Peters,1988). An extensive review of the psychological problems facing abused children in the literature is presented in a recent book exploring the sexual abuse of boys (Bolton et al., 1989). This definitive list of sequelae is divided into sexual, emotional and behavioral problems and runs the gamut of disturbances in each problem area. The reader is referred to this volume (pp.70-71) for a complete listing of these symptomotologies. The research conducted with boys, although it ranges in level of impact (the self-reported degree to which the abuse disturbs or enhances the victim's life) from potentially positive (Ingram, 1981) to potentially more negative than females (Kempe & Kempe, 1984), does generally concur that boys do experience significant and enduring consequences from child sexual abuse. A brief review of these findings is presented below.

Conte (1985) reviewed 25 empirical accounts of the effects of sexual abuse on children and adults which included only five studies using male subjects. Browne and Finkelhor (1986) conducted a similar review of studies of which males comprised only 28% of the total sample group. Of the existing projects, these are also reviewed in Males at Risk, (Bolton et al., 1989) and the outcomes of the findings are distinguished by the type of psychological impact to the male; emotional distress, behavioral problems, sexual problems, and cyclical victimization. This is a useful organizing framework for the present

discussion and will also include an overview of studies looking at gender differences in the impact of the abuse.

Many authors, predominantly in clinical accounts, clearly describe the emotional distress that male victims report as a result of being sexually abused. These reactions include guilt, depression and low self-esteem (Nielsen, 1983; Bolton et al., 1989), shock, fear, confusion, and shame (Nasjleti, 1980; Sarrel & Masters, 1982; Woods and Dean, 1984), low self-esteem, feelings of being different, and feelings of isolation (Kelly et al., 1987). These self-directed or internalized symptoms do not appear to exist apart from more externalized symptoms (behavioral difficulties) and are likely to be coped with by acting out this distress behaviorally. Several studies correlate the sexually abused adolescent boy's attendant loss of self-esteem with behavioral coping mechanisms such as running away, substance abuse, prostitution, suicidality, and sexual dysfunction (Benward & Densen-Gerber, 1975; Bruckner & Johnson, 1987; Paperney & Deisher, 1983; Briere & Runtz, 1986; Johnson & Shrier, 1987; Dimock, 1987). This is further documented in a comparison study of behavioral problems in sexually abused children (Friedrich et al., 1986) which found that girls tended to manifest internalized behaviors while boys demonstrated greater externalizing behaviors. These results point to the probability that boys experience considerable emotional difficulties as a result of sexual abuse, most noteworthy being diminished self-esteem. It is strongly asserted in the literature that boys will most often manage this internal distress in behaviorally troubled ways.

In terms of the ways in which boys act out their emotional disturbances, a review of the literature (Bolton et al., 1989) found that there was a greater tendency for males to demonstrate more aggressive, anti-social, and undercontrolled externalizing behaviors. This has been explained by some

researchers (Burgess & Halstrom, 1975; Nasjleti, 1980) as the inability of males to express their emotional confusion in direct, socially legitimized ways. Males thus resort to coping with this pain in more indirect ways such as fighting, arguing, acting out in school, abusing others, or developing somatic complaints. In addition, almost all the men ($n=16$) in one clinical study (Kelly et al., 1987) engaged in some form of self-destruction (suicidal thoughts and attempts, substance abuse, overeating, and entering victimizing relationships). Another study (Tufts, 1984) highlighted the developmental impact of sexual abuse and suggested that behavioral disturbances change over the course of childhood given the child's ability to symbolically or directly communicate their feelings. Adults appear to manifest behavioral difficulties in establishing relationships with other adults. This is where sexuality concerns as a result of earlier sexual trauma and emotional betrayal is thought to create problems for males.

In a clinical study of abused males in treatment, Dimock (1987) found three common characteristics; sexual compulsiveness, masculine identity confusion, and relationship dysfunction. A similar research project (Kelly et al., 1987) found related problems in their male sample; sexual preoccupations, compulsive sexual behaviors, confusion about sexual identity, aversion to sexual intimacy, and difficulties in sexual performance. This was clearly linked to the men's accounts of difficulties establishing romantic relationships. Several other clinical studies (Rogers & Terry, 1984; Woods & Dean, 1984; Bruckner & Johnson, 1987) corroborate these findings. These researchers found the most common reactions of sexually abused males to be confusion or anxiety over sexual identity, sexual preference conflict, lack of identification with their own gender, attempts to re-assert his masculinity, and sexual fantasies or attraction toward children. This phenomenon, which

is consistent with the literature on sexual dysfunction and adjustment difficulties in women (Briere,1984; Coutois,1979; Finkelhor,1979; Herman,1981; Meiselman, 1987; Tsai et al., 1979) appears to have its roots in adolescent sexual development. In a survey of 40 adolescent male patients seen in a medical clinic from 1982 to 1984 (Johnson & Shrier, 1987) 25% of these boys reported sexual dysfunction versus 5% of the control group, and 60% of these boys reported that the sexual abuse had a significant impact on their lives.

There are a limited number of accounts that suggest a connection between childhood sexual abuse and adult homosexual anxiety or orientation (Finkelhor,1984; Johnson & Shrier,1985,1987). Given that a vast majority of homosexual men do not report sexual abuse experiences and that the majority of male pedophiles do not regard themselves as homosexual (Newton,1978; Groth & Birnbaum,1978), this sexual orientation confusion has been explained as misperceived self-labeling:

the boy who has been molested by a man may label the experience as homosexual and misperceive himself as homosexual on the basis of his having been found sexually attractive by an older man, particularly if he has had no opportunity to be reassured and relieved of his guilt and anxiety about his role in the molestation experience. Once self-labeled as homosexual, the boy may then place himself in situations that leave him open to homosexual activity.

(Finkelhor, 1984, p.195)

Of those males who reported sexual abusive experiences with older males, there is consensus in the literature that these victims report far more negative impact than those abused by women (Woods & Dean, 1984; Fromuth & Burkhart,1989).

It appears that sexually abused males are likely to experience disturbances and interruptions in their sexual development, resulting in inappropriate sexual activity and excessive masturbation (Friedrich, Beilke, & Urquiza, 1987,1988) leading to sexual identity confusion and sexual dysfunction in relationships. A compelling explanation of this evolution was recently constructed (Maltz & Holman,1987) which suggested that sexual arousal coupled with emotional vulnerability may be too reminiscent of the boy's earlier abuse and as a way of overriding their emotional fears and confusions, they may overcompensate with attention to their sexual performance. This subsequent mechanical focus is postulated to create emotional distance in relationships as well as problems with sexual functioning.

Unfortunately, a final description that pervades the literature in the field, is the potential risk of male victims to reenact their experience of victimization upon less powerful children. In a review of ten studies of sexual offenders (Bolton et al., 1989), sexual offenders victimized as children ranged between 19% to 80%, with a mean average of 47%. This concurs with the generally accepted belief (Finkelhor,1984; Kaufman & Zigler,1987) that the majority of sexually victimized children do not go on to become perpetrators or parents of victims. It does appear however, that abused boys are far more likely to go on to become sexual offenders than girls. In a nonclinical adult male victim sample (Woods & Dean, 1984) 16% of the abused men reported sexual fantasies involving children. In a comparison study of 28 abused males and 44 abused females (Urquiza & Crowley,1986), 32% of the males reported sexual fantasies involving children versus only 2.3% of the females. These same student reports indicated that 14% of the males and 4.7% of the females had experienced a desire to fondle or engage in sexual activities with a child, while 10.7% of the males and 2.3% of the females felt that children related to

them in a sexual way (Urquiza & Crowley, 1986, p.11). In a study evaluating 22 sexually aggressive children (Friedrich & Luecke, 1988), 81% of the children were boys. They also found that 13 out of 16 of these sexually aggressive children had histories of severe sexual abuse involving aggression, genital contact, fellatio, and sodomy.

The above mentioned factor coupled with severe and aggressive sexual abuse and demonstrating sexually aggressive behaviors may be our strongest indicators of risk factors perpetuating victims into victimizers. Freeman-Longo (1986) in his ongoing work at the Sexual Offender Unit of the the Oregon State Hospital points to other significant factors in the potential for cyclical victimization;

Very few of the men have ever overcome the abuse that has happened to them. Most have not dealt with their feelings surrounding their abuse and harbor a great deal of anger, hurt, and frustration. Few are initially able to deal openly with feelings for fear of becoming vulnerable to others. We find that the adult offender still harbors the same feelings regarding his abuse that he experienced as a child. Many of the victimized offenders still feel a lack of power and control in their lives and, oddly enough, often feel their abuser still has control over them. (p.413)

Although sources indicate that the overall intergenerational transmission rate of childhood sexual abuse is 30% (Kaufman & Zigler, 1987), there is substantial evidence to suggest that males who are victims of severe and/or aggressive sexual assaults become far greater risks to abuse others if the psychological impact of their abuse goes untreated.

Of the few research endeavors (Urquiza & Crowley, 1986; Briere et al., 1988; Fromuth & Burkhart, 1987; Friedrich et al., 1986; Stein et al., 1988) that look

specifically at the psychological differences between male and female victims of sexual abuse, it is likely that childhood sexual victimization has an equivalent impact on males and females regardless of any differences between the sexes in its severity or duration. In fact, one study (Briere et al., 1988) postulates that given the results that females experienced more extensive abuse at later ages than males and that no clear differences in gender arose in any of the scales administered, that sexual abuse for males might be even more traumatic than for females. This assumes that if males had been abused at levels of equal extent and duration as females, their scores would have been higher.

A related study (Urquiza & Crowley, 1986) found that males perceived their abuses (reported that the abuse influenced their lives) far more positively than females. Nearly 40% (vs. 12% for females) of the male students initially perceived the abuse as positive or mostly positive. As adults, 20% (vs. 5% for females) still perceived the abuse in positive terms. The researchers note, however,

it appears that, for males, childhood sexual abuse results in a relatively negative adjustment when compared to nonabused controls.

Considering such a large percentage of the males perceive the abuse as positive or mostly positive, this may be a surprising finding. This raises question concerning the manner in which males process and adapt to their sexual trauma and how this process might be different for females. Regardless of their perception of the abuse as a positive event, they experience a relatively negative adjustment. (p. 19)

This finding is substantiated by a college survey (Fromuth & Burkhart, 1989) wherein 83% of the men viewed their experience as either positive or neutral at the time of the sexual experience. This rate increased to 85%

retrospectively as adults and this data sharply contrasted with reported perceptions for women, who generally remembered the experiences as evoking fear or shock rather than pleasure or interest. Interestingly, both of these studies report that the males were involved in more extensive sexual contact than females (more oral-genital contact). A few other accounts (Finkelhor, 1979; Fritz et al, 1981; Landis, 1956) concur that males perceive these experiences less negatively and report being less psychologically damaged by their experiences. However, referring back to the mediating factors that increase the negative impact of abuse, the victim's perception of the abuse was not strongly associated with this variable.

Gender comparisons, as noted earlier, reveal that abused men externalize the impact of their abuse (Stein et al.,1988; Friedrich et al., 1986; Urquiza & Crowley,1986). One study (Stein et al.,1988) shows that abused men tend to have more "acting out" diagnoses such as drug abuse and dependence. Although limited by a small sample of males in this project, abused women had a higher prevalence of all lifetime psychiatric disorders, suggestive of the fact that women experience greater psychopathology. These findings must also take into consideration the socialization factors differentiating male and female development and how the various potential outlets for distressed feelings are viewed by others. In the same way that the tightly concealed expression of feelings in men might be described as stoic, strong, or self-sufficient, the open display of emotion in women might be seen as fragile or hysterical. It is helpful to maintain this contextual frame of reference when attempting to interpret the findings in any study contrasting gender differences in psychological functioning.

In concurrence with the aforementioned college survey (Fromuth & Burkhart,1988), female gender tended to predict fear and anxiety among

abused respondents. However, only a slight correlation was found with the male students between abuse and psychological adjustment, and this only occurred in one regional sample (midwestern) and not in the other geographical location(southeastern). These differences were quite small in magnitude and indicated that the sexually abused men in the current samples did not experience demonstrable and serious long term effects. It is noteworthy that this study had an average of 75% of reported female offenders and again raises the possibility that boys abused by women may be less adversely affected by their abuse.

Summary

The literature on the impact of sexual abuse to male children points to significant factors in the abuse that are likely to predispose boys to greater risk for adjustment difficulties and potential abuses to others. These results, albeit largely speculative, strongly imply that male victimization has an enduring negative impact and presumes that the ways in which the abuse is processed and coped with may have the greatest influence on subsequent adjustment. Boys abused by females appear to perceive these abuses more positively which may in turn ameliorate the stresses associated with psychological adaptation. Boys and men more often will turn their emotional distress outward in behaviors consonant with developmental levels of growth, with young males symbolically acting out sexually, leading to more aggressive or deviant adolescent activities and to sexual and intimacy dysfunction and substance abuse as adults. Socialized restraints for men to openly reveal vulnerabilities incurred by abuse are most likely to impede and inhibit the

data collected here, and upon further exploration, may reveal more serious and deep-seated psychological impact.

Selected Topics in the Literature

For the number of articles already reviewed, there are an equal number of accounts that describe specific aspects of the male victims experience that are not routinely discussed in most articles. Specifically, case studies describing examples of father-son, mother-son, and sibling sexual abuse are available in the literature as well as research projects examining adolescent runaways, male rape victims, victims who abuse others, and a variety of treatment approaches for abused males. As might be expected, these studies do not have strong support from other similar accounts and they are in many ways exploratory efforts to draw attention to neglected issues in the field. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to review all of these issues, however, several significant topics warrant brief mention in this section.

The current research, as reviewed earlier, has revealed that boys are more likely than girls to be abused outside of the family and yet the literature includes only two articles on extrafamilial abuse which do not specifically pertain to boys. There are a number of case studies and reviews of the literature that offer preliminary typologies of families wherein a male child has been sexually abused along with initial characteristics of sibling incest. An attempt will be made here to distinguish between intrafamilial and extrafamilial abuses to males according to the existing literature and a overview of risk factors associated with increased likelihood for males to be abused will be the final topic to be reviewed in this chapter.

Intrafamilial vs. Extrafamilial Sexual Abuse to Males

Until the end of the 1970's, knowledge of father-son incest was limited to four case studies (Langley et al, 1968; Awad, 1976; Dixon et al., 1978; Cavallin, 1966). A recent review of 52 reports of father/stepfather-son sexual abuse in the literature (Pierce, 1987) revealed three types of family situations in which a son was abused by his father or step-father: homosexual families, promiscuous families, and violent families. These family types are distinguished by the presence of a male parent with a homosexual orientation (latent or exhibited), a father who sexualizes and/or abuses more than one child in the family, and families where the adult male physically and sexually abuses the boy and others in the family. There is conflicting support in this and other studies regarding alcohol abuse as a significant contributing factor in abuses by fathers (Dixon et al., 1978; Mrazek, 1981; Meiselman, 1978; Pierce & Pierce, 1985) and further research will be needed to clarify this issue. One case example describes the family treatment in a gay father-son incest family (Halpern, 1987), however no related studies have specifically focused on the treatment of promiscuous or violent father-son situations to date. What stands out characteristically in these families is significant sexual identity confusion, diffuse sexual boundaries between parents and children, and various abuses of power that contribute to ongoing violence in the family. The extent to which the father's own family history and subsequent adult coping impacts upon these patterns has yet to be determined.

Mother-son abuse, as reported by researchers, suggests that some mothers use their sons sexually to gratify a variety of their own unmet needs. Although little is known about female sexual offenders, several studies offer a glimpse at family characteristics when mothers abuse their male children. An

analysis of 29 offending mothers at a Dallas Incest Treatment Program (McCarty,1986) found that almost all of the mothers (92%) had troubled childhoods involving sexual abuse (78%). These women were also considered to be of average intelligence, were married as teenagers (83%), had maintained steady employment (67%) and were now living independently (67%). Half of this sample abused drugs or was seriously emotionally disturbed, and sons were victims 40% of the time, usually at an average age of 10 years old. A related review of 8 clinical cases of mother-son sexual abuse (Krug,1989) found that 50% of the women were married and experiencing significant marital discord, yet only 25% of these mothers abused drugs. A similar review of 16 published cases of mother-son incest (Margolin,1986) characterized these mothers as "interested primarily, if not exclusively, in the satisfaction of their needs, not the needs of the son.(p.111). This concurs with other clinical descriptions of abusive mothers (Forward, 1978; Finch,1973; Chasnoff et al., 1986) as highly dependent, seeking a substitute for an absent and/or a rejecting partner, and being overpowered by their own emotional needs. In almost every case described here, the mother initiated the sexual contact with her son. Finally, of the eight cases (Krug,1989) reviewed above, all of the sons had problems maintaining long-term-relationships, 88% had depression as adults, 75% had multiple concurrent sex partners, and 63% were significantly involved with drugs. The author clearly suggests that all of these men were pathologically affected by the sexual abuse with their mothers, although this small sample size does not allow for any causal connections to be made. Unfortunately, no comparative data was available regarding mothers sexually offending their daughters

Although sibling sexual abuse has been considered to be the most common occurrence of incest (Dixen & Jenkins,1981; Lester,1972; Lindzey,1967;

Weeks,1976; Weiner,1962) sexual abuse amongst siblings is more difficult to ascertain given the unclear distinctions between sexual experimentation and exploitation. Three studies focus exclusively on sibling sexual abuse (DeJong,1989; Finkelhor,1979,1980; Smith & Israel, 1987) and shed light on this confusion. DeJong(1989) elucidated four factors as indicative of sexually assaultive behavior between siblings: 1) at least a 5 year age difference, 2) use of force, threats, or authority by the abuser, 3) attempted penetration, and 4) documented physical injury to the victim. This study presented confusing statistics that asserted that 11% of the cases of incest (approximately a third of the 831 abused children examined) were abuses by siblings, occurring in 2% of the boys and 5% of the girls. In addition, another 5% of the boys reported abuse by one or more cousins (vs. 6% for girls) and that 15% of all incest reported was cousin incest. Between 76-83% of the incest victims in the study lived in single parent homes and half of these children were victimized at home. These statistics support existing speculation that physical or emotional absence of one or both parents intensifies the mutual dependency and sexual curiosity between brothers and sisters. Twenty-five families where sibling incest had occurred were observed in another study (Smith & Israel,1987), and the researchers identified three distinctive dynamics: 1) distant, inaccessible parents, 2) parental stimulation of the sexual climate in the home, and 3) family secrets and extramarital affairs. Since only 11% of this sample included male victims, it is difficult to generalize from these findings to abused males at large. Finkelhor (1979,1980) found in his survey of college students that 10% of the boys were abused by siblings, usually under the age of 12 (80%) and that these experiences may be associated with lower sexual self-esteem (attitudes about one's body, sexuality, sexual satisfaction, etc.). These descriptions only offer scant details into the descriptions of males abused by siblings, however,

inherent dynamics uncovered in these families may contribute to our existing knowledge of intrafamilial abuses.

One account of extrafamilial abuse (McFarlane, 1986) is primarily a guide to parents on ways to intervene with children when extrafamilial abuse is disclosed and offers no descriptive details about the children and families wherein this occurs. The only empirical investigation into extrafamilial sexual abuse (Van Scoyk et al., 1988) analyzed 37 families referred to a specialized sexual abuse treatment program. This sample was unusual in that 95% of the families were referred to treatment by someone in their family and 85% of the children's parents were still living together. The youngest children in the sample were boys and they comprised 57% of the children seen as a result of molestation. Compared to a comparable sample of incest victims in this clinic, those molested by a nonfamily member were on average two years younger than incest victims (92% were 9 years old or younger). This study posits a theoretical framework that includes three main concepts: 1) there is a breach or violation in the family's protective shield (including the family's ideologies, myths, beliefs, and individual defenses), 2) the family's sense of existence, meaning, and its very continuity are called into question (derailing the continuity of the family system), and 3) issues and themes following disclosure were intimately tied to the family's preexisting myths and belief systems. This framework provides an initial understanding of how extrafamilial abuse provokes families to reexamine their own identity and functioning as a result of an intrusive external event. The family's ability to protect its members from danger in the outside world is shattered and these families must reorganize with more adaptive ways of coping with child rearing and beliefs about the family's position in relation to the larger society.

Summary. This review of the limited research on abuses to males inside and outside of the family initially reveals that intrafamilial abuses involves more intrapersonal pathology in one or both parents which serves to disrupt the effective functioning of all relationships in the family to protect the children. There are no clear delineations that typify abuses specifically to boys, except that physical abuse is likely to accompany sexual abuse by fathers to sons and that boys may be at higher risk to be abused by mothers when a male partner is absent and the mother is unable to fulfill a variety of her own unmet needs. Extrafamilial abuses may include some of these factors but the findings are speculative and inconclusive. It has been suggested that family's may have distorted or ineffective beliefs and myths that allow for children to be more vulnerable to extrafamilial abuses given less ongoing parental supervision or protection. Boys may be granted more trust and freedoms outside of the home as a result of beliefs that the male child is more able to protect himself under dangerous circumstances, however, this facet of empirical investigation has just begun and further research will be needed to clarify these issues.

Risk Factors Associated with Increased Likelihood of Male Victimization

In 1984, David Finkelhor published a Sexual Abuse Risk Factor Checklist (Finkelhor, 1984, p.29) comprised of the eight strongest independent predictors of sexual victimization from his college survey. Unfortunately, "there were too few boy victims for the analysis to be productive" (p.24), and thus the data for this checklist was limited to girls. Finkelhor also collaborated with a colleague and reviewed several large-scale surveys from community and student samples (Finkelhor & Baron, 1986), focusing almost exclusively on risk

factors for girls. Both sets of risk factors are presented simultaneously as a basis of comparison to each other and to the limited literature in this field pertaining to boys:

Finkelhor (1984)

Finkelhor & Baron (1986)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Presence of a stepfather | 1. Lived without natural father |
| 2. Ever having lived without mother | 2. Mother worked outside home |
| 3. Not close to mother | 3. Mother was disabled or ill |
| 4. Mother never finished high school | 4. Witnessed conflict between parents |
| 5. Mother who was punitive sexually | 5. Reported poor relationship with one parent |
| 6. No physical affection from father | 6. Lived with step-father |
| 7. Income under \$10,000 | |
| 8. 2 friends or less in childhood | |

These descriptions highlight conflictual parent-child and marital relationships with few outside supports for the child. These factors also may create situations in which supervision for the child is minimal or the child's emotional health is compromised, creating greater vulnerabilities to potential abuse. Finkelhor and Baron (1986) suggest that these potential risks still rely on the presence of an offender who is already motivated to sexually abuse children and has already overcome internal inhibitions against abusing (p.68). Therefore, these predispositions require other coinciding variables and will certainly not jeopardize all children who fulfil these stipulations.

The National Survey discussed repeatedly in this chapter (Finkelhor et al, in press) also examined risk factors specifically by gender, and found that

both men and women were more likely to be sexually abused if they reported that their family life had been unhappy, if their predominant family situation had been one without one of their natural parents, or if they were currently living in the

Pacific region. Men, in addition were at higher risk if their family came from English or Scandinavian ancestry. (p.7)

Experiencing an unhappy family life is believed to create a greater vulnerability in children to comply with the manipulations of an abuser who is offering affection or companionship to trick a child. Boys were primarily at risk when they lived with their mothers alone or with two non-natural parents. They were clearly not in as much risk as girls of a single mother introducing a step-father into the family or when any long term disruption of natural parents occurred. No explanations were offered as to why more children from English or Scandinavian heritage were more often abused in the Pacific States so it remains unclear whether these were in fact actual risk factors or discrepancies in this study.

A recent review of the research on male sexual victimization (Vander Mey, 1988) offered a list of possible risk factors to boys based upon the author's review of the literature. The proposed findings were also unclear as to the rationale for the formulations, however, the characteristics conform loosely to explanations entertained in the previous section of this chapter. Intrafamilial abuses to boys were more likely when families were of lower socioeconomic background, when the abusive parent also abused alcohol, abused the child physically, and when the parent had also been sexually abused as a child. In addition, marital discord, emotional problems, and single parent households were cited as potential risk factors. Abuses to boys outside of the home were attributed to increases in low-income, broken homes where the only available parent was neglectful, left the child unsupervised, or was emotionally unavailable. Children who were more loosely integrated into school, family, peer, church, and civic networks was also more likely to seek needed affection,

money, and shelter from potentially abusive people outside of the family as an escape from a disorganized and problem-ridden home life. Social isolation and deprivation of family support and emotional needs are suggested here as primary conditions to increase the risk of sexual abuses to boys.

Finally, research (Conte, Wolf & Smith, 1989) involving interviewing sexual offenders directly about the process whereby they selected, recruited, and maintained children in a sexual abuse situation concurs with the findings cited above:

The offenders we interviewed claimed a special ability to identify vulnerable children. Vulnerability was defined both in terms of children's status (e.g., living in a divorced home or being young) and in terms of emotional or psychological state (e.g., a needy child, a depressed or unhappy child). (p. 299)

This was allegedly accomplished by carefully observing behavioral and other cues that suggested the child was more vulnerable than others and to then manipulate that vulnerability as a means of gaining access to the child. Offenders also employed a wide range of coercive behaviors to elicit the child's participation, including separating children from adults who might protect them, conditioning children through the use of rewards and punishments, and letting children view violence directed against the victim's mother. Children were desensitized to the physical touching by a gradual progression of nonsexual touch leading to sexual touch which coincided with the gradual development of the relationship with the child.

Summary. For the purposes of this literature survey, it is notable that sexual abuses to boys do not appear to fall within the context of a lurking

stranger who abruptly descends upon a child to abuse him. Rather, the literature in the field has woven a profile of a child, who, lacking adequate nurturance, guidance and protection, becomes more vulnerable and receptive to adults who try to entrust the child through nurturing gestures of support and companionship. Family deprivation, social isolation, and unmet emotional needs appear to enhance the child's willingness to seek out alternate and substitute forms of care and protection. Boys who lack supportive male role models in their life may be more inclined to seek out friendship from other males, particularly if their mothers are less accessible to them emotionally. It is more apparent how adults, who may be predisposed to sexually abuse boys, can so readily take advantage of these vulnerabilities.

Future Directions in Research on Abused Males

There are numerous avenues to pursue in future research endeavors in this field. In fact, any additional investigation into such a new and developing body of knowledge will greatly contribute to the tentative trends that have been ascertained to date. We have uncovered several far-reaching and unanswered questions as a result of delving into the literature on male sexual victimization which support new directions in subsequent research. These issues will be summarized in this concluding section and will highlight the complexity and importance of carefully constructing research protocols.

The problem of defining sexual abuse has uncovered a bias in operational constructs which emphasizes an unwanted and coercive experience. This particular interpretation has had significant relevance to male research subjects who may be influenced by pervasive gender norms to avoid seeing events in their lives as out of their control. This way of

describing a childhood sexual event also presupposes that the subject's perceptions of these experiences can adequately distinguish between abusive and non-abusive criteria in the research. For many boys, pleasant, neutral, or confusing memories of sexual interactions may interfere with their ability to discern whether or not these events fit into the definitional parameters established by the investigator. Therefore, the available literature on this topic strongly invites a more open-ended definition of sexual abuse, one which allows for the subject to impose his own descriptions and meanings onto the set of childhood sexual behaviors. This would have direct bearing on the language used in upcoming research (e.g., victim, abuse, unwanted) so as to avoid intimating that the child was sacrificed or mistreated in any way. Finkelhor's (1979, 1984) construction of age differentials and evidence of force or threats amongst peers attempts to accomplish this objective.

The data on the psychological impact of childhood sexual experiences to boys suggests that boys may be less negatively affected by these occurrences than girls, and may even perceive sexual interactions with older and more powerful women as having a beneficial impact on their lives. This raises controversial questions regarding a child's degree of vulnerability inherent in an event that might appropriately be defined as abusive to the child. Given that the greatest prevalence of older female sexual partners to boys occurs in surveys with college men, this is a population that deserves more focused attention in order to differentiate between the variety of descriptions and perceptions that are generated.

There are also cultural and social variables in the male child's sexual development that sanction and glorify heterosexual opportunities and condemn homosexual experiences. Strong identification with these implicit norms has the potential to influence the perceptions and meaning that arises

from these experiences. There are no studies thus far that explore the impact of gender identification (adherence to stereotypic beliefs and expectations of appropriate gender behavior) on subsequent adaptation and coping to childhood sexual experiences. As was noted when reviewing the data on psychological impact of abuse on boys, little is known about the different ways in which children process sexual events in their lives, regardless of the actual impact of abuse on an adult's later psychological and emotional functioning. It would seem that correlations between an adult's perceptions, ways of processing meaning, and actual behavioral adaptation following childhood sexual experiences would offer a clearer understanding of the interrelationships between these variables. In this way, we might broaden our appreciation of the contextual influences that predispose boys to different developmental outcomes as a result of the meaning that was created from these interactions.

Finally, we have neglected to go directly to the source and more fully examine the ways in which boys and men construct definitions and meanings of their childhood sexual events in order that we might use these constructions in our assessment and evaluation of the impact of potential childhood abuses for males. In our efforts to sensitively examine the scope of this problem, we have overlooked the best experts on the use of language and the ways of punctuating these experiences- namely the boys and men themselves who continue to evolve new ways of understanding the impact of these events in their lives. We would benefit significantly from more qualitative accounts of a variety of childhood sexual occurrences from males so that we can categorize and typify a range of definitions and connotations that are directly applicable to what boys and men actually think happened to them, and to what is presently happening to them now.

The research previously conducted in the field of sexual abuse to males provides us with hindsight and future directional cues that inform the investigation which follows. This replication of two important research studies which utilize an open-ended definition of sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1979; Fromuth & Burkhart, 1989) also includes a broader age range within which the experience could occur (through college). This study also correlates qualitative accounts of men's processing of childhood sexual experiences into adulthood with questionnaire profiles. Particular emphasis will also be placed on experiences involving boys and older women. The overall intent of this project is to provide more encompassing measures of the context in which sexual abuse to males occurs and how contextual influences impact subsequent psychological effects for these young adults. The modifications made in this current project, as a result of what has previously been revealed, will hopefully add to the existing data in the field and inform and alter empirical accounts hereafter.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter describes in detail the methods and analysis formats that were utilized to conduct this study. The quantitative facets of this design are first reviewed, examining the recruitment of subjects and the materials that were used, including the follow-up structured interview that generated the qualitative data for this research. Samples of these forms are included in the Appendix of this volume. The research protocols are then described, in terms of the questionnaire content, scoring procedures, validity, and reliability. These empirical measures were used to elicit independent measures of childhood sexual experiences (CSE), adult adjustment (SDTLI), and hypermasculine personality(M Scale). The chapter then overviews the specific procedures that were followed to implement the research, followed by an outline of the data analysis methodology for both the quantitative and qualitative results obtained.

By interweaving quantitative measures with interview transcripts, a cross checking system is established whereby one can more effectively ascertain the degree to which written and verbal accounts are consistent or discrepant. In exploring a sensitive and often shameful subject such as child sexual abuse, it is important to appraise the level of reliability of the self-reports that are generated. Both empirical approaches complement and embellish one another, creating a more encompassing design within which to transform the data into relevant and applicable information, for researchers and clinicians alike.

Subjects

Subjects were 148 undergraduate male students, predominantly white and single, who were enrolled in various psychology courses at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. They were recruited from sign-up folders distributed in psychology classes as well as from a sign-up folder placed in an experiment recruitment area located adjacent to the university psychology department. Subjects received research credit for their participation, which was used to fulfil course requirements. Thirteen of these subjects volunteered for follow-up interviews, of which ten were subsequently interviewed.

Materials

Consent Form

The consent form informed participants of their rights as experimental subjects. Consent forms were signed after the research administrator gave subjects a brief overview of the study. Each signed consent form was kept separate from the rest of the research materials in order to assure subjects of confidentiality.

Feedback Form

The feedback form included a brief statement concerning the sensitive nature of this study's focus. On this form, subjects were offered a list of resources and a selected bibliography for further study on the topic of childhood sexual abuse, as well as a summary report of the study's results

and/or a follow-up voluntary interview with the experimenter (a licensed clinician) to discuss certain experiences in more depth. Each subject was given the option of writing his name, address, and telephone number on the feedback form in order to indicate whether he would like a summary report, a follow-up interview, or both. The feedback form was signed after subjects completed the Life Experience Inventory.

Informed Consent Form

Those subjects participating in the follow-up interview were required to sign an informed consent form which briefly described the intent of the interview, reminding subjects of their right to withdraw from the interview at any point in time, and assuring subjects of the strict confidentiality of the study. This form explicitly informed subjects that any information collected in the interview would not be published or disseminated in any form that would identify the student or his family. A bibliography and resource list was also offered here for those people who might have had uncomfortable feelings stirred up by the sensitive nature of the interview so that they might pursue further reading or counseling services if so desired.

Resource Guide

The resource guide is a list of available mental health professionals whom subjects could contact in the event that any unpleasant feelings were brought up as a result of participation in this study. Resource guides were available to students at the experimenter's desk during the administration of the written materials of the study. Students were verbally informed of the

availability and location of these resources during the study and could choose to take a resource guide at the desk after the subject completed the written portion of the study.

Bibliography

The bibliography is an extensive list of written references on the subject of childhood sexual abuse primarily pertaining to male victims. This list was a condensed version of the bibliography at the end of this volume and was available along with the Resource Guide in the same manner as described above.

Follow-up Interview

The 90 minute interview included structured questions concerning subject's perceptions of the experiences reported in the research forms. Subjects who volunteered for the interview were asked to provide specific details about these experiences as well as their feelings and reactions to these events in their lives. Several final questions pertained to the subject's understanding of their sex-role development as a child and in their current lives.

Research Forms

Life Experience Inventory (LEI)

The LEI is a survey of 90 multiple-choice and fill-in items based on the Childhood Victimization Survey developed by David Finkelhor in 1979. The LEI is divided into five parts as follows:

Part A concerns the subject's age, race, and marital status, as well as basic information about the family.

Part B covers family issues in more depth, including parental discipline, marital satisfaction, and parental treatment of the subject.

Part C consists of questions about sexual experiences in three different age categories:

- 1) Before age 12 with someone who was at least 5 years older
- 2) After age 12 with someone who was at least 10 years older, or any non-consensual experience, regardless of age
- 3) Age 16 or older with someone who was 12 or younger.

Part D deals with issues of violence in the family.

Part E. concerns present sexual and overall adjustment.

Scoring. A special note was made of students whose responses fit the victimization criteria (i.e. reported sexual experiences in one, two, or all three of the age groups, including intrafamilial sexual experiences and/or situations in which there was force, threat, bribery or coercion). Responses that fit these abuse criteria were then converted into numerical values and entered into a computer for analysis. Responses that did not fit the criteria (i.e. no experiences in the given categories were reported) were assigned neutral numerical values and then entered into the computer.

Reliability and Validity. Post-factum self-reports are subject to the willingness of the participant to accurately portray his experiences and thus, reliability and validity rested with the individual subject. Given the anonymous nature of the study, it was likely that subject reports were highly reliable and valid, barring any significant memory loss or denial that any childhood sexual experiences occurred.

Hypermasculinity Inventory (SCALE M)

Scale M is a survey of 30 forced-choice items assessing three components of the "macho personality constellation" as discussed by Mosher & Sirkin (1984); " (a) calloused sexual attitudes toward women, (b) a conception of violence as manly, and (c) a view of danger as exciting" (p. 151). Each item consisted of a pair of statements, one blatantly "hypermasculine" and the other notably un-hypermasculine. Subjects were asked to indicate the statements that best fit their conscious impressions of themselves.

Scoring. For each "hypermasculine" statement chosen, a score of 1 was given, and for each alternate statement, a score of 0 was given. The total number of points was tallied up; possible scores ranged between 0-30. Theoretically, a high score (15-30) would indicate a tendency toward "hypermasculine" personality, whereas a low score (0-15) would indicate a tendency toward an un-"hypermasculine" personality.

Reliability. Out of an original pool of 90 questions, Mosher & Sirkin (1984) selected 30 questions that held the highest item-subscale total correlations. The reliability obtained from a sample of 135 men was a

Cronbach alpha coefficient of .89, with a mean of 11.03 and a standard deviation of 6.79 (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984).

Validity. External validity was calculated by correlating the 135 sample scores on the selected 30 questions with a number of self-reported activities: drug use ($r=.26$, $p<.01$), aggressive behavior ($r=.65$, $p<.001$), dangerous driving following alcohol consumption ($r[136]=.47$, $p<.001$) and delinquent behavior during high school years ($r=.38$, $p<.01$). Construct validity of the macho personality constellation as measured by Scale M was found by correlating the sample scores on the Personality Research Form (D.N. Jackson, 1974, Goshen N.Y.: Psychology Research Press); many significant correlations were found (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984).

Student Development Task and Lifestyle Inventory (SDTLI)

The SDTLI is a survey of 140 true/false items which is generally administered to college students; its purpose is to assess an individual's educational and social growth via a comparison of scores with same-age/same-school level peers. It is assumed that the older the student and/or the higher the class level in school, the higher the student's scores on the various subscales of the SDTLI; higher scores should reflect a higher level of development attained by the student. The survey is divided into 11 major categories as follows:

Educational Involvement (EI)	Intimacy (INT)
Career Planning (CP)	Tolerance (TOL)
Lifestyle Planning (LP)	Peer Relationships (PR)
Salubrious Lifestyle (SL)	Emotional Autonomy (EA)
Life Management (LM)	Academic Autonomy (AA)
Cultural Participation (CUP)	

Sum-totals of scores in selected categories are used to generate two additional measures, the Establishing and Clarifying Purpose Task (PUR) and the Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships Task (MIR). The PUR includes subscales EI, CP, LP, LM, and CUP, which attempt to measure clarity of educational goals, self-directed learning, commitment levels and follow-through in career objectives, strength and dedication of personal ambitions, and cultural interest and participation. The MIR includes subscales PR, TOL, and EA and measures the level of independence, frankness, and trust subjects are able to develop in peer relationships, along with their tolerance for differences and needs for reassurance or approval from others. The remaining subscales are interpreted separately from the other subscales and include Sulubrious Lifestyle (SL), or healthy lifestyle, Academic Autonomy (AA), or self-disciplined and independent learning, and the experimental scale, Intimacy(INT), which measures the capacity to love and care for another as well as beng loved and cared for by another.

In addition to the above, a Response Bias scale (RB) was created. The RB consists of five items which, when answered in the keyed direction, would indicate that the respondent has tried to provide responses which were more socially desirable than accurate. These items are not marked as response bias items on the form itself.

Subjects were asked to fill in their age, race, and class in school at the top of the SDTLI, and then they were instructed to circle T or F for each of the items. For certain questions which would not apply to younger students (freshmen and sophomores), subjects were instructed to circle a third answer provided for these items (Q).

Scoring. On items that were skewed True, a response of T would indicate that the respondent has mastered the tasks involved, that he was more developed where those tasks are concerned than someone who had responded with an F. Similarly, on items that were skewed False, a response of F would indicate this higher development. Each response indicating higher development was given a score of 1, whereas alternative responses were given a score of 0. The numbers of 1s in each of the 11 categories was tallied up, yielding 11 raw score totals. From these totals, raw scores were calculated for the PUR and MIR subscales. Next, all of the resulting raw score totals were then compared to a chart of other subject's mean scores; from this chart, percentile ranks for a subject's raw scores in comparison to the raw scores of others of the same age/class were obtained. These percentile ranks served as adjusted scores for all of the categories.

Reliability. Test-retest reliability was obtained by administering the SDTLI to two small groups of college students from two different colleges in the southeast. One group ($n=27$) took the SDTLI again after a 4-week interval, and the other group ($n=42$) took the SDTLI again after a 2-week interval. Product-moment correlations computed for all task, subtask, and scale scores averaged around .80; scores for the 4-week interval group ranged from .70 to .88 and scores for the two-week interval group ranged from .74 to .89. All scores were

statistically significant ($p < .01$). These findings suggest that responses on the SDTLI are generally stable over time (Winston, Miller, & Prince, 1987).

Internal consistency was treated using Cronbach alpha coefficients and inter-item and item-total correlations. Cronbach alpha coefficients for scores obtained from 1200 students enrolled in 22 U.S. and Canadian colleges ranged from .90 for the PUR subscale to .50 for the RB scale. The entire inventory (135 items; RB scale omitted) yielded an alpha coefficient of .93 ($n=954$). Also, the range of mean inter-item correlations was .10 (MIR) to .24 (SL); the range of mean item-total correlations was .21 (CUP) to .41 [SL] (Winston & Miller, 1987).

Validity. All of the various tasks, subtasks, and scales of the SDTLI were intercorrelated, and it was found that subtasks were more highly correlated with tasks to which they were assigned than to any other tasks. Also, many significant correlations were found between scores on the SDTLI and scores on a variety of instruments thought to be related in concept to the SDTLI (for a list of the instruments used, see Winston & Miller, 1987).

Construct validity was tested by creating an inventory of 4-point Likert scale items that reflected the SDTLI measures. Students ($n=53$) at two different colleges in the southeast completed the inventory along with the SDTLI. Many significant correlations were found between responses on the inventory and responses on the SDTLI (Winston & Miller, 1987).

Response bias was tested by converting sample scores to T-scores and then subjecting these scores to an analysis of variance, with the RB scale as the independent variable. Subjects who scored 2 or higher on the RB scale had higher T-scores on the SDTLI than subjects who scored 0 or 1; this suggests that the RB scale is a good indicator of subjects who try to put forth a better image than is realistic. The authors suggest that the data from any subject

who scores 3 or more on the RB scale should be discarded (Winston & Miller, 1987).

In addition, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale [MCSDS] (Crowne & Marlow, 1960) was used to estimate social desirability bias, and the Religious Dogmatism Scale [RDS] (Fagan & Breed, 1970) was used to estimate religious bias. Correlations between the SDTLI and the MCSDS revealed negative relationships, which suggest that students who purposely try to produce socially desirable responses generally score lower on the SDTLI. Furthermore, there were no significant correlations found between the SDTLI and the RDS; this suggests that the SDTLI is unbiased in terms of religious perspective (Winston & Miller, 1987).

Procedure

Sessions were held at UMASS during two consecutive semesters (Fall, 1988 and Spring, 1989). Two 90-minute sessions were held for three days a week during each semester.

At the beginning of each session, a trained research assistant explained that the study concerned male childhood sexual experiences and present psychological functioning (subjects were not made aware that the study focused on childhood sexual abuse). After obtaining a signed consent form from each subject, the research assistant instructed the subjects to complete the LEI first, SCALE M second, and the SDTLI last. Upon completion of all three surveys, the research assistant reminded subjects to please read over and complete the Subject Feedback Form in their research packet and they were also informed of the Resource Guide and Bibliography available to them on the

desk in the front of the room. The research assistant then presented subjects with research credit slips for their participation.

Each participant was finally debriefed from this experience by having any questions the student may have answered by the researcher or the test administrator, acknowledging that some questions might be upsetting for the person and that they might wish to talk with someone about their experience. They were then encouraged to contact the experimenter by phone if they had any follow-up questions in the weeks or months ahead and a summary of the results of this study was offered to be sent to them if they were willing to provide a forwarding address.

Data Analysis

Self-Report Scales

Frequency counts will be used to highlight characteristic variables inherent in the childhood sexual experiences to college males. These events will be described in light of the child's age at the time these experiences began, the relationship to the older participant, the sex and age of the older person, the duration, frequency, and severity of the sexual events, and the use of force or threats to gain compliance. Through the use of one-way and multiple analyses of variance, these characteristics, coupled with the subject's reactions and perceived influences on his life as a result of these events, will be correlated to differences in gender of the older person, and with independent scaled scores in areas of adult adjustment (SDTLI) and hypermasculinity (M Scale). These analyses are intended to probe for

statistical significance in the relationships between specific facets of the CSE and subsequent adult adaptation and sex-role sanctioned beliefs and attitudes.

Structured Interviews

From written transcripts of the interviews performed with male undergraduate students, student's participating in the follow up interview will be placed in one of four groups:

- 1) Students who uniformly describe a positive family life and adult adjustment.
- 2) Students who uniformly describe a negative family life and adult adjustment.
- 3) Students whose STDLI scores indicate poor interpersonal adult adjustment.
- 4) Students whose M Scale scores indicate strong hypermasculine attitudes

These groups were formulated to examine several significant variables in relationship to one another; positive and negative family environment, perceived positive and negative CSE experience and adult adjustment, and independent measures of poor interpersonal functioning and adherence to hypermasculine beliefs and attitudes.

The ten transcripts were analyzed with these overriding factors in mind. Those descriptions and references that are most recurring throughout each grouping of interviews are highlighted, along with documented excerpts of the passages that account for those particular descriptions. Variables were selected which accentuated a particular contextual component inherent in the child's experience of his sexual event, and which may have had a significant influence on the subsequent processing and meaning attribution which

ensued. These were both intrapersonal and interpersonal characteristics that were repeatedly referred to in the interviews as prominent contributors to the contextual fabric within which the CSE occurred. Thus, stressors in the family, peer relationships, coping styles and adaptive responses to stress, self-confidence levels, sexual and generational boundary dissolution, past and present cognitive attributions surrounding the CSE, and the larger social ecology of ideas and attitudes were all potential sources of examination within each constellation of interviews.

Every attempt was made to correlate overlapping variables between groups in order to discern which variables were trait or context-specific, and which factors transcended all sexual experiences, regardless of the parameters defining the CSE. In the same fashion that clinical apperception tests (e.g., TAT, CAT, RAT) extract projective materials from stories people recount, the interview transcripts were used as a screen from which to delineate those themes that were most often described as influential in the process of adapting to these childhood sexual encounters with older people.

This qualitative data analysis is an initial exploratory inquiry into the meanings and coping strategies (embedded in social constructions of male sexuality and ethics of sex-role behaviors) that males create to understand their early sexual experiences. These findings will examine the relationship between this process of meaning attribution and the gender of the older person, the subject's age, characteristics of the sexual experience, other psychosocial stressors, and the subject's overall perceptions of the CSE. Conclusions will be drawn from these analyses suggesting links between one's meanings and perceptions of these childhood events and subsequent adjustment and later adult functioning. Specific gender influenced traditions will also be noted in terms of their potential impact on the results generated.

The ways in which these findings bear upon future research and clinical practice will be the subject of the discussion which follows in Chapter V.

Summary

This chapter has overviewed the procedures and materials used to conduct the present empirical study. A precise description of the research protocols and methods of analysis were provided, allowing for future replication of this study. A rationale was also stipulated for interlocking quantitative and qualitative forms of data to embellish upon the accounts that men give about their early sexual experiences. The strategies used to elicit and interpret the results from these methods were specified as well, creating a system of checks and balances to identify consistencies and discrepancies between what subjects anonymously report on written surveys and the descriptions that they choose to verbally elaborate upon in the presence of an interviewer.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter will present quantitative and qualitative data that was generated from the previously described research study. The results of this project will be divided into several sections. The demographic and descriptive characteristics depicting the research sample of college men surveyed will first be overviewed. Three comparisons between the student sample will then be more closely examined; 1) comparisons between students who did and those that did not report a stipulated childhood sexual experience; 2) comparisons between students who reported a stipulated childhood sexual experience up until age twelve or after age twelve; and 3) comparisons between students who reported a stipulated childhood sexual experience when the older or coercive participant was either a male or a female. These correlations will utilize frequency counts to postulate directional trends and analyses of variance to determine statistically significant differences between selected variables.

The ten volunteer subjects who participated in the follow-up structured interview will then be described, including the available quantitative data that they provided from the first portion of this chapter. As delineated in Chapter III, several qualitative themes will be ascertained from transcripts of each interview according to the following criteria; 1) the contextual characteristics surrounding the childhood sexual experience(s), including the environmental, cognitive, and sexual event variables; 2) the child's perceived developmental maturity level at the time of the childhood sexual experience(s); 3) the subject's meaning attribution to the childhood sexual

experience, including definitional meaning, initial and subsequent cognitive attributes reviewing the experience, perceived influences of the childhood sexual event(s) on the subjects adult adjustment, and gender role identity; 4) comparisons between quantitative and qualitative data from each interviewed subject. Wherever possible, direct portions of the interview will be included to substantiate the descriptive characteristics assigned to each subject's qualitative variables and these descriptors will be catalogued in several concluding tables in order to synthesize the obtained results.

This exploratory study attempts to highlight the relationships between contextual variables surrounding a potentially abusive childhood sexual experience and the meaning that is generated and recreated from these events. Significantly larger subject pools and greater statistical power would have increased the probability of arriving at more conclusive and far reaching correlations. However, the differences that are noted here, although statistically insignificant, conform to directional trends noted in the literature in the field, and to the qualitative data which follows. Given the importance of this research in such a new field, the reader is reminded that speculations generated from these results are inconclusive, but potentially meaningful. The analysis and conclusions drawn from these results will be presented in the next and last chapter of this project and will underscore the future research and clinical applications arising from this study.

Research Sample Characteristics.

148 male undergraduate students from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst campus participated in this research study that was conducted from September, 1988 through May of 1989 in the psychology department. Of these

148 students, 93% were Caucasian, 90% were between the ages of 18 and 22 years old, and all but 2% of the subjects surveyed were unmarried. Almost three fourths (71-73%) of the respondent's biological parents were still married and living together, and 83% of the students were living with both parents at twelve years of age.

Family Characteristics

The subjects' reports of their mothers and fathers varied widely on a number of demographic variables as charted in Table 8 below. Although many of these differences are substantial, they appear to reflect larger societal distinctions between economic and professional opportunities afforded to men and women. It is unclear to whom subject's referred when establishing ratings for these guidelines, and it is possible that the men described those parents who were the most consistent and available caretakers, regardless of whether or not they were step-parents.

The predominant reporting of the subject's close relationship with their mother and to a lesser degree with their father is somewhat reversed and substantially lower when reporting on the closeness of the relationship that the one out of eight men had who also lived with a step-parent. There was an approximately 20% higher rating of nurturing qualities attributed to the subjects' mothers, except for playing with the child, which was reported slightly higher for fathers, and physical affection, which was described as occurring almost three times more often with their mothers. One quarter of these men disclosed some form of verbally abusive treatment by either a mother or a father, and although fathers were seen to drink heavily more

TABLE 8:
DEMOGRAPHIC VARIATIONS BETWEEN SUBJECT'S MOTHER and FATHER
(n=148)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Father (%)</u>	<u>Mother (%)</u>
Completed College or Beyond	70	47
Professional or Business Proprietor	81	23
Had No Occupation Outside Home	00	35
Est. Earnings over \$30,000 per year	56	13
Didn't Live with Parent for 1-1+ Yrs.	20	06
Felt Close-Very Close to Parent	65	87
Step-Parent	11	12
Felt Close-Very Close to Step-Parent	31	21
Treated You as if You Were Important	68	84
Played with You	44	36
Understood You	43	56
Kissed You	32	74
Hugged You	29	76
Talked to You When You Had a Problem	42	62
Responsive to Your Emotional Needs	46	66
Sometimes Verbally Abusive of You	25	23
Was Tense, Nervous, Worried	25	35
Was Ill	06	11
Sometimes Drank Heavily	15	06
Sometimes Had Emotional Problems	20	36

often than mothers, the female parent was described as more often anxious or emotionally disturbed than fathers in over one third of mothers, and more often ill in one tenth of the students' mothers.

These differences, however, do not account for the majority of students (81%) who reported at age twelve that their parent's marriages were somewhat to very happy. A third of of the subjects (32%) remember their parents kissing often, with slightly more (37%) remembering their parents hugging often, while only 18% remembered their parents holding hands frequently. There were also a small percentage of students who reported witnessing or experiencing violence in their family, with at least one or two episodes of physical aggression between parents in just over a fifth of all families (20-22%). These figures fall within the range established by other noted researchers in the field of family violence (Gelles & Strauss, 1988). 9-11% of all respondents reported that they were spanked by their parents at least once a month, whereas 10% of mothers and 18% of fathers were described as physically abusive of the subject at least once or twice before they were 18 years old. In addition to these family interactions, one quarter of the sample (24%) stated that they had at least been mildly to moderately emotionally neglected as child. None of these terms were elaborated upon in the survey questions so it is possible that responses were subject to a wide range of interpretations.

Past and Current Sexual Behaviors

The remainder of the life experience questionnaire focused on the sexual behaviors and events that occurred in the students childhood and current life. A summary profile of the male college student's sexual practices

suggests that over one third of all subjects started going out on dates between the ages of 12 and 14, whereas nearly half (47%) of the men waited until they were 15-17 years old. One tenth of this population began dating before 12 years old and 6% waited until they were over 18 before starting to date. Over half of the men (57%) first had sexual intercourse when they were 16 to 18 years old, with 17% experiencing intercourse before age 16 and 10% after age 18. 40% of these same men reported having had sexual intercourse with between 3 and 10 women in their lives with one in five men (19%) saying that they had never engaged in intercourse with a woman and 13% stating that they had had intercourse with 11 or more women. One third of all respondents (32%) reported a sexual experience with someone of the same sex after age 12, with the majority of incidents occurring between the ages of 13 and 14 (11%) and again between 17 and 18 (10%). Between 7 and 10 percent of the subjects stated that they had had a sexual experience with another man since age 16 and up until the last year.

Current sexual practices "within the last month," according to survey results, indicate that just over half (51%) of the men had engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman, with the majority of these sexual acts (18%) occurring between 1 and 5 times. The same percentage of men reported wishing for the identical frequency of intercourse in a month and over a fifth of the students (21%) wished for intercourse with a woman 11-15 times a month. Three quarters of the subjects reported having "made out" with a woman in the last month; of these respondents, one quarter (24%) estimated the frequency of this behavior at 1-5 times, and a similar percentage (26%) reported 20 or more episodes within the last thirty day period. One third (34%) of the students stated that they were living with, engaged to, married, or going steady with someone, and of the remaining men, 38% were dating 1-5 times in

the last month and 17% were not dating at all. Finally, one third of the men (32%) described having masturbated in the last month at least 1-5 times, 13%, between 6-10 times, and 10% more than 20 times. Over a third (36%) of the respondents said they had not masturbated at all in the past month.

Perceptions and attitudes regarding one's private and interpersonal sexual development were elicited via a series of statements that the subject had to agree or disagree with on a four point Likert scale. These questions (Finkelhor, 1984, pp. 192-194) were designed to measure "sexual self-esteem" and this constellation of indicies, coupled with several direct inquiries into sexual dysfunction form an important basis of comparison to other specific subgroups being studied. There is clearly room for interpretation in responding to these questions, particularly when so many of these sexual descriptions are left undefined (e.g., promiscuous, sexual problem, etc.). The questions asked, and the frequency of responses generated are presented below in Table 9.

It is noteworthy that approximately a third of the sample reported some sexual dysfunction or period of promiscuity. These high rates of sexual difficulties are either indicative of the general male population or suggest that post adolescent sexual development (particularly when living away from home for the first time and meeting the social and academic demands of college) creates unique stresses for males. The 40-50% of subjects also expressed dissatisfaction at the infrequency of their sexual activity or their preoccupation with sexual thoughts. Half of the respondents actively pursued their sexual interests while one out of every five students reported being in awkward sexual situations or feeling dissatisfied by a sexual encounter. A majority of men liked their bodies and less than one tenth of these same men considered themselves to have a sexual problem. Given the widespread reports

of sexual dysfunction, this does not appear to create undue concern for two thirds of this subsection of the population.

In relationship to the subjects' perceptions of their overall adjustment, 51% of the men reported being well adjusted while only 43% reported similar results in describing their sexual adjustment. 13% of the students stated that they had been treated for emotional problems (only 2% stated that these problems resulted in hospitalization) with 9-12% of the subjects disclosing having had a problem with alcohol or drugs. 6% of the sample admitted to attempting suicide, 14% had run away from home, and 18% had been arrested.

TABLE 9:
SEXUAL SELF-ESTEEM AND DYSFUNCTION OF COLLEGE MEN
(n = 148)

<u>Statement</u>	Agree or Somewhat Agree:	(%)
I spend too much time thinking about sex.		55
I often find myself in awkward sexual situations.		23
I really like my body.		69
I usually take the initiative if sexually interested in someone		52
After sexual experiences, I often feel dissatisfied.		20
Someone my age should be having more sex than I am.		41
I consider myself to have a sexual problem.		09
I have had periods of sexual promiscuity.		35
I have had problems with premature ejaculation.		29
I have had problems achieving or maintaining an erection		28

Most importantly for the purposes of this research study, 59% of the respondents reported some childhood sexual experience and 18% (n=26) of the total sample stated that they had had a sexual experience with someone at least five years older than they were up until the age of twelve, or with someone at least ten years older than they were after age twelve (or with someone after age 12 which was forced or that was nonconsensual, regardless of the age difference). This group of students reporting such a childhood sexual experience will be contrasted with the general population just described above in the next section of this chapter. Prior to this comparison, mean scores obtained on the college adjustment inventory and the hypermasculinity index will be briefly reviewed so as to establish a referential foundation for distinguishing amongst other comparison groups to follow.

SDTLI and M Scale Scores

The results of the subscales of the SDTLI adjustment inventory are listed in Table 10 below. These figures are reported as T-scores, with a standardized mean of 50 and a Standard Deviation of 10. For example, scores falling below 40 or above 60 indicate significantly higher or lower achievement on that subtask. Thus, an obtained score of 35 on the Tolerance scale would indicate marked intolerance for personal and cultural differences. It is apparent, however, that the current college sample being investigated clearly falls within a normative mean range of other students nationally.

The final quantitative index was obtained on the Hypermasculinity Scale, which indicated a tendency toward or away from a hypermasculine personality. The mean score that was generated from the sample being

TABLE 10:
TASK/SUBTASK/SCALE SCORES ON SDTLI OF COLLEGE MALE SAMPLE
(n = 148)

<u>Task/Subtask/Scale</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Score</u>
<u>Establishing and Clarifying Purpose</u>	(PUR)	46.00	
Educational Involvement	(EI)	47.67	
Career Planning	(CP)	46.83	
Lifestyle Planning	(LP)	46.09	
Life Management	(LM)	47.05	
Cultural Participation	(CUP)	46.81	
<u>Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships</u>	(MIR)	48.25	
Peer Relationships	(PR)	45.57	
Tolerance	(TOL)	50.30	
Emotional Autonomy	(EA)	51.08	
<u>Academic Autonomy</u>	(AA)	48.17	
<u>Intimacy</u>	(INT)	49.50	

studied was 8.64, well below the 15+ mean score needed to signify hypermasculinity. Only 16% of this population obtained a score of 15 or above, with just under 6% scoring over 17. These results indicate an overall low identification with hypermasculine attitudes and beliefs.

We will now examine the differences between these reported scores and scores obtained by those students who reported a Childhood Sexual Experience (CSE) according to the stipulations of this present study. These comparisons

will then be further delineated between respondents reporting a CSE up until age 12 and those reporting a CSE after age 12. A final quantitative analysis will compare subjects who had a CSE with an older male versus those who had a CSE with an older female.

Comparison Between Students Who Did and Those Who Did Not Report a CSE

The reader is again reminded here that the comparisons made here are tentative, and are based on the conviction that greater statistical power involving a larger sample would have generated several statistically significant variances between these two groups. Therefore, directional trends or constellations of differences will be reported that seem to depict overall variations between those students who reported a CSE and those who did not. Several indicators that were not included in the general sample description above (due to the minimal variance between them) will be mentioned here to highlight the likelihood of statistical significance if the sample sizes were larger or if fewer analyses were performed on the data. Each comparison group hereafter will also include a comparable Sexual Self-Esteem and Dysfunction Table as presented in Table 9.

There were virtually no differences reported between these two groups on demographic statistics (i.e. race, age, marital status, parent income and education, living situation, etc.). Students who did identify a CSE reported slightly higher levels of closeness to their biological parents (75% vs. 64% for fathers and 92% vs. 85% for mothers), however, with such a small sample group (n=26) any variations must be interpreted cautiously. Despite these indications that parent-child relationships were close, some of the strongest

differences uncovered between these two groups occurred on statements attempting to measure conflict levels in the family.

Family Characteristics

The subjects who reported a CSE were less likely to indicate that their parents marriage was happy (48% vs. 68%) and they also specified less evidence of physical affection in this relationship. Parents of children who reported a CSE were also less likely to hug each other often (27% vs. 39%) and more than half as likely to kiss frequently (15% vs. 36%) but surprisingly did hold hands slightly more often (23% vs. 18%). Higher levels of violence or abusive behaviors between family members were also described by those students indicating a CSE. In this group, mothers hit fathers more often (32% vs. 22%) and fathers hit mothers more often (28% vs. 20%). The males who experienced a CSE also reported twice as many episodes of physical abuse by their fathers (32% vs. 16%), verbal abuse by their mother (23% vs. 9%), and similar results when identifying being emotionally neglected in general as a child (39% vs. 21%). Differences between these two groups also showed a three to one ratio between boys with a CSE disclosing physical abuse by their mothers at least once or twice versus boys who didn't specify a CSE (25% vs 7%). These results suggest higher levels of child maltreatment and marital conflict in the family.

Similar findings arose when students rated the level of admonition received from each parent, specifically for engaging in sexual behaviors as a child. Although it is quite possible that the childhood sexual experiences that distinguish one group from another may have precipitated more exploratory sexual behavior that subsequently was interrupted more often by parents, it is

undiscernible whether the child's mild to moderate punishments occurred before or after the CSE, and thus, these questions may have some bearing on our final analysis. The frequency of responses to these statements are presented in Table 11:

TABLE 11:
PARENTAL PUNISHMENT OF CHILDHOOD SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

<u>Sexual Behavior</u>	NO CSE GROUP (n=122)		CSE GROUP (n=26)	
	Scolded by: <u>Mother/Father(%)</u>		<u>Mother/Father(%)</u>	
Not Having Clothes On	05	03	00	12
Playing Sex Games with Children	07	07	19	12
Saying Dirty Words	58	53	77	73
Asking Questions About Sex	03	02	00	00
Doing Something Sexual on a Date	01	00	04	04
Looking at Sexual Pictures or Books	14	03	31	19
Touching your Sex Organs	02	02	00	00
Masturbating	01	02	00	00

Fathers of the CSE group were more likely to be punitive when their sons were not wearing clothing, was saying dirty words, playing sex games, and looking at sexual pictures. Mothers of this group were also admonishing of their sons for using dirty words and playing sex games, and they were almost two times more likely to punish their child for looking at sexual pictures than fathers and almost three times more likely to punish them for

these sexual behaviors than mothers whose sons did not have a CSE. Again, it is questionable whether children in the CSE demonstrated these behaviors more frequently or whether sexual attitudes and tolerance levels were more stringent or repressive, perhaps fostering more curiosity or experimentation.

Past and Current Sexual Behaviors

Some discrepancies were noted on the LEI within the CSE group in regards to overall sexual functioning. Twice as many boys in the CSE group began dating before the age of 12 than in the non-CSE group (20% vs. 9%) and a similar ratio was evident when identifying a sexual experience with someone of the same sex. Sixty-four percent of the CSE group reported such an experience (versus 32% for the non-CSE group); 19% stipulated that a same-sex experience occurred within the last year (versus 3% for the non-CSE group) and 27% stating they were sexual with a man since age 16 (versus 4% for the non-CSE group). No differences were evident between these two groups in regards to experiences involving sexual intercourse with a woman in the past or currently, as was true with expressed desires for sexual intercourse and dating frequency. Forty-six percent of the men in the CSE group had not "made out" with a woman in the last month as compared to only 18% for the non-CSE group and 23% of the CSE group had never had sexual intercourse with a woman versus 18% for the group where childhood sexual experiences were not stated. The most substantial variation arose in the frequency of masturbation, with 38% of the CSE men reporting 11 or more masturbatory experiences in the last month compared with 15% in the non-CSE group. These results certainly point to the probability that premature exposure to sexual

interactions increases the likelihood of continued sexual exploration and more frequent sexual activity throughout childhood.

Table 12 reviews the sexual self-esteem and dysfunction questions and raises speculation regarding the impact of the childhood sexual experience on the developing adult. There is a slight increase in sexual dysfunction and a small decline in self-esteem as noted in the results above. However, a greater percentage of men in the CSE group had higher ratings on their overall sexual adjustment (50% vs. 42%) and overall current adjustment (62% vs. 51%) than their counterparts despite the fact that three times as many of these men state

TABLE 12: SEXUAL SELF-ESTEEM AND DYSFUNCTION: CSE VS. NON-CSE

<u>Statement</u>	Agree or Somewhat Agree:	<u>CSE</u> (%) (n = 2 6)	<u>Non-CSE</u> (%) (n = 1 2 2)
I spend too much time thinking about sex.		62	54
I often find myself in awkward sexual situations.		31	22
I really like my body.		62	71
I take the initiative if sexually interested in someone.		46	54
After sexual experiences, I often feel dissatisfied.		26	20
Someone my age should be having more sex than I am.		35	42
I consider myself to have a sexual problem.		19	07
I have had periods of sexual promiscuity.		58	31
I have had problems with premature ejaculation.		39	27
I've had problems achieving/maintaining an erection.		31	28

that they have been treated for emotional problems (29% vs. 10%). These inconsistencies suggest several potential hypotheses; 1) perceptual variations arise when evaluating different aspects of one's behavioral functioning, with a possible tendency to cast difficulties or concerns in a more favorable light, 2) successful treatment or use of other supportive resources in the child's life contributed to higher adjustment ratings, or 3) this group of men confronted more psychosocial stressors than their counterparts, which warranted treatment but had little bearing on their current lives.

There were no statistically significant differences on any subscale of the SDTLI or the Hypermasculinity Index. These empirical indicators suggest that those who had a childhood sexual experience with a significantly older person were as well adjusted as the non-CSE group of students, according to their perceptions of their own functioning. What is most apparent from these findings is the trend toward a more abusive or conflictual family environment for those boys who had a CSE, along with more alleged sexual difficulties and emotional problems in their later functioning. We will now compare differences between the age at which the child had this experience and the gender of the older participant.

Comparison of Subjects Reporting CSEs Up Until Age 12 or After 12 Years Old.

CSE Group Profile

Before breaking down the group of students who experienced CSEs according to the age at which they occurred, it might be useful to first briefly profile the whole group in terms of its distinguishing characteristics. We can then discern a point of reference to the descriptive data arising from other

college studies. The mean age of the CSE for all students was 10.6 years old. The older participant was equally male or female, as was the ratio for that person being under or over the age of eighteen. The boys were equally exposed to one time and multiple occurrences that involved fondling in just over half of the cases, oral-genital contact in a third of all reported experiences, and penetration in one out of every six cases. Force was used, according to this data in just under a third of all reported incidents. The older participant was a family member in one of every three occasions, whereas acquaintances constituted the other two thirds of the older person. One CSE with a stranger was reported. Finally, there were no statistically significant variations in scores on the SDTLI or on the M Scale between this group and the Non-CSE group. The indicies most approaching significance were Lifestyle Planning and Purpose; both scales describing clarity of purpose, goal-directed future planning, and direction and orientation in one's life. As a result, however, of the numerous statistically tests administered, even these trends are subject to close scrutiny.

Because sample sizes dramatically decrease when delineating between the 18% ($n=26$) of all college men in this study who reported a CSE, statistical power is also weakened. Thus, conclusions arising from these results remain even more speculative than when looking at this group as a whole. There are, however, several noteworthy directional trends that deserve mention here and further examination in the next chapter. The profiles generated from these results provide an initial template from which to compare characteristics of abuse elicited from the literature in the field.

Differences in CSEs Between Groups

Reports by students comparing their actual sexual experiences before and after age 12 reveal some interesting findings. Four of the students reporting a CSE identified experiences before and after age 12, and thus, the 26 subjects here are divided into 18 younger CSEs and 12 older CSEs (see Table 13). There was minimal variance in the sex of the older participant with more boys having same sex CSEs over age twelve (58% vs. 44%), and more older females engaging younger boys in sexual experiences up until the age of 12 (56% vs. 42%). Not surprisingly, 50% of the students with a CSE up until age 12 stated that the older person was a member of their nuclear or extended family as opposed to only 25% for students in the over 12 CSE group. This conforms to other research findings that highlight the older child's increased freedom and mobility outside of the family. A child over twelve was more likely to engage in a CSE with someone whom the child said was a friend (55% vs. 33%) and given the age differential stipulated in the research survey, the average age of the older participant for the child twelve and under was 15 years old as opposed to an average age of 32 years old for those engaging in sexual behaviors with a child over twelve and at least ten years their junior. Table 13 summarizes some of the other noteworthy features of the childhood sexual encounters reported by students experiencing CSE's up until or after age 12.

According to these frequencies, older children experienced approximately twice as much force from the older participant to engage in sexual behaviors than younger children and these people were alleged to have been drinking in 4 out of every 10 CSE with a child over 12 years old. Older children were reported to have been fondled more often and were almost six times more likely to engage in sexual intercourse than younger children.

These experiences were also more likely to be more frequent than a one or two time episode and the reactions to the experiences were indicative of longer, more forceful interactions. Children over 12 who had sexual experiences with someone at least ten years their elder more often reported subjective reactions of fear, shock, surprise, embarrassment, and shame. Reactions of shame or

TABLE 13: CSE CHARACTERISTIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CSEs UP UNTIL AND AFTER 12

<u>CSE Characteristic</u>	<u>CSE Up Until age 12</u> % (n=18)	<u>CSE after age 12</u> % (n=12)
Initiated by Older Person	77	92
Older Person Used Force	28	50
Older Person Used Bribes	28	33
Older Person had been Drinking	06	42
Child Had Been Drinking	00	25
Older Person Fondled You	59	92
Engaged in Intercourse	06	33
One or Two Time Occurrence	76	50
Reacted to the Experience with:		
Fear	17	25
Interest or Pleasure	44	33
Shock or Surprise	11	33
Embarrassment	37	50
Excited	29	42
Ashamed	28	50
Confused	47	42
Scared	24	50

fear were twice as common with older children than those with a CSE up until age 12.

Interestingly, older children also reported more feelings of excitement, which may be attributed to greater awareness of and physiological maturity to sexual response cycle. In both cases, 44-50% of the respondents told no one about these experiences with a third of the remaining males (33-39%) only telling a friend. More older children (43% vs. 22%) felt the CSE was a negative experience at the time with a greater disparity arising when speculating about the overall effects of the CSE on the child's life (42% vs. 17% negative).

Younger children reported higher rates of neutral reactions and effects of their CSE on their life (50% vs. 33% neutral feelings at time of CSE and 61% vs. 50% neutral overall effects on child's life) and higher rates of positive effects of the CSE on their life (23% vs. 8%). Conversely, more older children reported a neutral effect of the CSE on their current sexual life (75% vs. 55%); younger children reported more positive (28% vs. 17%) effects of the CSE on their overall lives and more negative effects (17% vs. 8%) on their current sexual life.

Family Characteristics

The differences in family interactions between CSEs up until or after age 12 are listed in Table 14 below. These findings tend to suggest that the child who engages in a CSE after age 12 felt less understood, less talked to when he had a problem, and treated as less important by his parents than those who had a CSE up until the age of 12. This is contrasted by higher reported levels of violence and spanking within the family for children who identified a CSE before age 12. There were no differences in the levels of physical abuse by

either parent cited. It can be speculated that those children who experienced a confusing or unpleasant experience during adolescence may feel more alienated from their families given developmental progressions away from attachments at home as well as feeling more negative about these experiences, as seen above, creating more isolation from others. Higher levels of abusive

TABLE 14: DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN CSEs UP UNTIL AND AFTER AGE 12

<u>Family Characteristic</u>	<u>CSE Up Until Age 12</u>		<u>CSE After Age 12</u>	
	(n=18)		(n=12)	
	<u>Mother/Father</u>		<u>Mother/Father</u>	
Treated you as if you were important.	78	72	50	83
Was verbally abusive to you.	06	22	00	25
Played with you.	22	44	46	42
Was tense, nervous, worried.	41	29	42	33
Was Ill.	06	06	08	00
Drank heavily.	00	12	00	00
Understood you	78	72	58	34
Kissed you.	88	29	83	17
Hugged you.	82	35	83	25
Talked to you when you had a problem.	78	55	67	33
Was responsive to your emotional need.	61	50	75	42
Had emotional problems.	12	12	08	08
Father hit mother.		41		25
Mother hit father.		41		25
Mother spanked me at least a few times.		35		25
Father spanked me at least a few times.		35		42
Mother physically abused me sometimes.		23		25
Father physically abused me sometimes.		35		33

behaviors at home coupled with higher frequencies of abuses within the home for children who report a CSE up until age 12 may be characteristic of more disturbed and conflictual family environments where utilizing a child sexually might be more viable.

Past and Current Sexual Behaviors

Current sexual practices revealed that males who had a CSE after age 12 were more sexually active in the last month than CSEs up until age 12 and wished they could be having more sex than they were (75% vs. 56%). The older CSE contingent reported higher levels of sexual intercourse in the last month (42% vs. 27% for 6 or more times) with more women (50% vs. 33% with 6 or more women), more experiences of "making out" (42% vs. 33%), more sexual experiences with a man in the last year (25% vs. 11%), and higher rates of masturbation in the last month (50% vs. 39% more than 6 times). They also stipulated lower levels of sexual self-esteem and higher degrees of sexual dysfunction than the younger CSE group. These differences are diagrammed in Table 13 below.

Despite more frequent sexual activity for the older CSE group, including greater periods of promiscuity, there are notable differences particularly in their satisfaction levels in their current experiences as compared to the younger CSE group. Older CSEs identify themselves three times more often as having sexual problems, which may account for the increase for this group in occurrences of premature ejaculation and alleged awkward sexual situations. This is further confirmed by lower levels of positive sexual adjustment currently than younger CSEs (42% vs. 58%), higher levels of emotional problems (36% vs. 24%) and more drug problems (25% vs. 17%). There were no

differences in the ratings of overall current adjustment between groups (58% vs 56%).

These finding highlight significant differences in the processing and subsequent sexual adaptation that may occur when a child experiences an upsetting sexual experience as an adolescent as opposed to when he is approaching or experiencing puberty. The impact of a CSE upon the adolescent's development seems more detrimental to his later adult functioning, incurring greater hindrances to his sexual self-esteem and to his sexual performance. Higher rates of sexual behavior for these men imply an

TABLE 15: SEXUAL SELF-ESTEEM AND DYSFUNCTION- COMPARISON
BETWEEN YOUNGER AND OLDER CSEs

<u>Statement</u>	Agree or Somewhat Agree: <u>CSE up until 12</u>	<u>CSE after 12</u>
	(n = 18)	(n = 12)
I spend too much time thinking about sex.	61	75
I often find myself in awkward sexual situations.	28	42
I really like my body.	66	50
I take the initiative if sexually interested in someone.	55	43
After sexual experiences, I often feel dissatisfied.	14	50
Someone my age should be having more sex than I am.	33	42
I consider myself to have a sexual problem.	11	33
I have had periods of sexual promiscuity.	50	75
I have had problems with premature ejaculation.	33	50
I've had problems achieving/maintaining an erection.	28	25

increased need to feel more competent sexually which may only increase the young adult's sense of dissatisfaction and sexual difficulties. These differences will be further elaborated upon in the next chapter.

Comparisons Between CSEs with an Older Male or Female

Correlations made between subjects who reported a sexual experience with an older male or female (CSE-Male or CSE-Female) also suffer from small sample sizes and complications arising from the occurrence of males who had sexual experiences with multiple older participants who might have been both male and female. For the purposes of this analysis, respondents who reported any CSE with an older or coercive male, regardless of any other experiences with females, were placed in the grouping with an older male participant (CSE-Male). This was determined due to differences that might be anticipated between homosexual and heterosexual experiences, i.e., even one same-sex CSE was distinctive enough to be included in that variable. This resulted in 11% (n=17) of the total subject pool having had a CSE with an older male versus 9% (n=13) of the sample having had a CSE with an older female. These figures also represent the four subjects who reported CSEs before and after age 12.

Demographically, there were few differences between the two groups. It is unclear why only those students having CSEs with older men (CSE-Male) reported having step-parents (18% had step-fathers and 29% had step-mothers). Twice as many subjects in the CSE-Male group reported being moderately to severely emotionally neglected (21% vs. 8% for those in the CSE-Female group) and mothers of the CSE-Female group were seen as more tense, nervous, and worried than those identified as CSE-Male (46% vs. 29%). However mothers of the CSE-Male students were less responsive to their sons

than mothers of CSE-Females (55% vs. 75%). This correlated with higher rates of mothers of CSE-Male children being seen as having more emotional problems sometimes or often than mothers of the CSE-Female group (57% vs. 27%). The men identified as CSE-Male had higher frequencies of marital aggression, particularly with fathers hitting mothers (36% vs. 18% for the CSE-Female group) and no variations were uncovered regarding parental spankings of alleged physical abuse. Otherwise, variations in frequencies were too minimal to report any substantial differences. Larger sample sizes are needed even to corroborate the few demographic trends and family characteristics noted here.

Descriptions of the actual sexual events that transpired between the CSE-Male and CSE-Female groups elucidate more useful and interesting distinctions. The mean ages of the older participant were identical (CSE-Male: 17.5 years old; CSE-Female: 17.6 years old). The sexual behaviors described between these two groups suggest that those males considered CSE-Male are more often invited or requested to engage in sexual behavior (65% vs. 38%), are exposed to more fondling (82% vs. 58%), including fondling of the child's genitals (71% vs. 50%), and experience more oral-genital contact (47% vs. 17%). Subjects described as CSE-Female reported greater frequencies of kissing and hugging (58% vs. 29%) and intercourse (31% vs. 6%). All other sexual acts showed no variation between groups. CSE-Male subjects almost always identified the older male as the initiator (94% vs. 69% for the CSE-Female group) and they also described significantly higher rates of force and bribes being utilized (59% vs. 8%- force and 41% vs. 8%-bribes). No other differences in the specific sexual acts were uncovered.

Perceptual Differences of CSE Between Groups

There were, however, strong trends towards CSE-Males reacting to their experience more negatively and the CSE-Females perceiving their experience as positive or neutral. These perceptual differences are illustrated in Table 14.

TABLE 16: SELF-REPORTED PERCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CSE-MALES AND CSE-FEMALES		
<u>Reacted to the Experience with:</u>	<u>CSE-Males</u>	<u>CSE-Females</u>
Fear	35	00
Interest	12	46
Shock	12	15
Embarrassment	53	27
Excited	12	67
Ashamed	65	17
Confused	65	00
Scared	53	08
Surprise	06	15
Pleasure	00	15
Anger	41	00
Indifference	12	09
Upset	47	42
Hurt	47	17
Helpless	41	00

Those in the CSE-Male group felt significantly more afraid, helpless, ashamed, hurt, embarrassed, and angry as a result of their experience, which may explain why 65% of these men told no one about the event. The CSE-Female respondents described far more interest and excitement as a result of their

experiences, and 77% of this group did disclose this to at least one other person. 54% of the CSE-Females had spoken to counselors (versus 41% of the CSE-Male group) but only 8% of these men discussed these childhood sexual encounters. All of those subjects stipulated as CSE-Female reported that they felt either positive or neutral about the experience at the time (46% positive and 54% neutral) as opposed to 47% of the CSE-Male group who described positive or neutral feelings at the time of the CSE (12% positive and 35% neutral). 53% of these men felt the CSE was negative at the time, 47% stated that this experience has had a negative effect on their life (versus 0% for the CSE-Female group) and 23% reported that the CSE had a negative effect on their current sexual life (versus 0% for CSE-Females).

These differences are further amplified when reviewing results of the Sexual Self-Esteem and Dysfunction Scales listed in Table 17 below. Higher levels of sexual dissatisfaction, awkward sexual situations, and perceived sexual problems for men in the CSE-Male group point to more difficult sexual adjustment as an adult. Only 36% of these respondents rated their current sexual adjustment as positive as opposed to 67% of the CSE-Female group and 50% of CSE-Male subjects (versus 75% of the CSE-Female subjects) saw their overall current life as well adjusted. More respondents in the CSE-Male sample reported being treated for emotional problems (36% vs. 20%) despite the results described previously where more CSE-Female subjects sought out counseling services than those in the CSE-Male group.

Finally, sexual practices as reported by these students suggest that 76% of the CSE-Male group had their first date before the age of 15 (versus 42% of the CSE-Female group), 25% of these men had their first sexual experience with a woman before age 15 (versus 10% of CSE-Female group) while more CSE-Female students described "making out" with a woman in the last month

than CSE-Male subjects (59% vs. 14%). As would be expected, those in the CSE-Male group reported higher frequencies of homosexual experiences, with 35% (versus 0%) reporting at least one experience in the last year and 43% (versus 8%) stating similar information since they were 16 years old. Other sexual behaviors were not noted as statistically different.

TABLE: 17: SEXUAL SELF-ESTEEM AND DYSFUNCTION- CSE-MALE VS. CSE-FEMALE

<u>Statement</u>	Agree or Somewhat Agree:	<u>CSE-Males</u> (n=17)	<u>CSE-Females</u> (n=13)
I spend too much time thinking about sex.		74	58
I often find myself in awkward sexual situations.		50	08
I really like my body.		71	50
I take the initiative if sexually interested in someone.		43	50
After sexual experiences, I often feel dissatisfied.		50	00
Someone my age should be having more sex than I am.		36	33
I consider myself to have a sexual problem.		29	08
I have had periods of sexual promiscuity.		57	58
I have had problems with premature ejaculation.		36	42
I've had problems achieving/maintaining an erection.		36	25

These findings highlight the reported variance between sexual experiences involving an older male or an older female. Further discussion will distinguish between the potential factors contributing to more negative perceptions for CSE-Males and more positive overall reactions from CSE-Females. Gauging from both CSEs for males over 12 years old and men in the

CSE-Male group, self-reports of discomfort and confusion surrounding these events appear to have a more negative impact on current sexual practices and sexual-self-esteem. Although the specific manifestations of these difficulties varies, correlations can be made between childhood sexual experiences and current sexual development. These comparisons will be more extensively detailed in Chapter V.

We now turn to actual descriptions and elaborations of these childhood sexual experiences from ten of the men who participated in this study. Their particular constructions of meanings in relation to the context of their experiences will hopefully clarify some of the variables inherent in the adult adjustment and coping that ensues for these males. These qualitative accounts will expand upon and complement the statistical descriptions that have so far been provided.

Qualitative Findings from Structured Interviews

This section will review the results of ten follow-up interviews that were conducted several weeks after the CSE questionnaire, SDTLI, and M Scale inventories were completed. The subjects who are described here (identified with fictitious names) are clustered into four groupings according to quantitative data that was collected from the scales previously described above. As the subject's profiles were reviewed, a natural congregate of distinctions arose between environmental variables within the family context, strong independent indicators of poor interpersonal adjustment, or hypermasculine personality characteristics. Given these divisions, subjects will be described according to information reported in the independent scales in four categories:

- 1) Students who describe a positive family life and adult adjustment.
- 2) Students who describe a negative family life and adult adjustment.
- 3) Students whose STDLI scores indicate poor interpersonal adult adjustment.
- 4) Students whose M Scale scores indicate strong hypermasculine attitudes

There are several other potential combinations or groupings that might have been selected (e.g., according to the gender of the older participant, the child's relationship to the older person, sexual self-esteem levels, or the age at which the CSE occurred). However, the categories chosen here emerged as important amplifications of the differences between self-reported perceptions of their past family and sexual experiences (LEI), and independent measures of current adjustment (SDTLI) and gender identification (M Scale). These factors constituted the original selection of measures for this study and they form an appropriate backdrop for later reviewing the transcripts which elaborate on these profiles. This will hopefully generate ample information from which to ascertain the level of consistency or discrepancy between what males anonymously disclose in surveys and how they verbally describe these events within the context of a focused interview.

After each group of interviewed subjects is profiled, the predominant themes that arose from the collected transcripts from that group will then be presented. The descriptions that appear characteristic to that subset of students will be supported by direct excerpts from each of the interviews from that group. The most strongly recurring issues in each group at large will first be pronounced, followed by the themes or variables that are only shared by one or two of the group members. In this way, we can broadly characterize those issues that may be directly correlated to the variables defining their

group membership (i.e., family background, self-perceptions, adult adjustment or hypermasculine attitudes) while also allowing for individual differences which may be more distinctive of men in other groups. Chapter V will synthesize these findings by distinguishing between intergroup and intragroup commonalities and differences. This next chapter will also include an analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data from these ten men in light of the consistencies and discrepancies in their reports.

It is important to reiterate that the majority of the transcripts presented below appear out of the context in which they were stated. This procedure overlooks the intricate array of verbal and nonverbal interactions between the subject and this researcher that led up to and transpired after the selected portion of the interview. Simplifying the analysis in this way amplifies the researcher's selective attention to certain details while overlooking others, and it increases the need to recognize and account for these biases openly. The reader is left to evaluate how strongly the selected data collectively speaks for itself, independent of the analyses presented here and in the following chapter. Hopefully, the empirical validity that is sacrificed by these choices will be more than compensated for in the greater generalizability of these findings to future theory building, research protocols, and clinical intervention with this population.

Interview Subjects Who Reported Positive Family Life and Adult Adjustment

The following three profiles are included together because they each stipulate relatively happy family lives and all three students perceive their current adult functioning as very high. There are some clear differences between each descriptive account, particularly the second profile which only

attests to a somewhat close relationship between the subject and his frequently tense, ill, and verbally abusive father. This young man reported a very close relationship with a nurturing and responsive mother along with allegations that he witnessed several incidents of marital violence. Because this student gave himself the highest overall adjustment ratings, and his SDTLI scores were above the national norm, his profile is included in this section. The third student in this group could also be included in the last collection of men who obtained high scores on the Hypermasculinity index.

Ralph. Ralph is a 24 year old Caucasian male who is a college senior and is currently single. He lived with both of his biological parents up until the time he left home to go to college and he reports that his parent's marriage was very happy. He stated that he felt very close to his college educated mother, who had no occupation outside of the home, and somewhat close to his father, who held a graduate degree and was a professional earning over \$30,000 a year. Ralph remembers his parents kissing and hugging often and he stated that there were never any incidents of marital violence, child physical or verbal abuse, or emotional neglect. He indicated a particularly close relationship with his mother who very often understood him, treated him as important, was responsive to his emotional needs, talked to him, and hugged and kissed him. She was not depicted as having any emotional difficulties. Ralph felt that his father understood him and often treated him as important, although he was only sometimes responsive to his emotional needs by talking to him when he had a problem. The subject's father was also described as tense, nervous, or worried some of time. Ralph recalls being spanked by his mother a few times overall, and spanked by his father a few times each year. He stated that he didn't get scolded or punished for any sexual

behaviors (except for saying dirty words), and at age twelve, Ralph said he had a few good friends.

Ralph's sexual history consisted of his first date at age 12, sexual intercourse at age 19, and a sexual experience with another male at age 14. Ralph says that he has dated between one and five times in the last month but has not "made-out" or had intercourse in this period of time. He disclosed masturbating 1-5 times in the last month and wishes he could engage in sexual intercourse with a woman 16-20 times a month. He reported one homosexual experience since 16 years of age (none in the last year) and he did not indicate any dissatisfaction with his body, with the frequency or quality of his sexual interactions, or with his ability to initiate sexual opportunities. However, Ralph did state that at least once, he had periods of sexual promiscuity, had problems with premature ejaculation, and problems in achieving or maintaining an erection. His current overall and sexual adjustment were rated high (2 on a 7 point scale).

Ralph obtained a score of 7 on the M-Scale, placing in the middle of the low range of adherence to hypermasculine beliefs and attitudes. On the SDTLI, Ralph scored one standard deviation above the norm in his abilities to develop mature interpersonal relationships, including many subscales that constituted these overall tasks (intimacy, tolerance of others, and emotional autonomy). He scored within the average range of college seniors nationwide on peer relations and on most other subscales measuring high achievement in educational goals and purpose. Ralph fell below the norm on lifestyle planning, indicating difficulties in establishing a personal direction and orientation in his life, however his life management skills were above the norm, suggestive of compensatory skills to structure and manipulate his

environment that allow him to satisfy his daily needs and responsibilities without extensive support from others.

Ralph reported six childhood sexual experiences growing up, of which only one fit the stipulated age differential between participants. This was a one time occurrence at age five with his fifteen year old brother, involving an invitation to show each other their sex organs, fondle and touch each other's sexual organs, and mutual oral-genital contact. It was felt that his brother initiated this event, without the use of force, threats, or bribes, and no drinking was involved. Ralph was only able to describe his reaction during this experience as confusion. He did later tell a priest and a counselor about this experience despite having neutral feelings at the time it was happening. He perceived mostly negative general effects of this experience on his life and mostly positive effects on his current sexual life.

Bill. Bill is a 21 year old single, Caucasian male who also lived with both his biological parents until starting college. Both his parents were business proprietors at the time of the research; both had earned graduate degrees and each parent was making a yearly salary of \$30,000 or more. Their marriage was rated as happy, despite several incidents of his mother hitting his father and his father striking his mother a few times each year. Bill says that he was never spanked, never physically abused, or emotionally neglected. This student reported a very close relationship with his mother, whom he described as available, responsive, and affectionate with him. He felt only somewhat close to his father, perhaps due to reports of his frequent state of tension and nervousness. Bill's father was said to be ill often and he was verbally abusive of his son frequently as well. Otherwise, he treated his son as if he were important some of time and played and hugged him some of time as well.

Bill started going out on dates at age 10, and it was during this year that he reported his first experience of sexual intercourse. He states that he has "made out" and had intercourse more than 20 times in the last month, and dated almost as often (16-20 times). He says he has never had a same-gender sexual experience nor has he masturbated in the last month. He estimates a total of 6-10 women with whom he's engaged in intercourse to date. The only discomfort Bill reports about his current sexual life is spending too much time thinking about sex. He rated his current sexual and overall adjustment as very high (1 out of 7) and admits to having had periods in his life of sexual promiscuity.

Bill scored in the middle of the low range (7 out of 30) on the hypermasculinity index, indicating minimal adherence to stereotypic male attitudes. His SDTLI scores were scattered, with scaled scores (Mean=50, SD=10) above the general norm in Educational Involvement (61), Career Planning (61), and two standard deviations above the norm in Lifestyle Planning (70). Bill appears to be goal oriented, self-directed, and clearly focused on his future life plans. His overall Establishing and Clarifying Purpose Task (64) indicates high achievement in realizing educational goals and plans. Bill rated above his peers on the Intimacy Scale (62) and on the Peer Relationship Subtask (65) suggesting strong interpersonal skills to establish and maintain significant interactions with others. His Tolerance scale score was one Standard Deviation below the national average (38), as was Academic Autonomy score (40), which would depict a student who has little patience for individual differences or someone with little capacity to deal well with ambiguity or to work independently. This particular constellation of scores highlights Bill's successful emotional functioning within a socially sanctioned and normative peer group and his strong achievements in structured, clearly delineated academic programs.

Bill estimated approximately six sexual experiences as a child, one of which involved a significantly older female friend. This experience allegedly occurred twice over a two day period when Bill was 12 and his friend was 17. Bill pointed out that she invited him to participate in sexual kissing and hugging, mutual displays and fondling of each others genitals, rubbing their genitals up against each others bodies, oral-genital contact, and intercourse. No force, threats, or bribes were noted, and alcohol had not been consumed by either party. Bill best describes his reaction during this experience as pleasure and he followed this up on his questionnaire by noting strong reactions of excitement, happiness, and some special feelings. He chose to tell no one about these two experiences, even when he went to talk to a counselor at one point in his life. He felt the experience at the time was positive, has had a positive effect on his life in general, and has also had a positive impact on his current sexual life.

Greg. Greg is a single, Caucasian male who was 22 years old at the time he participated in this study. He states that his biological parents continue to live very happily together in marriage and he reported that both his relationships with his parents were close. His father finished college and works as a skilled laborer earning over \$30,000 and his mother completed some college but did not pursue a career outside of the family. There was no indication of marital violence, physical or verbal abuse to Greg, or emotional neglect. Greg says he was spanked on one or two occasions by each parent and was scolded by his mother for using dirty words and looking at dirty pictures. He remembers his parents kissing, hugging, and holding hands sometimes and for the most part, he felt they understood him and were particularly responsive to his needs. He states that his mother and father often played with

him and treated him as if he were important and his mother was described as physically demonstrative much of time while his father never hugged or kissed his son. The only other striking difference was Greg's father's belief (and his mother's disagreement) that women should never be placed in authority positions over men.

Greg reports that he began dating at 11 years old, had his first homosexual experience at 12, and had intercourse at age 16. He has not had any homosexual encounters after 16 years old and reports a total of 11-15 women with whom he's engaged in intercourse. Within the last month, Greg states that he has "made out" 11-15 times, had intercourse between 1 and 5 times, and masturbated more than 20 times. He identifies himself as going steady or being engaged with someone, and wishes that he could be having intercourse 6-10 times every month. Greg agrees somewhat that he should be having more sex than he is and that he spends too much time thinking about sex. He implied that he didn't like his body sometimes and didn't often take the initiative to pursue his sexual interests. Despite admitting to having had periods of sexual promiscuity and problems with premature ejaculation, Greg perceived his current sexual and overall adjustment as high (2 out of 7).

Greg scored a 15 on the Hypermasculinity Inventory, placing him in the middle to high range of stereotypic male attitudes. It is possible that Greg also shares similar characteristics with those subjects who clearly fell into the high range on this index. This may become more evident when examining transcripts of his interview. His SDTLI scores all fell within normal limits for college seniors nationwide in all areas except Career Planning (36) and Academic Autonomy (33), although only a few scales excel the mean score and most are closer to one standard deviation below the norm. Greg may exhibit difficulties in narrowing down a wide range of career options or self-

directing himself to pinpoint specific goals and interests. His overall Educational Purpose (PUR) and Interpersonal Relationship (MIR) abilities appear to border on the deficient range.

Greg disclosed two childhood sexual experiences with older partners out of "a lot" of sexual experiences as a child. The first one occurred at age 12 with a 25 year old female acquaintance. He estimated that they engaged in sexual activities four or five times during an unknown period of time, only involving showing each other their sexual organs. This was allegedly initiated by the older woman, with the use of bribes, although no force, threats or alcohol consumption were reported. Greg stated that during these events he was mostly surprised, and he added that his reactions included a great deal of excitement and some happiness, embarrassment, and confusion. At the time, he felt these experiences were positive, having had an overall neutral effect on his life and a mostly positive influence on his current sexual life.

His second CSE occurred at age 14 with a 40 year old female acquaintance, wherein she exhibited her sexual organs to Greg on one occasion. No coercion was described and aside from the overall surprise, Greg specified a lot of embarrassment, excitement, and some happiness as other reactions to this experience. He saw this event as mostly positive at the time it happened, and he now believes it had a neutral impact on his current sexual and overall life.

Greg also included in his questionnaire a one time experience two years ago when he was 20 with a nineteen year old female acquaintance which he stated involved a little force. Descriptions of the sexual activity included an invitation to sexual kissing and hugging, and reciprocal touching and fondling of each other's sexual organs. No oral-genital contact was stipulated, however, the experience did involve intercourse. Greg also reacted to this

experience with surprise and excitement, along with some feelings of embarrassment and confusion. He told a friend about the incident, which he perceived as mostly negative at the time. Greg felt that the experience had an overall neutral effect on his life, including his sexual life. The presence of force and a negative initial experience prompted including a description of this event along with the other previously described experiences.

Analysis of Interview Transcripts

The three men who are discussed in this group share some striking similarities. Although one subject did not describe his childhood family environment positively, each of these men have come to understand and process their childhood sexual experiences as a constructive and useful event in their lives. What is most distinctive about these experiences are the student's self-perceptions of their own curiosity, interest, and excitement surrounding their CSE. The positive reactions to these childhood events appears to have heightened their interest in seeking out or submitting to other sexual opportunities. This may have resulted in the wide array of other CSEs that did and did not fit the research criteria as well as a number of self-defined "abusive" sexual interactions in college. These men were also likely to have a supportive network of family and/or peers with whom to discuss these experiences and there were a variety of statements made that were suggestive of intrapersonal insecurity, including compliance with external peer pressures, and repeated attempts to "prove" oneself. Each of the subjects also described ways in which they transformed their meaning of the CSE into a positive framework, despite the uniformity of their definitions of these CSEs as "misuse."

The characteristics particular to this group will be examined individually after interview excerpts are presented supporting the selection and definition of these subjects as having a positive family life and/or adult adjustment. A number of differences between these men also arose that will be discussed after reviewing the common themes recurring throughout these interviews. These differences will be discussed in relation to the unique variables that distinguish each specific CSE context from one another. These distinctions will provide the necessary links to similar reports from men in other groups who may or may not share a similar context.

Family Life and Adult Adjustment. The elements that unify the group descriptions below include an assessment of one's family environment as a child as pleasant or non-conflictual, or perceptions of subsequent adjustment from their CSE as generally positive:

I don't know what my brother was going through at that point. I know it was the really all-American, you know, together family. ...There weren't any major stresses in our family, you know. Dad was doing well at work, Mom was doing well, they interacted well. Yeah, it was a really happy situation. (Ralph, p.3)

I've had a pretty mellow, even family life, I guess. ...I was active, I had a lot of friends. I always wanted to get out of the house and ride my bike and play baseball or something. (Greg, pp. 2-3)

I would have thought I was a pretty good guy. I basically liked myself, and was happy with my life and my friends. I was, you could say, the leader of my group of friends. (Bill, p.4)

I think through adolescence they (CSEs) were negative, because I had a lot of- I didn't think I was perfect or I was ready. I knew that I had had

this interaction that I thought was a mark against me. But now I just think- I just chalk it up as an experience that is positive, so it just made me more aware of who I am. (Ralph, p. 12)

I don't think they (CSEs) really have any affects on me. I don't think they would- they don't bother me. I guess there would be no reason for me to talk it out. It doesn't bother me. ...I don't think these things bothered me to really like have any effects on me. They were basically just forgotten once basketball season came around. Basketball was all I did. These things are just sort of memories. (Bill, p. 14)

Appraisals of each subject's perceptions of their family environment were carefully confirmed by quantitative responses on the LEI. Unfortunately, Greg was called away on an emergency and was unable to respond to the final questions of the interview assessing his overall perceptions of his CSE. The excerpts that follow will accentuate the welcoming stance that these men assumed in the face of sexual interactions with older people.

Curiosity, Interest, or Excitement During the CSE. Each of these subjects describes pleasurable experiences surrounding their childhood sexual experiences which piqued their interest in sexual relations in general. These self-perceptions include an absence of force or coercion, a willingness to experiment, and a naive innocence:

I guess I don't know if she had any sexual intentions or anything, but I never really thought about them. I never even thought if she did, but as far as I was concerned, she was answering the door with nothing on but her underwear and- I liked it, you know. My friends had a fort with like dirty magazines and we used to look at those and I thought this was twice as good. (Greg, p. 4)

I thought it was more of a fooling around and not such an intent. It seems to me that it was more of an intent on her part. I don't think of it in my mind as actually play. There was definitely an intent there. Probably more a seduction than a misuse part. My not really knowing- my wanting to but not really knowing. (Bill, p. 11)

I didn't have any idea what would happen. During them, I was sort of surprised- well with the lady I delivered the newspapers to, after a while it became like, you knew it was going to happen and I looked forward to it. But the lady with the vacuum, that was a surprise. But you know, when it was happening I liked it. It got me excited. I remember the day I was sitting on the couch and I was- I don't know maybe so much during, I think during the thing I was too nervous to think, but before, when I was going to collect the money and I knew she was going to be half naked I would like wish it would go further. I guess I used to wish she'd undress me or something like that. (Greg, p. 7)

I think it started off as just the fairly normal experimentation sort of thing and just having been around each other so long, and unlike my other experience, maybe wanting to actually go with my own feelings rather than having it be directed by someone else. I mean I just consider it more young. (Bill, p.12)

The house was empty and so only the two of us were there and I just- I know we were touching each others genitals, like he (brother) wanted me to hold his penis and he held mine and we were looking at mine and then I remember just orally putting his penis in my mouth and he did the same with mine. I remember saying to him, don't go pee-pee- that just seems like a really innocent, I mean it didn't seem like anything was like jarring, like I felt like oh, I don't want to do this. I wasn't even thinking of that- it was like, oh, ok. So it wasn't a- there weren't any feelings of resisting or judging it until- and that's all I remember from that part. It may have been like a half hour and nothing really forced. (Ralph, p. 6)

I probably- at the time I think I was just feeling pretty good, kind of enjoying myself a little but confused, but wanting to have it happen. Get it over with. (Bill, p. 12)

The interest that these boys describe feeling during these sexual encounters is suggestive of an unfolding discovery that slowly and partially gets revealed. These preliminary glimpses into human sexual interaction were clearly not sufficient, nor do they appear to fully satisfy the curiosity that was aroused in the boys by these sexual events. There is a strong consensus that these experiences increased their willingness to reengage in other childhood sexual encounters.

Heightened Interest in Other Sexual Experiences. Whether or not the men in this group were able to clearly correlate their early CSE with other sexual experiences, they all described several subsequent sexual encounters with peers and older people that raised questions for them about their ability to distinguish between consensual sexual encounters and more pressured or power-imbalanced sexual interactions. Each of these men also identified on the LEI that they had been sexually promiscuous at some time in their life. It is significant that two of these three men reported "abusive" sexual experiences with women while in college. The strong impression that is created by these excerpts is that "inappropriate" sexual exposure as a child raised questions about what was "appropriate," and that this confusion led these men to further investigate and experiment with other sexual partners:

I wonder if I would feel differently if I didn't have that interaction when I was young. That interaction led to my interaction with my cousin which is later on in pre-pubescence and then after puberty- that led to another interaction just a few years ago with a male. That

was more responsible and maybe if I didn't have that interaction initially with my brother, I wouldn't have had these other homosexual interactions and I might not have those feelings- was I cultured when I was younger or natural feelings? (Ralph, p. 8)

I probably became a lot more interested in girls and sex (months after the CSE). I guess I became more interested in having a girlfriend and trying to initiate sexual things. ...I didn't have sexual intercourse with them, but we'd fool around, fondling each other and stuff. (Greg, p. 8)

Yeah, just wanting it to happen. I think it probably came into my mind, 'Hey, now I can go back and tell my brother that it's happened and he can be proud of his little brother.' As far as the other ones, they were more actual enjoyment on my part having some experience before-seeking the actual feeling. It's one of those things like potato chips- once you do it once, you kind of want it more and more. (Bill, p. 12)

The first interaction (after the CSE) at age seven or so- we were really young and I remember very vaguely him (cousin) sleeping over and I don't know what happened. I jumped in his bed, he jumped in mine and we were just like reenacting or playing around like with my brother and I, and so that I think instigated it. It was later in our- and that was something that I don't remember why I was doing it or for what reason, but then later in our early teens it was he who came back and wanted to do more experimenting. So where I felt- I felt pressured, you know, I wasn't really interested in doing that, but then I did. (Ralph, p. 2)

I don't know if it's written down or not, but there was this girl who I thought- I met her and I didn't really like her or anything and she came into the dorm...and she came back to my room and she was a friend of a friend who was staying up there from home. And she said she couldn't find my friend- this girl I had gone to high school with was visiting and she needed a place to stay, so I told her she could sleep on the couch. And she sort of forced her way into the bedroom. ...Well, I got into bed and then she asked me if she could have something to wear, and I told her she could wear a sweatshirt or something or wear a tee

shirt, and then she put it on and then she just climbed up into bed and I said, 'What are you doing?' and she goes, 'I can't sleep alone.' No,' she said, 'I can't sleep on the couch and I said, 'Well, sleep in my roommate's bed, because he's not coming home' and she said, 'I can't sleep alone,' and she sort of just climbed into bed with me and then she started kissing me and fondling me and before you know it, we were having sex. But it was something I told myself I didn't want to do and it happened. It wasn't really physical force, but... you know, like my friends and I would go out and they'd say, 'I want to pick up this girl, I want to get laid' and then, now I had the opportunity to and I didn't want to, but it was sort of like... I thought I had decided I wasn't going to do it, then I was sort of forced into it and I was sort of like O.K. (Greg, p. 11)

...about two years ago, before I left school for a year. It was like finals week and I had just finished my last final. I was waiting up at school rather than going home because I was taking home stuff for my roommate and I just got rip-roaring drunk cause some guys on my floor ran a bar. We had had a pretty good party and this girl that I had only been friendly with and done quite a bit of flirting going between me and my friend. She liked both me and him and so at some period of time that night- I literally don't remember all that happened, but apparently somehow I got from the room in which I was partying with these guys and she was in there, into her room which was three rooms down the hall. Passed out on the bed and when I woke up, I kept fading in and out, which is fairly typical of alcohol- the first thing I remember is being in her room on her bed. She had undressed me somehow and she was performing oral sex and then I faded out. The next thing I remember is her on top of me and then the next time I woke up I realized- I guess I woke up to a greater awareness level and then I really wasn't sure if I wanted to be there because I had pretty much told my roommate that I didn't want anything to do with her because he liked her more and I was already dating somebody else at the time anyway. I guess I realized what was happening and I somehow got up and left and made it back into my room and said to my roommate 'I can't believe what just happened. I'm not even sure, but I think I was just in bed with Michelle... I'd probably call that one abuse. I didn't feel happy

about it. I told her the next day. We haven't spoken to each other more than three times since. (Bill, pp. 10-11)

There are subtle indications throughout these descriptions that the boys' initial childhood sexual experiences may have fostered confusion between willingly pursuing sexual interests and submitting to sexual pressures. The boundaries between these different interactions become more clouded, even as these men assume greater responsibility for their sexual choices in college. What becomes more evident within these interviews are recurring references to the student's insecurities, desires to prove himself to others, and peer pressures to remain sexually active. These variables may have contributed to the increased occurrence of other subsequent sexual experiences and they are spotlighted in the following set of excerpts.

Insecurities, Proving Oneself, and Complying with Pressures. Numerous descriptions were offered that linked questions and confusions that arose as a result of these childhood sexual experiences with strong needs to demonstrate one's personal and sexual competence. The predominant implication from these transcripts is a desire to reassert one's "masculinity" and overcompensate for perceived inadequacies. Although it is unlikely that a causal relationship exists between the CSEs and these attempts to gain social validation of their personal power, the context in which boys develop their sexual self-esteem appears to influence the ways in which these sexual experiences are processed and adapted to:

I don't know. I guess I might have become more aggressive in general. Like, maybe that was just a stage- that's like when I had a girlfriend and other guys want to fight over girls. That's like young kids start getting

in fights all the time. I guess that's about the same, I don't know if it has anything to do with the sexual experiences or not. I never really- this is the first time I ever really related the two, but I guess around the time I started getting into fights, maybe two or three a year for maybe two years. ...I guess one would maybe be trying to prove yourself to girls, you know, showing them who's tough- something like that. Maybe the other one is just trying to put yourself in the pecking order with other guys. (Greg, pp. 8-9)

Um, did it effect me later? I don't think so. The main effects were my brother. ...He was my older brother, he was kind of pushing me along. He was kind of a ladies man. It was just his image, and everyone just thought I was living up to his image. I guess that was what carried everything on. (Bill, p. 1)

The experience probably initially through adolescence made me think I was homosexual- why did I get involved in that, what did it mean? And so, I think initially when I got involved later in life, like in college in a heterosexual relationship, I think I was trying to prove my manhood to myself because I had doubts about it initially. (Ralph, p. 1)

This is very weird- I've never thought of it this way, but I guess at that age there is like pecking orders with guys. The guys think the girls want to go out with them, it's the same thing with the girls with the guys who want to go out with them. I think it's more so with the guys. Guys get into fights and stuff like that and I think what happened with me was maybe I tried to- you know I thought like this guy is going to push me- actually, I've always been defensive and I don't like people to touch me, but I think maybe then I thought more towards fighting instead of just saying 'Keep your hands off me.' Just trying to prove myself maybe, hoping more girls would like me. (Greg, p. 9)

Yeah, I flew down to visit my grandfather and family there. She was staying- at the time she was living with my grandfather and step-grandmother. She was from Puerto Rico. My step-grandmother is a Puerto Rican. She had been more active than me. She knew what she

was doing, obviously at that point I had a pretty good idea but didn't really know. She was basically telling me what to do. ...I know that we were staying in the same room on like two trundle beds. It was like a small apartment and I don't really remember how it got started. The only part I really remember is her wanting to stand up, having sex standing up. Which was- definitely didn't go along with the image in my mind. I mean I sort of felt like- I can't really say no, cause what's she going to think? But, um, there was a little bit of pressure, but I wanted to. I don't think at that time I was really thinking of saying no. At that point in time I might have- she might have thought I was anti-macho. I don't think at that period of time I was concerned about being classified a homosexual, or not interested in sex. At that time, I probably wasn't even aware of the society stereotypes. ...Well, when I came home from New York, obviously (I told) my brother because I was probably a little proud to be able to go back and say, 'Hey Ken' ... Yeah, pretty much so (proud of me), he thought anything that was good enough for him was good enough for me. Obviously I was living up to his standards. (Bill, pp. 8-13)

An issue I'm thinking of, like my interaction with my mother. My mother was always a good friend of mine and supportive and I think back then, playing off of ideas that are going through my head now, that there is a feeling like I couldn't be totally honest and- but, other than that I really think my interactions with friends just through grammar school were just very normal. But I think it created a lot of insecurity later in my life and so that must have been developing... (Ralph, p. 9)

Like I was saying before, just that it instigated my questioning about my maleness, what I was supposed to do. That I had to prove to myself that I was attracted to women and women were attracted to me. It was something that I had to prove more to myself- I guess that vulnerability. That attraction just created this vulnerability that I wasn't sure what my sexuality was. (Ralph, p. 9)

A clear distinction arises between Bill and Greg, who had sexual encounters with older women, and Ralph's exposure to same-gender experiences. The insecurities that arose for Ralph were more reflective of confusion regarding his sexual orientation, even though it may have prompted similar anxieties to prove his sexual adequacy. The peer culture and other supportive people in the child's life may have had a significant impact on the ways in which these males create distinctions and comparisons about themselves in the world. They strongly exemplify a willingness to reach out to others for confirmation of their experiences, even when that feedback enhances their internal pressures to live up to other's expectations to perform adequately. This receptivity to use supportive resources in their lives is another commonality found within this group.

Utilizing Social Supports to Process their Experiences. It is noteworthy that each of these three males openly discussed their CSEs with others. There were significant allies in the boy's lives that allowed them access to information that was able to allay their fears, validate their choices, and reinforce a strong self-image. It has already been noted that a supportive family environment can have strong ameliorating effects on adult adjustment to abuse. In some of these incidences, siblings and peers also became important sources of confirmation and normalization, particularly for Ralph, who expressed the strongest questions about his sexual identity:

...actually a few times I spoke with my brother Paul about it and once was about six years ago and I got drunk and he said something to the effect that homosexual interactions are very common, but if you had any questions about it or if you are going through anything yourself, you know, right now- he's married and had a kid at that point- he said,

'you know let's talk about it. You know, feel free'. He said, I don't know when I was younger why I had attractions with you and your brother Stephen and I thought, 'Wow, him too, ' you know...(Ralph, pp. 3-4)

It's opened up a real honest relationship with my brother at this point because we're extremely open. I think if two men can discuss their relationship homosexually, they can discuss anything. That is like the biggest vulnerability in society. So it creates honesty. So that's been very valuable and even with all my friends now, regardless of their sexuality, if we discuss our feelings toward other men, our openness about love or attraction or envy or that type of stuff- it's really an honest relationship regardless of experiences. (Ralph, p. 12)

Yeah, I had a great uncle, just a good guy. He took me under his wing. He was my savior, so to speak. ...My uncle had taught me just to be me and not care what anyone else thought. ...Yeah, my uncle was living in our driveway in a motor home and so he was helping me along to feel better about myself. He was always reading things from books and helping. We'd just go off together. I don't want to swear on your tape, but he told me to have that 'what-the-fuck-attitude,' and just not care what anybody else thought, but to do whatever I wanted to do to make me feel good. To make me like myself or appreciate myself, and so I thought I was out of shape and becoming a little couch potato. So I started doing some stuff to work out and try to get in shape... (Bill, pp. 3-6)

...I didn't tell anyone. The woman with the vacuum cleaner, I never told anyone, actually because people knew who she was. Her daughter was my age. But the lady I delivered newspapers to, I told a couple of my friends after she had moved out. ...They thought it was excellent. (Greg, p. 7)

Afterwards I was kind of shocked and actually kind of upset. I told a few people and told my roommate. I talked about it with the guys who's room I was in before it happened and tried to figure out what happened. (Bill, p. 13)

I think I've done it, you know the psychologist is someone who I admire, is a good friend, and I admire intellectually and for their study of psychology. I think that was a great relief and I think it was good to relate with other people of my peer group who I just respect as being good people. (Ralph, p. 13)

Yeah, half of my friends don't even know. Most of the kids who I was friends with when I was younger know. ...I guess I wasn't sure what to think. I told them, and they said it was excellent. I guess that helped me to decide. (Greg, pp. 13-14)

My father was pretty open. He was pretty funny. Ever since I can remember, he has always had a subscription to Playboy and Penthouse. He'd sit at the dinner table and turn the magazine around and say, 'What do you think of this?' and so I was pretty knowledgeable there. (Bill, p. 6)

Then I had a great friend from Iran who- really handsome guy, a womanizer and he's a great friend of mine and I remember I was talking to him on the phone and told him that I had really fallen in love with myself this past year, that's a great thing really loving myself...And he said 'Well was that hard to do?' And I said, 'Yeah, there were some hard things, you know, there were some deep dark secrets that you just never tell anybody that I came to terms with.' And he said, 'Like what?' And I said, 'Oh, I don't know, like masturbation and how I must have the highest record in the world for masturbation and stuff like that.' And he's like, 'Wake up, that's commonplace. Everybody masturbates.' So that was kind of nice-but you had this problem with something deep and dark and I said, 'I don't know if you really want to hear all this stuff' and he's like, 'Sure.' So I said, 'Well, I've had homosexual interactions.' And he goes, 'That's it?' and I said 'Yeah,' and he goes, 'Oh Ralph, my god, that's nothing' and I thought 'Wow,' here's this guy who's like an international stud and thought this was going to be like the end of our friendship, he's going to go 'Oh God' and here he is saying that it's something in his culture, it's just understood that men experiment with each other sexually when they're young and that it's

nothing that's really talked about, but it's fully understood that you do that. (Ralph, pp. 13-14)

These excerpts illustrate the degree to which these males were able to reach out for support and understanding from others. Family members and friends were also readily available and it is probable that the non-conflictual home environment contributed to these men being receptive and trusting of others. It is striking that reactions from others were overwhelmingly positive and "helped them decide" how to make meaning of these experiences in their lives. It is apparent from these testimonies that each man was able to somehow transform the significance of an event which they had now come to see as sexual misuse into something constructive and valuable overall in their lives.

Sexual Misuse and Transformative Meaning Making. A process occurred in the course of the research interviews that allowed each of these males to synthesize and evaluate the ways in which their childhood sexual experiences had influenced their lives. This included defining a description of the CSE as either sexual abuse, misuse, seduction or sexual play. The interviews provided opportunities to make connections between how the men had come to understand these events in their lives now, how they would advise other similar boys with identical opportunities, and whether or not they would do anything differently now if they could alter these events of the past. There was strong concurrence that these experiences were somehow helpful to their current lives, and each male took a different route to making these cognitive transformations. Bill was unable to respond to several of these questions as a result of the interview being interrupted prematurely. The following examples highlight how these men were able to recognize that they were

sexually misused and how their beliefs have evolved over time to assist them in arriving at their current favorable conclusions:

Well, I guess, I have double standards for guys and girls. Like, I would think if a guy did that to a girl, like if the girl was delivering the papers and the guy came out half dressed, that would be sexual misuse. You know, I sort of liked it, so I wouldn't say that it was sexual misuse. Maybe it was because they were so much older, they should have known better. I guess, looking at it now, if I- say I came across that situation of like a young boy and a woman and I saw what was happening, I would say it was sexual misuse. (Greg, p. 6)

Misuse, probably. For abuse, I would have thought that I'd be forced into the situation and then there would be force and going against my will and for me to have a bad feeling about it. For seduction, I would think there would be more mental manipulation, kind of luring me into the situation and in a conniving way. And for sexual play, maybe it'd be more active and fun and this wasn't fun, and this wasn't particularly entertaining, it was very almost matter of fact- it wasn't really that playful. ...I don't think it was a responsible thing for my brother to be doing because misuse of his sexual energy at age fifteen. I think it was like misplacement of his feelings, you know. That's about it. (Ralph, p. 7)

The first one was probably a combination of seduction and misuse. ...It seems to me that it was more of an intent on her part. I don't think of it in my mind as actual sexual play. There was definitely an intent there. She wanted something to happen. Probably more a seduction than a misuse part. Not really knowing- my wanting to but not really knowing. ...The friend from down the street was probably just stupid sexual play. I wouldn't call it seduction or abuse. It was probably just- in my opinion, just playing around. ... I'd probably call that one (college sexual experience) abuse. I didn't feel happy about it. I'd call it almost force. (Bill, p. 11)

I guess you'd have to like abuse him physically, you know, do something physical that is abuse, or maybe get them involved in some kind of relationship that can have like mental effects- that would psychologically disturb him. (Interviewer: If the older women had initiated some sexual behaviors with you, would that have had some psychological effects on you?)...Yeah, I'm sure it would have had some, I don't know if it would have been good or bad. I'm not sure, but at the time I probably would have liked it, but looking back on it I would say that that was sexual misuse. (Greg, p. 6)

I think at age five I wasn't thinking about what was going on. I started thinking about what happened, initially I thought it wasn't that it just varied so sharply from the norm, that it wasn't right, so I was judging it that it was wrong and now that I feel more mature, I look at it simply as an experience, an interaction that I was involved in and not judge it, but to just accept it. ...I feel very at peace with it. (Ralph, p. 10)

I thought it was pretty neat. Looking back on it, I kind of regret it and wish it hadn't happened the way it did. That's just because of the way my life is now. ...I wish I had waited until, you know- well that's hard to say. I mean I sort of wish I had waited for marriage, but then again I don't. (Bill, p. 4)

I don't know. I guess it makes me aware that- I probably would be aware of it now anyway, but that like just because they're older doesn't mean they're like- everything they do is right or wrong. They're not always right, they don't always do the right thing. These poor women obviously had some kind of sexual things- just like high society, that wouldn't be accepted what they did. I guess it makes me aware that older people have sexual hang-ups. Just like little kids think about sexual things and older people think the same thing. ...I'd be more weary of like kids, and newspaper routes and things like that where they are exposed to being alone with individuals that they don't know, especially older adults. I guess like, not just paper routes but, anything where children would be like exposed to adults they don't want to know. ...But I guess I'd be a lot more leery of my kids in those type of situations.

...Because I would never want my kids to be abused or anything like that. You know, I wasn't abused, but it could happen. It could have happened. (Greg, pp. 10-13)

It's valuable to know that these things go on, I mean if you want to shelter kids more, than you should be aware that sexual attractions happen between people that have a difference of age, and even that young. Young enough to be naive about that. ...Also, that that's something that may have been- you know sexual experiences that are painful or disturbing for you initially can evolve into something that is valuable and enriching and not- because you had negative feelings toward it during part of your life, that doesn't mean it can't be a very broadening and fulfilling part of your life. (Ralph, p. 12)

I guess, what I'm thinking right now is that I should try to be more aware of my feelings and things. Like, what makes me be more aware of what makes me decide to do things and what directs my judgements and things. Because that's basically what you're asking me and I'm realizing that I've done all these things without really thinking about them. (Greg, p. 12)

Whether in the course of conversations with others or by the questions that were posed in this research, an introspective reevaluation of these sexual experiences revealed the facets of the CSE that were somewhat exploitative. There is still a strong tendency to reserve more powerful language, such as abuse for physically violating, non-consensual interactions that were unpleasant at the time and later psychologically damaging. The responses selected here demonstrated an ability to step back and review the nature of the occurrences, and the potential dangers and detriments they might have imposed. These students were able to integrate what was positive for them about their experiences into a cognitive framework that has helped to enrich their awareness of the sexual choices that still await them. Their demonstrated

ability to examine the power dynamics inherent in these relationships and to somehow come to accept their decisions to participate as they did, has created a positive transformation in the meaning they currently hold of these events.

Individual Differences. Each of the three subjects in this group displayed distinctive characteristics that did not conform with one another. These differences may be more indicative of recurring themes from other groups, or to particular contextual variables not expressly discussed at length in any group. For this reason, it is important to briefly overview these individual differences so that the essence of their significance can be woven together with other similar accounts.

Ralph was the youngest child participant of any subject interviewed for this project, and the only student in this group to disclose a CSE with a male and with a family member. Ralph's descriptions of this sexual experience with his brother are characteristic of other accounts of subjects who had a CSE with another male in the secrecy and shame that ensued:

I'm not positive of the age, I think it's about five. That was just the first time I really felt like guilt feelings, so that's why it's clear in my mind, because while my brother and I were fooling around, it just didn't seem like it was anything that bad, you know it didn't seem like anything different. I remember a friend of his came over and rang the doorbell and was coming upstairs and it was like; 'Hey, quick, grab a blanket,' and it seemed like all of a sudden, I was hiding something. (Ralph, p.2)

An issue I'm thinking of, like my interaction with my mother. My mother was always a good friend of mine and supportive and I think back then, playing off of ideas that are going through my head now, that there is a feeling like I couldn't be totally honest...(Ralph, p. 9)

Ralph has since talked about this and other sexual experiences with "about a dozen people" and his openness to reach out for support is unsurpassed in any other interview. His account is also filled with questions about his sexual orientation, with which he describes being very accepting and interested in; "I'm pretty inquisitive. I'm an explorer, so I would pursue my other homosexual interests definitely" (p. 11). Ralph readily admits feeling scared, judgmental, and self-doubting of his reactions to these experiences throughout adolescence which may account for the fact that he also identified having had difficulties maintaining an erection, periods of promiscuity, and problems with premature ejaculation. No other subject reported all of these difficulties. Despite these significant obstacles, Ralph has achieved a strong sense of acceptance about his CSE and far outscored these fellow students in overall Mature Interpersonal Relationship (MIR) subtasks. His ability to relate his experiences to others appears to have garnered him respect and intimate interactions with peers.

Greg's quantitative profile singles him out as falling within the middle to high range on the Hypermasculinity Index, which coincides with many self-disclosures he makes in the structured interview:

I guess I was, what you called, maybe a chauvinist. I thought guys would play sports and girls would be like sitting in front of the house, pushing carriages around and playing with dolls. ...I'm not a complete chauvinist where I think a woman should be barefoot and pregnant, but I think- I guess when I was younger I thought guys were stronger and faster, more of like athletic things, like rough and tumble. (Greg, p.15)

Sometimes we'd go out and get in a little trouble, maybe get chased by the police, just for doing- sometimes just for the chase, we'd walk down the street and wait until the police drove by and start running, because

we really didn't like to do anything, but we liked the excitement of being chased. So we'd go out and get in a little trouble. (Greg, pp. 14-15)

Interestingly, Greg was the only interview participant who reported two non-contact sexual experiences. These incidences of exposure or exhibitionism by older women were strongly reinforced by his peers as "excellent" and they were seen as more favorable than his exposure to pornography. Greg also reported periods of sexual promiscuity and problems with premature ejaculation. Finally, Greg did not choose to mention in his interview, according to his LEI, that he had engaged in a homosexual experience at age twelve.

Bill stands alone in his descriptions of an unhappy family life that is more characteristic of the next group to be analyzed. His descriptions of his great uncle and warm relationships with most of his extended family seemed to compensate for his family stresses. The disclosures made on his LEI, wherein he stated having witnessed several incidents of marital violence and regular incidents of verbal abuse by his father, may be relevant to his adaptive process:

At home, I mean, well my parents never got along. I mean, that was the only stress on me, that they were always screaming at each other and at me. I was the youngest so I always got blamed for everything. (Bill, p.2)

I mean the same things (at age 12) with my parents always fighting, but it went through phases with them. Like every year and a half or so my father would disappear and say he was leaving. See you later, for like a week or so. And then he'd come back. (Bill, p.5)

They taught us responsibility early, I mean we were latch-key kids. They were never home and so we'd come home and take care of

ourselves. As far back as I can remember, I always cooked dinner and had it ready when my parents came home. (Bill, p. 7)

This family environment may have had some bearing on Bill's difficulties with peers in school up until age sixteen:

In middle school I was probably in what one would call the brain/nerd group. Because I was into my studies and the classes which everyone else always hated. I suppose I was a little unusual. ...School, then again, I was in my own little group again, referred to by some as the 'outcasts.' It was always that group that nobody- that group of friends that sticks together that everybody else in the entire school picks at, like they're jerks. In fact, when I was sixteen, I had just started getting more active. I joined the wrestling team with my brother. I was doing some bike racing so I was promoting my own self-image. I was more conscious of it and trying to start dating. (Bill, pp.3-5)

It is also important to note that Bill was one of only four men to identify having had a sexual experience with a significantly younger child. At age 15 or sixteen, Bill's brother allegedly instigated a sexual experience involving Bill and a 12 year old neighborhood girl:

I don't know how my brother quite instigated the situation, but somehow my brother talked this girl into exposing herself- take off her clothes. My brother then left and before my brother left, she got dressed again and somehow, I don't remember that much of it. Maybe I blocked it out, but I just remember sometime after that we wound up together. ...I just remember that things happened. That's one of those things that you try to forget. (Bill, p. 9)

...I wouldn't classify it as misuse because I don't know if on one hand we were responsible persons, but does that responsibility merge with sexual maturity and make it a responsible person? I don't think I was

responsible sexually as far as really knowing whether or not it was proper. I think there was an air of knowing that it probably wasn't. I mean I wouldn't want to say 'Hey Mom, look!' (Bill, p. 12)

The combination of a stressful family environment, minimal parental supervision, isolation from peers, the inability to recall the experiences that occurred, confusion over knowing whether the experiences were "proper," and minimizing the details or impact of these experiences are very reflective of the following group of interviewed subjects. It does appear, however, that this "unusual" child overcame some of these difficulties with the support of his extended family and his brother, as evidenced by his SDTLI scores, which currently indicate highly developed peer relationships, replete with mutual respect, honesty, and trust.

Summary. These men, who reported having been sexually "misused" as children, appear to have been able to adapt to these experiences with the help of a supportive network of family and friends. This process seems to have entailed the need to prove oneself by complying with social pressures and strengthening self-perceived emotional insecurities. This may be connected to their heightened interest in other sexual experiences, which may have been made easier to anticipate or pursue given their general curiosity and excitement during the CSE. Each of these men was able to transform this experience as having had some valuable impact on their lives, despite coming to recognize that the older participant had somehow misused their position with them. There seemed to be a relationship here between the extent to which these men sought out validation and normalization of these CSEs from others and their adult interpersonal adjustment. The degree to which this

adaptation has currently ameliorated previously reported sexual difficulties or confusions remains unclear.

Interview Subjects Who Reported Negative Family Life and Adult Adjustment

The two students who comprise this section clearly describe recurring incidents of stress in their family lives as children and in their adaptation to college life. Their perceptions of the childhood sexual experiences that fit the research criteria are negative and the impact was seen as damaging. Both men had sexual experiences with older males which may have only added to the stress levels within their family. These profiles provide a strong contrast to the preceding accounts and offer an initial reference point from which to examine their detailed descriptions to follow, namely the child's perceptions of their childhood family experiences as an influential variable in subsequent adult adjustment.

Mike. Mike is a Caucasian, 22 year old college junior who was single when he completed the research inventories. His father had been deceased sometime before Mike was 9 years old and his mother had remarried and had separated from Mike's step-father when he was 10. He describes feeling very close to his mother, close with his father, and somewhat close with his step-father. Mike's step-father was a high school educated skilled worker and his mother completed college but did not have a career outside of the family. Mike's step-father firmly believed that women should not hold authority positions over men while his mother adhered to the belief that children should never be allowed to talk back to their parents. He described his parent's

marriage as unhappy, with one or two incidents of physical aggression between them.

Mike reported that both his parents were often available to him emotionally with physical affection, time to listen, and time to play. He did, however, indicate that his step-father was sometimes verbally abusive to him while his mother often verbally abused him. He also stated that his step-father was often ill, sometimes tense and nervous, often had emotional problems, and drank heavily very often. Mike's mother was alleged to be anxious often, to be ill sometimes, and to have emotional problems much of the time. Mike identifies himself as being moderately emotionally neglected as a child, physically abused by his parents once or twice, and spanked by his mother once a month. His mother was said to have scolded him for playing sex games with other children, saying dirty words, looking at dirty pictures, and doing something sexual on a date.

Mike's dating began, according to him, when he was 13, and his first sexual experience with a male followed one year later. He first engaged in sexual intercourse at age 19 and admits to three to five women with whom this has occurred. Mike denied having any other homosexual experiences after the age of 16 and he described going steady or being engaged at the time of this research. In the past month, he reported making out, having intercourse, wishing he could have intercourse and masturbating all one to five times. He felt somewhat in agreement that he finds himself in awkward sexual situations and that he should be having more sex than he is. He also denoted having had a drinking and a drug problem, having had periods of sexual promiscuity, problems with premature ejaculation and problems in achieving or maintaining an erection. His overall and sexual adjustment was self-rated as average (4 out of 7).

Mike obtained a score of 8 on the Hypermasculinity Scale placing him in the low to moderate range of hypermasculine personality. He did not complete the student adjustment inventory and thus, these scaled scores were not available for analysis.

Of the 20 childhood sexual experiences that Mike stipulated, he described two events at ages 7 and 8 with a 12 year old male friend and a 13 year old aunt respectively. Both experiences entailed an invitation to kiss and hug sexually, mutually displaying and fondling of each other, and touching the other's sexual organs. The only experience with the older male included oral-genital contact, and neither experience was alleged to include intercourse. Mike's experience with his friend occurred twice according to his written inventory, over a seven day period of time. His friend was stated to have initiated the encounter, using a little force or threats. His aunt was also the initiator of this one time occurrence although no force or threats were involved. Neither of these two experiences involved bribes or drinking. Mike said that his reaction during each event was one of interest. He also felt a lot of upset, hurt, shame, and confusion regarding his experiences with his friend and some indifference, upset, hurt, fear, and a lot of shame and confusion with his aunt. He told no one about either experience and has never sought the assistance of a counselor. He rated his feelings at the time of each experience as neutral and he thought that each event had a mostly positive effect on his life. Mike specified that the impact on his current sexual life as a result of being sexual with his male friend was mostly negative while his experience with his aunt had a neutral effect.

Mitch. Mitch, at 19 years old, was in his first year of college when he volunteered to participate in this research. He is a single, Caucasian male who

was living with both biological parents throughout his childhood. His father, to whom Mitch did not feel close, was a highly paid professional with a graduate degree. He felt somewhat close to his mother, who graduated from college but was not employed. He described his parent's marriage as happy, even though he alleged one or two violent episodes between them. His father was never available to talk to Mitch when he had a problem nor was he ever responsive to his emotional needs. Although his father played with him often, he also verbally abused him often, sometimes drank heavily, was frequently ill, and was almost always anxious. Mitch indicated that his mother sometimes treated him as if he were important, played with him, and showed him physical affection. She was never seen as responsive to his emotional problems, perhaps because she drank heavily on occasion and was ill and anxious sometimes. Mitch also felt moderately emotionally neglected as a child but reported no incidences of physical abuse. He was spanked by his mother a few times each year but never by his father.

Mitch describes his sexual history as beginning with dates at 14, having his first and only sexual experience with a male at age 18, and still awaiting his first experience of intercourse with a woman. He has not "made out" with anyone in the past month but has dated one to five times. He wishes that he could have intercourse one to five times each month, which is the same frequency with which he reports having masturbated recently. Mitch agrees that he often finds himself in awkward sexual situations, that he rarely takes the initiative to pursue sexual interests, and that he should be having more sexual experiences at his age. He stated that he has attempted suicide at least once, has been treated for emotional problems, and has also been arrested. Mitch judged his overall and sexual adjustment to be below average (5 out of 7).

Mitch scored in the moderate range on the Hypermasculinity Index (12 out of 30), highlighting a potential personality variable that might have influenced his perceptions of his sexual experiences. He scored well within the average range on all SDTLI subscales and tasks and rose one standard deviation above the norm (60) with the Tolerance and Emotional Autonomy scales. Mitch appears to openly appreciate differences in people and in himself, and trusts his own ideas and feelings without the need for reassurance from others when making decisions.

Mitch detailed three childhood sexual experiences on the LEI with older partners, the first one occurring at age 6 with his father. This involved touching his father's genitals and showing his genitals to him. This one time incident was allegedly self-initiated without force, threats or bribes and his reaction to the event was best described as confusion and indifference. He told no one about this incident, including a counselor he had seen once and Mitch perceived this experience to have had a neutral effect on his life as a child and as an adult.

At age ten, Mitch described one sexual episode with a 17 year old male friend involving an invitation to kiss and hug sexually, which evolved to oral-genital contact. In this instance, the older friend initiated the encounter and did try to bribe him. Mitch remembers his reaction to this experience as surprised, somewhat embarrassed, ashamed, confused, and again, strongly indifferent. He also chose not to relate the incident to anyone, and he felt similarly to the previous experience, in that this also had a neutral impact on him in all areas of his life.

Finally, Mitch described 2 encounters over a one month period when he was 18, with a 40 year old male acquaintance, which he stated only involved an invitation by this older male to become sexually involved together. Mitch says

he reacted to this proposition with interest, some excitement, and mild feelings of being special. No one was told that this had occurred, and Mitch felt mostly positive at the time he was approached and perceived this event to have a mostly positive impact on his life and a neutral influence on his sexual development.

Analysis of Interview Transcripts

The stressful family contexts and perceived negative adult adjustment that these men identify, offer a variety of potential relationships between; 1) the child's need for acceptance or nurturance; 2) the ability to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate sexual activities; 3) their adaptational style to coping in general with stresses; 4) increased availability to sexual encounters due to unsupervised opportunities; and 5) the degree to which close physical encounters fulfil other neglected emotional needs. With only a sample of two students, the overriding commonalities are not as visible, and it is likely that a broader comparison will need to be made of all the interviewed subjects who closely approximate this negative family context or negative perception of the CSE. It is likely that there are a greater variety of adaptations children make to life stressors than there are for children who experience a consistently supportive foundation of family and peer relationships. Thus, there is clearly more disparity in these two interviews than in other groups. The most striking features of these accounts will be accentuated here as possible characteristics of this category of sexual experience, even though the two men may differ in some important ways.

Family Life Stressors. Both Mike and Mitch describe significant stressors in their childhoods that must be considered potential influences in their lives. These experiences appear to have set in motion a style of coping that remains with these men currently. The excerpts offered below provide sufficient documentation to substantiate the poor adult adjustment that has ensued for these men, before even considering the childhood sexual experiences in question. The differences between the richness of description and elaboration between this group and the previous group are striking, and many more promptings from the interviewer were needed with these students in order to elicit a clear response to the questions being asked. Therefore, many more disconnected comments are woven together in these transcripts in order to paint an adequate profile of the information being shared. The most pointed illustrations of these men's lives arose in their descriptions of their families:

But I would say that I was an only child. I was living with my mother and her husband to be at that time probably. Things between me and my father were sort of (distant) because he was living away from us. And the stepfather at that time wasn't really a clear role model, he wasn't really sure exactly how to take an active part. So it was sort of less involvement with him at times. (Mike, p. 1)

Yeah, I had my older brother, who is like four years older than I am. You know, we fought as siblings do. ...Well, I never really perceived it as a stress, but like this was what people told me, like my parents put a lot of stress on me about grades. ...Probably all my life. My parents always expected me to be the straight A student. It just had to be that way. (Mitch, p.2)

I guess I was sort of mixed up, always sort of moving around. Then we finally got the family farm and things were a little more stable. ...Well,

see for a while before that actual trip across the country, I stayed with my grandmother for a while- while my mother was getting to know this fellow. (I lived) with my two aunts and my grandfather. And so there was that period too which was sort of unstable, you know, not knowing where my mom was and then she came back like 8 months later and then being with this new person. That was a period of time I was sort of mixed up and not knowing about my family life. (Mike, p. 1)

Well, I've never been like someone else, so I don't know what it's like to be someone who does not have parents who put them under stress. So, like, I wasn't aware of it, but other people tell me that, just because some of my- like my roommate is a psychology major, like that's the way he perceives it basically because of some of the things I talk to him about, like when my father calls me up- that's all he asks about is grades. He doesn't really ask about how I'm doing as a person, he just wants to know about grades. (Mitch, p.2)

It was like, sort of like for the time that we had lived on the farm together for a time until we moved, things were pretty steady. And then some sort of conflict happened between my mother and step-father, and then we moved on, sort of on the road again, moving from house to house, living in a town close to here. That was sort of real difficult in the way that we were always moving around. (Mike, p.1)

...especially during junior high when my grades started to slip, they really got pissed off at me about my grades. ...Dad tended to worry about a lot. ...They always kind of expected me to be the 'model son' and get good grades and be good to his parents and this stuff. Because that's always how I perceived them, as like having their expectations of me. (Mitch, p. 15)

There was periods of time when my mother had been on welfare and for one reason, I guess she sort of considered herself disabled in a way because she was arthritic and she's not been one to sort of go out and get a career. And so my father was really critical one time when he had come to visit me. And he had said something like, you're using my son

as a crutch, always being on welfare and what not. And she had thrown a hot cup of tea in his face. And of course, there were some bitter moments now and then when he would sort of come back to visit. He had a problem drinking, too. So he would say things at times that he didn't really mean. (Mike, p.2)

I really didn't perceive myself as being a good person. ...I just came to see myself- this evil, viscous person, even though I really wasn't. I mean I couldn't harm anyone. I just like- actually it was kind of silly, but like whenever I watched T.V. cartoons, I always sympathize with the bad guys just because I sort of know how they feel. (Mitch, p. 5)

Well, yeah I was just sort of being, just sort of always being moving around from family to family sort of. And I think there's a really strong indication of that right now in what's happening with my family because my mom's sort of, she's on an exchange program in Africa. And she's talking about adopting an orphan boy over there. And I just feel like, right now she's left my little sister with my aunt to take care of. And I just feel like she's sort of neglecting her. And I realize that she's had a lot of interpersonal problems, a new step-father and everything. And that's part of the reason for leaving. But I think she in a way has neglected her children. (Mike, p. 2)

Interviewer: How do you think you felt as a kid, going through this time?

Mitch: Basically, nearly constantly depressed, enraged, or sad.

Basically, I'm familiar with all the negative emotions. (Mitch, p. 4)

I've continually been considered suicidal for my entire life- it was the principal of my high school who overheard me talking about it. And he told my father and he put me into counseling. ...Basically what happened was, my father just took me aside one day and said, 'You're not going to kill yourself, are you?' He sort of wanted to pretend that there wasn't a problem, and I didn't want to tell him I was, so I went, 'Yeah dad, I don't want to' and he was like 'Oh yeah, good. It just proves we

know more about you than the high school principal.' And that was basically the end of that. (Mitch, p, 15)

These excerpts clearly define the first distinction arising between these two subjects- internal and external instability. Both of the family environments characterized here detailed stresses that had very different impacts on each boy. Mike's external world was unpredictable and subject to abrupt changes. Mitch's family invoked abrupt changes in his internal world. Both males describe varying degrees of parental neglect and ongoing stress in their lives. These variables appear to have significant influences on the subsequent CSEs that occurred. In the same way that each of these emotional strains took on markedly different forms, the ways in which each child adapted to these stresses paralleled the ways in which their own instability had been manifested.

Peer Immersion and Withdrawal. It is difficult to separate the impact of the childhood sexual experiences that these men reported from the impact of other influential events in their lives. This is particularly evident in the portrayals that were given of each subject's social interactions with others. Mike had always been surrounded by other children, and in the small rural communities he lived in, the neighborhood families "were sort of caretaking each other" (Mike, p. 6). Mitch adapted to the context in which he lived by avoiding encounters with peers, and he thus created a way of understanding himself that was extremely alienated from his social world. In each instance, there are strong attempts made to gain some sense of competence and mastery over their unstable lives:

I had a lot of energy when I was a kid. I was always pretty good with large groups of children. My mom sort of ran a day care for a little while. And I was always, had taken an active role in finding things for people to do. And being an only child for so long, I think that they would describe me as pretty independent as far as finding things for myself to do and keeping entertained. (Mike, p. 3)

Well, actually, kind of while I was growing up I was sort of- it started maybe around fourth grade, from like fourth grade till the middle of high school, I was sort of like the social outcast, you know, the one that everyone likes to pick on. Basically as time went on, I had fewer and fewer friends. I was just a 'geek.' No one wanted to hang around with me. (Mitch, p. 3)

But like sort of in the neighborhood I was in during this time, (there were) a lot of new people for me, the children, for me to compare myself to. It would actually appear I was somewhat advanced. I mean, I'm not one to judge, but one of 'em was sort of mentally retarded in a way, and another was, a couple of the young people were sort of like lower intelligence. (Mike, p.3)

Well, like basically, when I grew up, like I didn't form a lot of interpersonal relationships, so I think that now I am very immature in relationships. I've gotten a little better in college and high school because of exposure to people, that I can't form relationships with like in junior high, I didn't have much experience dealing with people. ...I had a few (friends), but we weren't close. I had trouble getting close to people. (Mitch, p. 3)

In a series of questions that followed up with Mike in reference to allegations that he had numerous sexual experiences after his CSEs, he gave curt, evasive replies that are too cumbersome to transcribe. In essence, he reported having initiated sexual experiences with "a lot" of neighborhood kids, "maybe once a week" when he was between the ages of eight and thirteen,

with children as young as seven and eight. He described the ratio of boys to girls with whom he engaged in sexual activities to be "probably about equal" and he implicated his brother and sister as being involved sometimes in these events as well. These encounters were said to have occurred at sleep-overs or "probably just like days with no school or after school or something." The largest age differential between participants was when Mitch was 13 and the child was seven.

This description is included along with the other excerpts in order to underscore the breadth of peer immersion that occurred for Mike, most probably as a result of lenient parental supervision and communal caretaking. Mitch, on the other hand, describes progressive social withdrawal that impeded his ability to form mature interpersonal relationships. In both situations, the potential lack of consistent emotional sustenance within the family may have provoked each youngster to seek refuge- either in other children's homes and beds, or deep within one's own room, far from social interactions.

Blurred Sexual Boundaries and Identity Confusion. In the face of several sexual experiences or propositions from significantly older people, Mike and Mitch again adopted different approaches to making sense of their own sexual identity. The styles that they had previously assumed for coping with other stresses were reenacted, creating further confusion and isolation. Mike continued to find himself in awkward and uncomfortable sexual situations, which he had previously put out of his mind, while Mitch reassured himself that his sexual experiences were insignificant and of no interest to others, at the same time that he kept his sexual identity questions hidden. The ways in which each man vacillated between different definitions of their own

various sexual interactions suggests that the boundaries between appropriate and inappropriate sexual interactions remained clouded:

One of my brother's older friends, like he was a little mentally deranged, in fact he had spent time in a mental institution- basically, he had forced me- no he didn't force, he enticed me to kiss his genitals. Well, he sort of like offered me candy- chocolate. I can still remember the taste of it in my mouth... it made me feel very incredibly uncomfortable, you know... (Mitch, p. 7)

A fellow down the street, actually the brother of the mentally retarded girl who I spoke of- He was probably 13 or 14 at the time. I was like 8. And I would think that there was somewhat more, there was definitely somewhat more interaction as far as fondling. And there was some force. (On) both of our (parts). There was sort of like some pain. Not really serious hitting. Just like slapping, pinching and stuff. ...I think it started with just showing each other our parts- and then we were just sort of naked- in my mom's room. I then I could see that we were both getting aroused by it- just by the size of the penis and emotionally. And we just sort of kissed each other a couple of times. Just sort of like goosing and pinching each other. (Mike, p. 4)

Actually, there's this one thing that like my friends are always intrigued with when I tell this- I could always hear my parents making love to each other. When I tell my friends that, they're always intrigued. Its just that I always heard it growing up. My father smokes and I thought he was just like wheezing because he had trouble breathing. Actually, it was probably my brother who corrected my thinking. (Mitch, p. 6)

But I'd say with my aunt, it was sort of just exploration in a sense. Show and tell sort of. ...Like I said, I was real young- probably like 6 or 7. It probably just started out as sort of wrestling around, tickling, sort of, in the bedroom. And the thing was, my other aunt was there and she sort of, she was involved in the early sort of wrestling around. And then I

don't know. She felt ashamed in a way. Once, I guess my other aunt whispered something to her and she sort of left and felt uncomfortable. (Mike, p. 3)

I was sort of taking a bath, like I had an erection and for some weird reason it hurt me. I like asked my mother what's this penis, well actually I used six year old terms for it, and like my father was there too and he was like 'Oh yeah, you should stop playing with it,' and like that stuck in my mind, because basically I didn't really know what he was making reference to. I was just a little confused. ...I was trying to search- it was just kind of like a sexual joke he made that I didn't understand at the time. I was searching for something to fit the bill. ...It took me years to figure that out, because I was only six. (Mitch, pp. 1-6)

Well yeah, the very girl that I went out with for a long time. When we were much younger, I would try to persuade her (to engage in sexual activity)- not even having an idea of what it was all about. And just other people- boys my age. I had to persuade some more than others. That's hard to see. I didn't use any physical force. I just convinced them verbally. (Mike, p. 6)

Now, this is again, I'm stretching it, but ok- it was this guy I know, he is openly gay and like he sort of asked to do a- sex with me. And I told him I'd think about it. Again I'm stretching it, because it doesn't fit the description. I've talked to him a couple of times. He is sort of a friend of mine. But still, I try to avoid the subject. (Mitch, p.8)

I'm recalling some time I totally forgot about it, that I was actually forced. This person was like a sister of one of my good friends and my good friend and his girlfriend at the time sort of went off into the barn- and left me and his sister who I didn't know well. (I was) eleven. (She was) 14 or 15. And she had actually forced me down to the ground and just started sexually manipulating me, kissing me and stuff- totally against my will. Sooner or later, it was sort of this game, letting me touch her, kissing her a lot. ...I fondled her breasts. But it happened more than once. Once (we were) sort of out driving in the back seat (of

a car), sort of petting, and the other time was in the barn. ...One of them was definitely abuse. The other one was misuse- the driving one. Well it was like petting was going on and I didn't want it to happen because her parents were in the front seat- I didn't want to say anything to get her in trouble. And I didn't want to say anything to be embarrassed either. ...I was definitely uncomfortable in both cases because I wasn't physically attracted to the girl. (Mike, pp. 6-7)

Well, the first one I would label as like a joke. Like my father told a joke, but I wasn't able to get it at the time. Second one, sexual misuse. And the third was just seduction or attempted seduction. He didn't try to force me in any way, he was just trying to explore my feelings. ...The first just kind of happened and I kind of forgot about it. Well, I mean, I just kind of think back to them, and I thought, what the hell did he mean? The second one, I was wondering why he was trying to get me to do this. I was still kind of immature. The second one I didn't tell anyone- it just never struck me as anything anyone would want to know. What kind of thing is that to tell someone? (Mitch, pp. 9-10)

I think in a lot of cases, I felt really guilty and as I got older, I sort of got over the guilt- being involved with the same sex group and being involved in a younger group. ...I think I would have felt if I was educated when I was younger, probably wouldn't have felt as much guilt, and might not have engaged in certain things. Might have been able to get out of certain situations. Now I would say (to someone in a similar situation as a child) if you enjoy it and both people enjoy it and there's no harm in any way...it would depend on how well they knew what their maturity is- how far they're willing to take it exactly. Well, I think intercourse is definitely out of the question unless you're prepared, birth control, whatever, or sexual diseases and stuff. I think if you were careful and could handle the consequences, I would probably recommend it for them. ...Well I wouldn't have allowed myself to be forced into situations I was forced into, and I probably wouldn't have forced anybody who I verbally forced. I probably would have had intercourse younger when I was given the chance. When I did have the protection. (Mike, p. 7)

The one with my aunt I would say was seduction. And the second one was probably sexual play. ...So it would probably have to have a little more fondling and manipulation for it to be labeled anything other than seduction. ...Well, I think there was definitely some seduction there but I don't know, like I said it's arbitrary, but I can, it was probably, I mean seduction and sexual play sort of go hand in hand. ...If anything was said after the fact to his friends or my friends to in any way shame either of us- that would be sort of misuse, you know.
(Mike, p. 5)

There are numerous examples within these quotes of blurred sexual distinctions, and inappropriate sexual interactions within the family. These accounts portray confusion about what is sexual, what is sexual abuse, and how to identify one's sexual orientation. Some of this confusion may not be unusual for most children, particularly questions about parental sexual activity and sexual teasing. However, when young adults are unable to discriminate between being forced and being enticed, sexual misuse and molestation, sexual manipulation and game playing, it raises questions about how these unresolved distinctions might affect their current and future sexual choices. Previous exposure to sexual stimuli revealed to these boys that sexually embarrassing comments from fathers to their preschoolers were jokes, sexual wrestling with relatives at grandma's house was exploration, wheezing from the other bedroom was parental sexual activity, and that petting in the back of a car when parents were sitting in the front was tolerated. It is therefore not surprising that these males had difficulties discerning between forcing someone sexually and verbally convincing them. The patterns established as children of contending with these confusions by either recapitulating blurred or inappropriate sexual boundaries with others

or avoiding any sexual contact through social isolation, may continue to be reenacted as adults.

Suppression and Memory Loss. There are various ways that these men disregarded, avoided, forgot about, or never told anyone about sexual experiences in their lives. It could be speculated that this form of coping with stressful circumstances became an effective strategy for minimizing the emotional pain throughout each boy's life. The transcripts below, which testify to the probability that some of these events were repressed, concurs with other psychological adaptations Mike and Mitch made in other spheres in their life. These choices are particularly adaptive within a family context, wherein they have come to believe that no one is really interested or emotionally available to them:

I haven't really told anyone (about the last experience at 18). I was gonna tell a friend of mine, Mary, who is also bisexual and I was going to try and ask her- but like something she said to me like kind of sort of turned me off to telling her about it. She sort of mentioned- I don't know how to describe this- she mentioned something about gay people, how she can tell when someone is gay or not. She's bisexual. And then she mentioned that I was clearly not gay. She wouldn't believe me, so why bother telling her. But I thought I could share it with her, but I never got around to it. (Mitch, p. 10)

...I can't remember at all. I don't remember. Like I said, just sort of show and tell and maybe mild touching... Well after that, I would say I probably sort of disregarded that event. Sort of just stopped thinking about it. (Mike, p. 3)

Well, the first one I understand- you know, it was sort of a reference to masturbating, you know, like when you're six years old, you do it but

you really don't know what it is. The second time, I really didn't know I was being molested at the time, but like looking back, it did make me feel very uncomfortable. ...I don't think they've had any value. I really don't think I've been affected at all. ...I don't know. I kind of try to keep things to myself, you know. So I don't think I really would have told anyone. ...Well, the third one, I've kind of talked to people about, but the first two- I don't see why anyone would be interested. (Mitch, pp. 11-12) Definitely the ones that were more positive were with females of my age that I was attracted to. Definitely more negative situations were with males that were younger. That (the forced CSE) was really more negative. I mean you can see I've pretty much tried to put it out of my mind in a way. Cause I don't remember a lot to speak about those situations. (Mike, p. 9)

These are just basically things that are just in the back of my mind, like that I've just forgotten about. I only remembered them because you asked me about them. (Mitch, p.1)

These descriptions stand in sharp contrast to the first group of interviewed students who actively sought out opportunities to discuss their experiences with others. Given that both men in this group rated their sexual and overall adult adjustment in the low range, the ways in which these experiences have been processed may have a direct bearing upon their sense of personal satisfaction in their lives now, as well as clarity and resolution of confusing experiences as a child.

Individual Differences. Although this section has highlighted substantial differences in adaptational styles, there are several specific distinctions between these men that defy existing classifications. They will be given brief mention here before overviewing the salient features of this group.

Mitch falls within the moderate range on the Hypermasculinity Index. His responses depict a retaliatory posture to being physically and verbally threatened, regardless of the dangers that may have evolved through years of feeling pushed around by his peers. He also expressed clear questions about his current sexual orientation. Although he doesn't verbally present anxiety about these decisions, Mitch does seem somewhat isolated, with limited outlets for discussing his concerns. His current sexual activities are minimal, and it is unclear to what extent he continues to feel he has emotional problems. Mike has come to appreciate the value of his extensive sexual history:

But I guess it helped prepare me sort of for other things that were to happen. You know, they sort of made things a little more predictable and more comfortable. (Mike, p. 1)

He has also begun to appreciate the benefits of starting to discuss these experiences with friends:

Well, I talked about them with my roommate and stuff. We went over my childhood and stuff. And the other people I was involved with- actually a few of my friends have thought that I had been forced by my friend's sister. It must have been about 4 months ago, one of the kids had actually been talking about that family, had actually mentioned the fact that I had been, well not really raped, but forced into doing a sexual act. ...It was great that two roommates that hadn't really known each other for much more than a year just sort of opened up and let their pasts out. And it was good to know that each of us had engaged in different things like that. (Mike, p. 8)

His written account of his childhood sexual encounters omits several incidences that arose in the interview which clearly fit the stipulated research criteria, suggestive of the reticence he may have felt to disclosing

these details in the follow-up interview. His verbal descriptions were vague and elusive, and there may have been many other details about these events that were distorted, minimized, or omitted. Mike makes several references to past regrets, remorse, and guilt that he felt for "verbally convincing" these children into sexual interactions, although these ongoing events may have felt to him like his only sources of solace and comfort at the time.

Summary. This group of students demonstrates two very different adaptive stances to family stress. One man continually thrust himself out into the social world and recapitulated a long series of inappropriate sexual encounters in an attempt to gain control over his confusion. The other man withdrew from social interactions, convinced that people were not interested in his concerns. Each subject described intertwined stressors in their life, that perpetuated a shrinking of their social network. Both males also expressed many unresolved feelings about their previous sexual interactions, raising questions about their sexual identity and adequacy. The details of their stories had long been locked away, forgotten, or suppressed, and they were just beginning to surface in public discussions with friends. The combination of struggling for a place to belong and having engaged in a CSE with a male, only served to heighten the sense of alienation that each man felt. The interface between sexual encounters fulfilling emotional needs seems to have come sharply into focus with this group of students.

Interview Subjects Whose SDTLI Scores Indicate Poor Interpersonal Adult Adjustment

The following three students all fell below one standard deviation from the norm of college students nationwide in Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships (MIR) on the SDTLI. These independent measures depict a young adult who has difficulties establishing independent, honest, and trustworthy relationships, and someone who is intolerant of individual differences. This profile also suggests a student who is in continual need of reassurance from others, supporting a strong dependence on others, especially parents for decision making. It is possible that inappropriate childhood interactions between family members or during early sexual experiences might interfere with and impair these important social skills. The descriptions below along with elaborations from the subject's interview transcripts may offer confirmation of this potential correlation.

The students described below may also meet the criteria of other groupings of subjects, such as the first profile presented, which connotes a negative family environment and recurring perceptions of negative adult adjustment. Although these profiles will have multiple levels of comparison, the differences between those students who survived stressful family contexts and either developed interpersonal skills or had difficulties with relationships may somehow involve the contextual variables inherent in their childhood sexual experiences. For this reason, the overlapping of categories was inevitable and the intricacies between groups is more complex.

Alan. Alan, a 23 year old Caucasian college sophomore has never been married. His biological parents were divorced before he was 12 and his mother

remarried. He describes his relationship with his father as distant and he reported feeling close with his mother and step-father. Alan's father is a highly paid professional who completed some graduate work and his mother is a college graduate who is not employed outside of the house. This marriage was depicted as unhappy, with one or two occurrences of physical violence from Alan's mother to his father. He never saw them show any physical affection to each other and his father never hugged or kissed his son. Alan's father was allegedly tense and nervous very often, had frequent emotional problems and was often verbally abusive to him. Alan's mother was responsive to him most of the time, being physically nurturing very often and talking to him and understanding him regularly. Alan felt that his mother also had emotional problems sometimes and was ill occasionally. Alan's father was described as authoritarian, agreeing that children should never be allowed to talk back to their parents or have a say in family decisions. Both parents were speculated to uphold mild agreement that women should never be placed in authority positions over men. At age 12, Alan had only one or two good friends. He felt moderately emotionally neglected at home and disclosed one or two incidences of spankings and physical abuse by his mother. His father was felt to have physically abused Alan several times.

At age 16, Alan began dating and also experienced intercourse for the first time. He had his first experience with someone of the same sex during the same year he completed this research and reported this experience as a nonconsensual sexual experience on the LEI questionnaire. In the past month, Alan attested to 16-20 episodes of sexual intercourse, more than 20 incidences of "making out," and 6-10 masturbation experiences. He indicated being steadily involved with someone and having had 11-15 women with whom he had sexual intercourse. Alan feels that he spends too much time

thinking about sex and often finds himself in awkward sexual situations. He stipulated that he did not actively pursue sexual interests, and often felt dissatisfied after sexual experiences. Alan does consider himself to have a sexual problem, including periods of sexual promiscuity, difficulties with premature ejaculation, and problems maintaining an erection. He rated himself as poorly adjusted on both sexual and overall scales of current adjustment (7 out of 7).

Alan fell within the moderate range of hypermasculine personality (13 out of 30) suggesting relatively strong identification with stereotypic male aggression and calloused attitudes toward women. His academic functioning on the SDTLI was close to the mean for students his age with slightly lower scores for Life Planning. Every subtask of the interpersonal scales (except Tolerance) fell below one standard deviation from the mean with Peer Relationships (29) falling 2 deviations below the norm. This indicates strong deficiencies in social skills and difficulties establishing and maintaining meaningful interactions with others.

The only childhood sexual experience Alan documented was a one time incident at age 22, with a 40 year old male stranger, who extended an invitation to mutually exhibit and fondle each others genitals. The older male was also alleged to have touched Alan's sex organs. There was force or threats supposedly used by this stranger, and both participants had been drinking.

Shock best described Alan's reaction at the time which later included embarrassment, anger, upset, helplessness, fear, confusion and shame. Alan reported this to no one and never spoke to a counselor. He felt the experience was mostly negative at the time, and he believes that it had a mostly negative effect on his life overall. Alan perceived that this CSE had a neutral impact on his current sexual life.

Monroe. Monroe is a 21 year old, single, Asian college Junior who relocated to America when he was eleven. He was living with both biological parents up until the time he left home to go to college and he indicates feeling very close to both of them. His father and mother both completed high school; his father works as a professional and his mother is not employed. Both parents were believed to strongly agree that children should never be allowed to talk back to their parents and were in moderate agreement that children should not be involved in making family decisions. Monroe evaluated his parent's marriage as very happy, with frequent displays of physical affection between them. Although he saw both his parents as tense, nervous, or worried most of the time, Monroe indicated that they were responsive and available to him often, always treating him as if he were important. He also stated that his father drank heavily sometimes and was also ill some of time, whereas his mother had occasional emotional problems. Monroe remembers getting scolded by his mother for playing sex games with other children and punished for saying dirty words. His father had only given him warnings about these behaviors. One or two incidents were reported of Monroe's father physically striking his mother and he recalls being spanked a few times each year by his mother and once or twice by his father. There were no alleged instances of child physical abuse, verbal abuse, or emotional neglect cited in the questionnaire.

Monroe did not stipulate the ages at which he first began to date, however, he states having dated 1-5 times in the last month. He has never engaged in sexual intercourse, but would wish for 1-11 opportunities each year. He also reports no sexual experiences with another male and has supposedly not "made out" with anyone. Monroe did admit to 16-20 times of masturbating in the past month. He feels he spends too much time thinking

about sex, agrees somewhat that he finds himself in awkward sexual situations, and doesn't take the initiative to pursue sexual interests regularly. Monroe identified himself as having a sexual problem, and having had periods of sexual promiscuity. The seeming contradiction between no disclosures of sexual intercourse and admission of sexual promiscuity may be influenced by Monroe's acculturation process, or as will be seen later, his confusion regarding how to understand his own masturbation behavior. He rated his overall sexual adjustment as average (4 out of 7) and his current overall adjustment as poor (6 out of 7).

Monroe obtained a score of 5 on the Hypermasculinity Inventory, putting him in the low range of hypermasculine beliefs and attitudes. He did not complete the Intimacy Scale of the SDTLI but fell two standard deviations below the norm (29) on Developing Mature Interpersonal Relationships subtasks. He was within an average range for the Tolerance and Academic Autonomy subscales, but showed significant deficiencies in Peer Relationships (31) and Emotional Autonomy (25). Monroe appears to need continual approval and reassurances from others, conforming to and trusting others opinions over his own. This lack of self-confidence may also be impairing Monroe's ability to establish a personal direction and orientation in his life, which is indicated by his below average score on Lifestyle Planning (27). He demonstrated strong academic abilities in most other Establishing and Clarifying Purpose subtasks, except for Cultural Participation (39), which may again reflect an aspect of his experiences in another culture.

Monroe detailed two childhood sexual experiences at ages 9 and 12. The first episode occurred once over two days with an eighteen year old male friend of his parents. This older person allegedly initiated an invitation that led to him exhibiting his sexual organs and fondling and touching Monroe's

sex organs. This also included this young man rubbing his penis between Monroe's legs. According to Monroe, there was force or threats involved and the other person had been drinking. Monroe reacted with fear, shock, surprise and disgust at the time this experience occurred, and he also indicated strong feelings of anger, upset, hurt, helplessness, and fear. He told no one about the sexual episode and never spoke to a counselor for any reason. At the time, he felt this experience was negative and continues to believe it has a negative effect on his current sexual life. In general, however, Monroe perceived the event as having a neutral impact on his life.

When Monroe was 12, he allegedly engaged in two sexual experiences within a months time, with a 20 year old female cousin. This was said to be initiated by his cousin, and involved an invitation to kiss and hug sexually, reciprocal touching and fondling of each others genitals, oral-genital contact, and intercourse. This disclosure of intercourse contradicts an earlier assertion that he had yet to engage in intercourse. Some force or threats were reported, as were bribes, however, no alcohol was involved. Monroe reacted to these experiences with shock, surprise, pleasure, and confusion. He also felt a lot of excitement along with a variety of other mild feelings. He told one friend about this occurrence, and at the time, he felt neutral about the event. Monroe now describes this CSE as having had a mostly negative effect on his life now, with a neutral impact on his current sexual life.

Frank. Frank is a single Caucasian male who was a 19 year old college Junior at the time this research was conducted. He was living with both his biological parents throughout his entire childhood and adolescence, and reports a close relationship with with each parent. Frank's father completed some college and is now a highly paid professional, while his mother also

attended college but chose not to pursue a career outside of the home. He describes his parents marriage as happy although he rarely saw them being physically affectionate together. Frank did not indicate high levels of parental responsiveness toward him, in fact he stated being mildly emotionally neglected as a child. He said his mother was often anxious, sometimes ill, and sometimes had emotional problems. He was only occasionally treated as important by either parent and they were rarely responsive to his needs. Frank did not indicate any episodes of marital violence or physical abuse and he was only spanked once or twice by each parent.

Frank began dating at age 11 and first had a sexual experience with a male when he was 17. He has never engaged in intercourse with a woman, but first had sexual intercourse with a man at age 18. He has not been sexually involved with women in the last month, but has dated men 6-10 times in this period of time. He reports 6-10 sexual experiences with other men in the last year and 11-15 same-sex experiences since he was 16. He has also masturbated 11-15 times in the last month. Frank somewhat agrees that he is preoccupied with sex, finds himself in awkward sexual situations, and often feels sexually dissatisfied. He reports having had periods of sexual promiscuity and problems achieving or maintaining an erection, and has also been treated for emotional problems. He rates his overall and sexual adjustments as average (4 out of 7).

Frank fell in the low range on the M Scale (5), indicating low identification with hypermasculine beliefs and attitudes. He did score just above the norm in overall interpersonal subtasks (43), but was one standard deviation below the norm on the Intimacy (34), Peer Relationship (40), and Emotional Autonomy (36) subscales. This categorizes him as having

significant difficulties maintaining close relationships, with strong needs to depend on others for reassurance and self-confidence.

Frank described three sexual experiences in his late adolescence with significantly older men. Two experiences occurred at age 17, one with a 50 year old male friend, and one with a 50 year old male acquaintance. The first experience occurred five times over a 2 year period, initiated by the older friend and involving reciprocal fondling, genital touching, and oral-genital contact. There was some force or threats reported, and both people had been drinking at the time. Frank signified every feeling listed in the LEI to best describe his reaction to these events, but highlighted feeling hurt, ashamed, confused, helpless, and scared most often. He did tell another adult, which may have also been the counselor he stated talking to as well. He felt mostly positive about the experience at the time, but now perceives this CSE as having a mostly negative effect on his life while having a neutral impact on his current sexual life.

The second experience at age 17 occurred once and involved all the same sexual behaviors as with the other older man, except this incidence also included anal intercourse. Frank stated that he initiated the encounter, even though he indicated the presence of mutual force or threats involved. Both parties had allegedly been drinking and Frank described feeling a lot of hurt, shame, confusion, helplessness, and fear. Frank chose not to tell anyone about this episode, and again felt the experience was positive at the time, mostly negative in its overall effect on his life, and neutral in its impact on his current sexual life.

Finally, at age 18, Frank reported a sexual experience with a 35 year old male friend, including the range of sexual behaviors just previously described. Frank felt the other person had initiated this event, and had used

some form of coercion. Frank stated that he had been drinking during these 5 encounters over a five month period. He indicated the same emotional reactions to these experiences as he did with the other two, and he did tell another adult about them. His evaluations of the impact that this experience had at the time and currently in his life were identical to the other two perceptual ratings described above.

Analysis of Interview Transcripts

The following three students, on the basis of empirical measures alone, have demonstrated significant difficulties in establishing peer relationships. This section will attempt to elucidate any common factors or contextual variables surrounding their CSEs that might be related to subsequent social difficulties.

Several recurrent descriptions emerged in each of these three interviews that will first be reviewed. Aside from clear portrayals of family stressors as a child, each student discussed at significant length the absence of a male role model in their lives with whom to identify and look to for guidance and support. Each of these boys reported a CSE with at least one older male, and throughout adolescence and into young adulthood, all struggled with sexual identity concerns. Each of these males also had described themselves as experiencing difficulties getting close to people throughout their childhoods, which may signify an ongoing emotional coping pattern to their environment, as seen in the last group of subjects. Alcohol was involved in each of their adolescent sexual experiences, which may be related to the concerns that two of these men report over being able to control their sexual instincts (particularly while drinking) in other situations. There were a

variety of different statements made that indicated that these males had not spoken openly about these experiences, nor had they fully resolved the emotional impact that the CSE had on their lives. The overriding impact that they incurred appears to have been self-doubt and confusion, which is likely to have had a recursive influence on their interpersonal interactions developmentally. Finally, individual differences between these subjects will be delineated before synthesizing the common features of this group of men.

Family Stressors and the Absence of a Male Role Model. All three males described significant difficulties growing up that created a noticeable impact on their ability to adapt to their environment. Two students geographically relocated from foreign countries and experienced a stressful acculturation process. There were a variety of other hardships mentioned, however, these men repeatedly chose to understand their troubles as being deprived of a supportive adult male in their lives. This may be an implicit reference to their lack of gender identification, which could have enhanced and solidified their internal sense of themselves as males. According to the excerpts elicited from their accounts, it is most likely that a complex intermingling of many contextual variables within the family contributed to their difficulties getting close to others:

I was pretty sad about leaving the whole country, the friends, you know, everything back home. This was a permanent move. I was kind of confused, sad, depressed. (Monroe, p. 4)

I thought no one was listening to me, no one was paying attention to me, no one wanted to talk to me or understand me and I was really, really frustrated and discouraged with all the adults in my life, including my teachers. (Frank, p.3)

What happened was, we were living in Belgium, he (my father) moved back to Greece, and we moved to the United States with my mother. I have two younger sisters and we lived with my cousins and it was very stressful. My mother bought a house, so it was my mother, me and my two younger sisters and that was in eighth grade. ... I really felt very stressed. When my mother told me about a year ago that when my mother bought the house, she was working as a secretary and things came into my mind like, Jeez, am I going to have to go out and make money or quit school or what, I mean I was a total mess. She said that one of my biggest fears was not having any money. And I think I did take it upon myself to- you know because I had to cut the lawn, I had to do all the fatherly chores and I mean, I wasn't prepared for it.

(Alan, p.3)

I was an only child in (Asia). There were two friends in the neighborhood and they were all boys. It's a different culture. You don't get boys and girls mixed up all the time when you play. They don't join each other. My father at that point, I think he left because he retired from the army and got a job in the middle east so only my mother and I were home. So it was kind of, there was nobody to play around with, I was lonely, no brothers or sisters, so I began going into the neighborhood. You know, friends houses and- that's how I came across the street. It was a house- all males, seven or eight kids. (Monroe, p. 3)

Well, she (my mother) was going through like menopause and then she was going to therapy because she had emotional problems and she was dealing with those things and so I was sort of going through some of the stuff that she was going through along with dealing with my own problems. (Frank, p.11)

But, we had always had a huge family type atmosphere. Then when we moved to Belgium after seven years in Greece, it was just our family. Those three years I remember as being like the times when I was gonna have new friends and sleeping over friends houses in third and fourth and fifth grade, and so I was really abandoned. I didn't think I had a father. (Alan, p. 5)

Yeah, but I didn't have a hard time with mother because he (father) wasn't there. What happened, if he was there, I would have been able to talk to him maybe. If I had talked to my mother I know she'd get upset. I was kind of afraid to talk to her. (Monroe, p. 3)

Oh my god, it (childhood) was terrible stressful. ...It was painful. I had so few male role models or I didn't have many choices of men to exemplify myself after or to choose from. It was really, really difficult. And even thinking about exploring my sexual identity. My situation was really difficult. Just it was tough, really tough. (Frank, p. 2)

I felt like I was really all alone and I felt like I would want to know everything and make sure that no one was talking about me or just anything really. I think privately inside, it was hard for me. I just got over asthma in January and the doctors said I got it in eighth grade when we moved away and it was really wierd. If that theory goes about it being a stressful type of disease, I could definitely see why it started then and there. (Alan, pp. 3-4)

At home (after we moved to this country) we had some problems because my father couldn't get a job and my uncle, he's a retired veteran and he has some mental problems, disorders, so before I came I wanted to meet my uncle and aunt because he didn't talk, he was just inside the room. I felt kind of like, 'What's going on?' ...my father was not too happy about coming here because he didn't find the jobs that he wanted. After that, actually a few months before the sexual experience, he had a heart attack or an angina attack, I'm not sure which. He had high blood pressure and he was admitted to the hospital the first of that summer, before the sexual experience, about a month before. (Monroe, p. 4)

I was a pain. My mother liked for me to take art lessons and piano lessons, so I did that, but my dad wanted me to play sports and so I was caught between both worlds, but I knew in my community, and my dad being a strong force in the community, it was more appropriate for me to play sports and be a macho type person. I did all that to please him, but I never really wanted to do that, and so I had all that anger and I

really enjoyed taking art lessons and piano lessons- and I really liked drawing and stuff, but there weren't many people, especially males around me who were like that and it was difficult. I enjoyed aesthetic and social things more than other things. (Frank, p. 16)

I think he (father) had problems with dealing with his family. Like, he's on his third marriage, he never got along with his parents at all. His parents were very strict, you know, they were World War II and all that you know, and his mother really made sure he didn't go out of bounds. My mother was explaining to me that she was his first relationship and he had never really been a social type person, he was in school getting good grades, and always working, working, working. So I mean, I look at him now and it's funny how some things just click in my mind of how he was socially. He's not a social type person, like going to the beach or something, I remember that and he was always uptight, always making sure of this and so I think he never learned that, maybe- something like that, and I am just totally the opposite from that. ...I think I was neglected from my father. (Alan, p. 4)

The contextual contour that emerges from these accounts depicts a child searching for ways to adapt to a changing culture, conflicting expectations, and stressors occurring within the family. These difficulties have been well documented in family therapy literature regarding migration (Sluzki, 1979). It is striking that each male attributes some of his family problems to a lack of available men to model and normalize these changes. The overriding theme that continually reappears here is the absence of a place to fit into, a social disorientation that precludes a consistent sense of belonging and stability. This becomes even more evident when these men discuss their peer interactions.

Insecurities and Difficulties Getting Close to People. Despite some self-reports to the contrary, the subjects interviewed in this group all discuss ways in which they feel isolated, misunderstood, and unable to relate to others. There are convincing correlations drawn here between this perceived alienation from others and concurring family stressors, on top of the effects of the childhood sexual experiences in question:

...I remember there were times when I got really upset at my sister and I'd swear at them, and that was something you didn't do in my mother's house. We just couldn't swear and I'd swear- I did it once or twice and my mother like made it clear to me that you can't do that and live in her house. So, they were a little tense, and even to this day I find it hard to really relate to my sister. My youngest sister who is ten years younger than me and I, we get along great. I feel that I kind of brought her up. So, I mean there is a special thing and whenever I go shopping or to Boston I buy her a gift. I mean it's hard for me, I called up my mother last night to wish her a Happy Easter because I hadn't seen her and I wanted to say 'I love you,' and I couldn't. Maybe because my father never showed it. ...I think I'm having a hard time being able to, I mean I can hug and kiss my mother and say 'I love you' once in a while but it's really not natural yet. (Alan, p. 4)

I was doing very well in school and I was doing extra-curricular activities. I just wasn't communicating with my parents because I didn't want to. I sort of like withdrew into my own self and sort of disregarded others. I was like, so pushed back in my head. I was just looking at the world and I wasn't interacting with the world. Just like walking around and like- 'Hi- I can see and understand everything, I just can't cooperate with anyone. ...I think there's a difference between being with people and you can still be alone and I was with people, but still by myself. (Frank, p. 3)

Not really because that (CSE) kind of confused things, and I was kind of like in shock so I didn't- since it was another male I was kind of

confused, from there onwards getting close to another person, I was kind of afraid. I used to remember my mother used to say when I get into a bus, she says to sit down when I get a seat. I don't seem to sit down next to a person. (Monroe, p. 1)

I think they (my family) really wouldn't have noticed. They might have. I grew up pretty average. I tried to fit in a lot. You know, I got in trouble once in while. I gave my aunt the finger once, you know, behind her back but I got caught and she went crazy. But I think they would describe me as someone trying to find their way. (Alan, p. 5)

I've managed to have some relationships, but I've been very, very picky, and very, very allusive, and not as trusting as I could be. ...I guess I wondered if I was only having sex because the other person wanted sex and not to be with me. I would sort of hold back. ...I would always have to recheck, reevaluate why someone was either paying me a compliment or just being next to me, being close to me. (Frank, p. 15)

I would have had girlfriends and relationships. I wouldn't have had to think about it- maybe if I didn't have the second relationship. Maybe gone through a normal life and had a sexual experience with one of those girls and not thought there was something wrong with me. If those things hadn't happened, I wouldn't have had to worry about it-relationship wise. I would be more comfortable. (Monroe, p. 14)

I think in private, it (emotional maturity level) was very low, because I was so unsure of myself. I guess even socially or on the outside, I was a little bit less mature, I mean physically I wasn't mature at all. And I was always one of the shorter ones or whatever. ...I would say I was trying hard, like going to parties and trying to fit in. You know, just jumping around- I never really felt confident about it. I think just now in the last few months, I finally feel confident being away from a woman for sexually or whatever. (Alan, pp. 5-6)

I thought my sense of self was pretty strong, but I had these relationships (CSEs) and that sort of shattered me. ...I did very poorly in

my senior year. I don't know if it was because of that, because actually I didn't have the experiences until like January and after that- grades were shit. But I did alright my first year of college. I did pretty well, but I was still an emotional wreck and I don't know if that was just the transition, or because of that, you know, those experiences. I don't know, but at the same time I was still processing that, and my positioning among my peers and my family. It was really confusing and a very difficult time. (Frank, p.10)

My cousins and some older people, at 9, boys who were like 18, 19, and 20, they were talking about girls. But I wasn't close to them. After that experience I wasn't sure if what I had done was wrong. Maybe there's something wrong with me. I was afraid. (Monroe, p. 12)

I can't pinpoint the influence (of the CSE) because I'm still going through it now, I'm still breaking away. I think this is the first time in my life where I've never had a girlfriend to turn to even for a hug or sex or whatever, and being on my own. I don't live at home anymore, and then this is over January, the first time I was ever away from home, so I mean what I think I'm doing now is getting over an insecurity or whatever, but I still don't know how those affected me. (Alan, p. 13)

Yeah, I did act differently (for non-family members). I guess I had the tendency to act different with certain people depending upon- I was always a pleaser, I would always try to please depending upon the people I was with. I would live up to their expectations. (Frank, p. 4)

Yeah, as I said before, I do tend to keep a distance. Sometimes even the friend I talk to, he says, 'why don't you come to all the parties all the time and why don't you join me- let's go have a good time.' I tend to resist it; I do go, but not as much as he does. He seems to have one girlfriend after another; I don't do that. I feel like it's okay if I don't have a sexual experience now because I'm getting my education and everything else can come later. ...I think I have to learn to get to know other people. Like, in a way- learn how to talk personally and get to trust them. (Monroe, p. 15)

...Well, with women, I began dating when I was a junior and I've always had a girlfriend up until now and I'm 23 years old. I've always had a girlfriend- all of them have been sexual relationships and I've gone through I think seven girlfriends. We'd go out for a year or whatever and break off. With men, nothing comes to mind. I've always had a girlfriend. I never hung out with the guys too much. I mean after my junior year in high school, I was always with my girlfriend.
(Alan, p. 8)

What already seemed to be an antisocial pattern prior to the childhood sexual events, appears to have magnified the confusion that these males experienced, particularly because each one experienced these interactions as stressful. This combination of an isolated and insecure youngster, feeling that his trust in people has been betrayed, not only to some degree in his family, but sexually by his peers, may create an even stronger sense of alienation from others. These difficulties in establishing or maintaining relationships continues to plague these males in college, confirming what their SDTLI scores have already indicated. The interpersonal styles seen in the second group of men reappear here, with two males withdrawing from interactions and adopting a hypervigilant cautiousness, while the other man moves from one girlfriend to the next, and is now struggling with not having that continual reassurance. The nature of these sexual experiences will be further examined in order to further clarify other facets of this insecurity and isolation.

Unresolved Negative CSEs and Sexual Identity Confusion. We have yet to review transcripts from research subjects who have so openly discussed their discomforts and unresolved feelings surrounding their CSEs. These men were quite vocal concerning their sexual orientation questions. In the context of the other interviews, is unusual that in most every sexual experience disclosed

here, alcohol had been consumed, usually by both parties. The confusion that these men describe over having experienced such different physiological and psychological sensations during their CSE, coupled with the disinhibiting effects of alcohol, seems to have created some residual apprehensions about the student's ability to control their sexual instincts. Thus, the scope of self-questioning may have mushroomed for these men when they begin to feel unsure about their own self-worth, about other's intentions with them, and unsure as to how their bodies will respond to certain stimuli and substances in various situations:

At nine, well, I wasn't really aware of it until it happened, and at that point, I was trying to stop it and I couldn't pull away. It happened twice but it didn't happen repeatedly, and I just didn't go to that house or talk to... It all started because I used to go across the street. It was a gathering place where everything went (on). Some guys lived there, like a boarding house. There are about seven or eight men. Their father wasn't alive and their mother wasn't at home all the time. I go there to play games and talk. Sometimes they make food and they talk to you and tell you to come to their rooms and play cards. I didn't know how to play cards that much. I just watched. That's how some of the guys did start to touch me. ...There were four or five, but there were only about two guys who were involved. ...Well, they were like first touching my shoulder- they say lift your sarong because its hot. ...Well, I said no, I want to go home. Sometimes my mother, when she leaves, says maybe I can stay over there or at next door neighbors. So they're kind of babysitting me. I say I wanted to go home and they say, oh no, you can have something to eat. I tried to get away a few times, but I couldn't. ...then afterwards one guy took me to another room. Those other guys didn't follow. Then we went to the other room. He was forcing me to lie down on the bed. Then he would take his penis and put it between my legs. Then after that- until that point, I didn't know what was happening. I knew that he touching me was not right but I wasn't

sure what was expected. ...I was pushing away and saying I was going to scream or something and that I wanted to go. Then he let me go.
(Monroe, pp. 7-8)

Oh God. This is so embarrassing. He initiated something outside the classroom in sort of an apartment off campus. But nothing happened because I said that I didn't want anything to happen. So after the summer program, after continuing writing and stuff, I visited him in his apartment and well- that's I guess where... Well, obviously I went there, so I guess you could say I initiated it to a certain extent. But I guess when I was in the apartment, yeah, I think he may have initiated it. ...Well- it wasn't a threat or a force, but still, I think there was an obvious power dynamic in my opinion. It wasn't an equal relationship. It really wasn't. It was totally an unequal thing. ...Well, this person was very much older than I was and, I mean, he had no real investment in me as a person other than sex. I knew that, but it still wasn't very good.
(Frank, pp.6-7)

It was one of my teachers and he lives in a house with all men. He rents his house out to college aged students, and when I first met him I was intimidated by him. He's a big guy and just the way he talked, he was into a lot of interesting things, you know sports and that, which I'm into. And it was a swimming class that we were in. And he'd come into the locker room and the comments he made seemed strange to me but- you know, like 'Come in to the locker room guys so we can see you with your pants down.' ...He always said 'Let me drive you home' and I noticed that he had driven a few of the other guys home, so when we were alone, he started about these sexual experiences... So he said he was into back rubs and he came up to my room with a six pack and he said, 'drop your drawers.' So I took my pants off and left my underwear on, and he gave me a massage and then he told me to roll over on my front, and everything was fine to that point, and he started rubbing me and he says 'well you might get a little excited now.' So he was rubbing me, near my groin area and it was soothing, and I think I had an erection, I can't remember. It wasn't like a full one. I was trying my

hardest not to. He kept doing it and doing it and he never touched me.
(Alan, p. 9)

Then the next evening, the other girl (cousin) went to a friend's house to sleep over. That evening the older sister had some friends over. It wasn't a party but they were drinking again. I had one or two more beers. She was kind of drunk. Not much but- after that, the friends left. Again- she was sleeping in the same bed as I was. She started kissing me. It was summer, and she was saying that I didn't have to wear my clothes to bed. I was still kind of shy. I still had my underwear on. Later on, she said that she didn't wear any clothes to bed and took all her clothes off. Then she was touching my body, my lips and my penis and stuff. I wasn't really sure if I had sexual intercourse or not. I remember parts of it and then I don't remember much of the details. ...I remember dosing off, and then in the morning I got up and knew that she was there. I had a headache from the alcohol. Not a severe one, but a headache. I was confused too. I don't know what really happened.
(Monroe, p. 10)

I met the person at work, I was working someplace. I hate telling you this. ...I don't know. That one was pretty much the same as the other one. It took two of those things to slap me in the face to wake up and say, 'Listen, you're obviously falling into a pattern and it's time to do something.' You know, because I'm not getting anything out of this except physical pleasure and it's not exactly what I want. You know there's obviously something more that I'm looking for, and I'm not getting it. (Frank, p. 9)

Wow. Oh, that's right. I'm totally forgetting something about something, oh my god. Alright, there is something else, oh, that's right. Ok, I was a little drunk that night. This is what happened. There was this guy. I worked as a lifeguard. One of the other lifeguards, we became good friends, you know just drinking buddies. When you're a lifeguard that's all you do is be social. He introduced me to one of his friends that was older, that was actually his teacher. ...He drove me home, I needed a ride and he drove me home. He was pretty drunk...

but we just made sure that he didn't speed and we were wearing seat belts. So we went to my house and he had always heard that I had parties, and he had never been to one, so this was the first time that he and I were alone. On the way home he was petting me on the shoulders and I started to feel uneasy, but I felt in control because he was so much worse off than I was, I mean I would probably say that I had about 4 beers, maybe 5, so if you can relate to that. ...He kept asking me to come and sit with him and I'd say 'No, no.' And I said 'John, if you want to be physical, I'm not like that.' And it was more in a joking manner you know. I don't think it was because he was drunk or just from the things I learned previously, I felt comfortable, so he said, 'Well, I'm gonna masturbate.' And I was like 'fine, go ahead.' And he said, 'Well I'm not gonna do it if you don't,' and he was so adamant about it, so we began masturbating alone, you know I'd be watching a sexy girl on t.v., or whatever. So he came over to me, and I was really afraid, but I made sure that nothing that I didn't want to happened. So he fondled me, and it felt weird because I just wanted to ejaculate fast and get out of there, so that's what happened. And he continued, and he just- I just left the room and that was that. ...It's funny how I totally forgot about it.

(Alan, pp. 10-11)

I would describe that when I was nine that it was like abuse. I wasn't aware the first time. I didn't go there and want what was happening and they were like forcing me. ...I felt that it (the second sexual experience) was okay. That was the first time in this country and it was a female. I was shy, but they were making me feel welcome. ...After the first one at nine, yeah, I began to think about what is a sexual experience. What is wrong and what is right. Am I attractive to men or to women? But I wasn't aware of men and men and women and women.

(Monroe, p. 12)

Yeah, misuse. I'd say misuse. ...Well, I wanted to apply what was in my head to another body, and I just had all of this like sexual thoughts in my head and I needed to work them out with another person, but it was unequal in the sense that I thought age doesn't mean anything, in fact someone older would be better for me anyways because all of the people

or all of the kids in my town I thought were really immature. But, it was so out of wack that these people were so much older, that it just- it wasn't healthy- it wasn't a psychologically healthy thing for me to do. That's my assessment. I'm still getting over the anger. I'm really, really upset, but I did it. I had the choice and I did it, but I'm still really angry. (Frank, p. 9)

I hate to like put things into definite terms, because I've never been around it. I guess from my experiences about how women say they're abused if they're called a nasty word for vagina, they term that sexual abuse, and I know students have been written up for that and they've had to do a sexual harassment discussion. I don't know what would have happened. Who knows, I might have thought how good it was and just kept going on and had gay sex with him. I mean, who knows? I think he knew that I didn't want to, and so he really didn't push it that much. He's not very forceful, as odd as that may seem. I think that I could definitely say that it was a sort of misuse, a sort of abuse, but really not- you know I can't be really specific about it. (Alan, p. 9)

Nothing hindered (my life), not really. Sometimes I feel like now, when we go to a bar and have some alcohol- I get in a mood because of these experiences. Maybe that could be interpreted as negative. (Monroe, p.14)

If I had to describe it (second CSE), I would say it was the alcohol abuse, I mean I've really gotten to know what it can do to you, and my girlfriend and I broke up over January and the first couple weeks back here in February. The one time that I did have sex with another person was the night I was the most drunk, and that's been the only time, and I've been trying to make myself realize that every time I go to a party I'm not going to drink as much. And not only for the sexual factor, definitely, you know, I mean it's far down on the list. You know, just socially, I just see so many people make fools of themselves and that's what I would really term it as. It's hard for me to describe where sexuality comes into it. (Alan, p. 11)

I would tend to think that, I mean right now, I mean looking back at it I could say that I would never do that again. But it was an experience for me, and I think I had to go through it, I mean instead of hanging out with my dad and stuff like that, I went through it in another way. I mean, there was a point where, you know, I was wondering if men, if I wanted to be with men sexually for a time, just a short period of time, you know, because I was unsure. (Alan, p. 14)

This wide array of excerpts illustrates the multiple layers of confusion that were experienced by the sexual experiences themselves. Questions arose about their sexual identity, about their responsibility in initiating the experience, in the role of alcohol in the experience, the dissociation between physiological and psychological reactions, and the degree to which they placed themselves in similar sexual experiences that also proved to be unpleasant. There are ongoing shifts in the responsibilities that they attribute to their CSEs, swinging back and forth between self-blame, anger at the assailant, and external substances out of their control. These men continue, in some ways, to search for some clarification of these questions in their present lives. The most plausible correlation between this emotional confusion and difficulties in peer relationship seems to lie in the unresolved feelings and self-identity questions surrounding the CSE, that get stimulated by becoming intimate with someone. The likelihood that these men felt a lack of control over these sexual events creates the risk that they might recreate that experience and again be confronted with unsettled anxieties in the midst of interacting with someone. If many of these questions have yet to be put to rest, these men may also fear the danger of them resurfacing.

Minimal Outlets for Discourse and Support. The three men, who's personal stories have been highlighted, only recently chose to inform anyone about their sexual experiences as children. Concerted efforts were made to try and forget these episodes, and each of the men responded enthusiastically to the beneficial impact of discussing these issues in the research interview. They made strong proclamations about the importance of talking to other people, even though these experiences were silently hidden from public attention for much of their lives:

I told my girlfriend about my teacher. I didn't explain as much as I've explained right now. I told her that he came up for a back rub and she kind of knew. She said, 'Oh, he's going to seduce you or whatever. He just dated college guys.' About the other man, I don't think I told anyone. I mean I've forgotten a lot. (Alan, p. 15)

Actually the first experience I tried not to remember. The second one was quite recent compared to the first. ...The first one of course, I don't even think about. The second one I think of as an experience. I don't think it should have happened. I do go out on dates and stuff, but I still hesitate to get sexually involved. (Monroe, p. 13)

I feel like I'm less of a dependent person and I'm more, or becoming more independent and in control of my life. Not that- well, it did to a certain extent- but sex was so mysterious and unexplained, and I guess I didn't have control of it, and now I feel that I can control those instincts. As least I know that I have people to talk to for support. My first year in college, my roommate said he had never masturbated and I was like 'no way, you've got to be kidding me.' I mean I thought I was going crazy. Oh, and I had my points where I thought I was losing it. ...It was just building up. I was a loaded cannon ready to just burst. (Frank, p. 12)

Yes, it does help to talk about it. Day to day life I do things and I think about things which I don't know if it's normal or not. I think about these- by seeing and reading all these magazines about sexual experiences, I see females when I go to the beach and get aroused, but I don't know whether that is normal. (Monroe, p. 15)

When I did the survey with Kathy (research assistant), we got friendly to a point and I had really wanted to talk to someone back then, and I had asked her address and she didn't hand out the things that said where to go for counseling, but I know that you had mentioned that at first, so I stayed afterward and I asked her and she gave me a leaflet and I did try calling her once or twice as a matter of fact. ...So I got her phone number and I don't know what she thought, I was trying to get friendly with her. I just, I was at a point where I needed someone to talk to. I mean that guidance, really- I looked up to her guidance, because I don't think I could have talked to my mother or just anyone about these things. (Alan, p. 15)

I know that I was upset and confused because I didn't have enough- I didn't think there was enough discourse on sex. No- those experiences, they gave me one reason to be angry. The ignorance surrounding sex and everything- the community and just the culture and I was really upset... I know sometimes thinking that you have things under control, especially sexual orientation and sexual identity. I think it's so needed, in fact, I'm doing a lot of work on that- I think that more discourse is needed, and just talking about it, talking it out is so more beneficial sometimes. And of course, it's fun to have sex and it's healthy, but to sort of talk about it and get it out all of the details and little things that you may be overlooking and think are unimportant really are not. (Frank, pp. 12-13)

Maybe if I get involved in another relationship, get married or something, it may be a good thing to talk about with my wife. ...I don't think so (would be helpful to talk to other men who had similar experiences). I've already talked to a friend about it. I don't think I should talk to too many people. (Monroe, p. 15)

I think it's (talking about the CSEs) helped me because I was unsure of my experience, and it's helped me now to realize that you really have to be your own person, and as much sense as that makes to an individual, so for me what I am planning on doing is just settle down, and I know now that I don't want to be in a male-male relationship and if that ever came up I think I would- I wouldn't take offense to it, because I've been through it and I sort of know what they will lead to, and I would try to be relaxed about it. I mean, this conversation has helped me tremendously. I think, one of the things to do it just not only to be sure of yourself and what your goals are, but to be able to plan and to execute and follow through with them and that's when you'll find a real love... (Alan, p. 16)

What other ways would have helped? Probably- you know in the past if there were a wide array of open and honest men who were accessible to me, wanting to talk about sex and willing to help me, that would have been totally helpful. Yeah, like friends or role models. And now- I just know everything, it doesn't matter. I guess I'm still looking for role models, now- yeah, definitely. But I guess just now, I'm pretty happy because I can talk to my dad now. (Frank, p. 14)

It seems as if the men in this group are just beginning to understand what the men in the first group of subjects discovered much earlier in their lives; the importance of having supportive outlets in which to discuss these experiences in order to gain social confirmation of one's normative reactions and confusions. These transcripts strongly advocate for more public forums about a wide array of issues regarding human sexuality, sexual orientation, and identity development. As noted earlier, the intricate overlay of questions and confusions in many unsettled areas of the young adult's life may cloud their ability to know which issues are paramount. The ability to freely process and untangle these concerns may be an underlying variable fostering more positive adult adjustment:

I don't know if I can attribute the changes I've gone through to these events (CSEs), but I had to process a lot because of these events. I had to process a lot of anger, a lot of confusion, a lot of denial. I mean, I was just- I guess anger was the main thing. So bizarre. Along with just being pissed off with my dad and going through a really tough time. I don't know if the experiences were the only factor that played a part in the confusion. (Frank, p. 11)

Individual Differences. Each of the males presented here have some important differences in their lives. Monroe has clearly chosen to abstain from potential sexual encounters, acknowledging his fear of physical intimacy "mostly because of these sexually transmitted diseases" (p. 13). He states that he no longer has to worry about his sexual orientation "cause I'm not attracted to males" (p. 13). Monroe reports frequent incidences of masturbation and he may have been thinking of this sexual activity when he responded affirmatively to having had periods of sexual promiscuity. This confusion was addressed in the closing moments of the interview, when Monroe was asked if there was anything with which he wasn't comfortable:

It mentions in the form about how many times you masturbate. That's something I tried to talk to some people about and other friends won't talk to me about it. That's something I think principle wise that maybe I shouldn't do that; it shouldn't be done. That's something that I have felt uncomfortable about. (Monroe, p. 17)

Frank, on the other hand, is openly seeking opportunities to work out his sexual identity issues with another person in a relationship, and "that's sort of happening now. I've got to work all this shit out with someone else in a relationship..."(p. 15). He is actively dating and seeking out people with whom to discuss his concerns. He also reports periods of sexual promiscuity and

problems in achieving an erection, but does not consider these to be sexual problems. Both men scored on the low end of the Hypermasculinity Index (5 out of 30), and Frank strongly advocated for more education about homophobia and sexual inequality.

Alan considers himself to have a sexual problem, having reported difficulties with promiscuity, premature ejaculation, and problems maintaining an erection. He also gave himself the lowest ratings possible on his overall and sexual adjustment. He indicated frequent and extensive sexual activity in a numerous string of relationships, and his self-descriptions contained the greatest number of inconsistencies, vacillating between "the best life a kid could have," (at the start of the interview) to "it's like I've been through hell and I don't think I could go through any more" (as the conversation was ending). In the same breath that he had just stated that his "social life was very good" he stated that "I felt like I was really all alone." There was at least one childhood sexual experience that Alan forgot to mention on his LEI survey, and omissions of several other related instances of sexual exploration in his family with the seven cousins with whom he lived when he first moved to this country. Finally, his mid range scores (13 out of 30) on the Hypermasculinity Inventory accentuated the glory of fighting to protect one's honor, and the ability to take advantage of women when they're intoxicated.

Summary. This group most clearly demonstrates the interface between a number of interrelated variables. The impact of one's family environment on CSEs was highlighted in the previous group of students, and these men further point to the absence of male role models as having created special needs for validation and support from other men. There is a slight indication here that this may have increased their vulnerability to participate in the

sexual opportunities that arose. These accounts also illustrate the interconnections between numerous anxieties and concerns in the child's life; issues that are not easily separated or sorted out. Social supports were just beginning to be utilized, perhaps as these males slowly became more willing to risk the shame and embarrassment that their experiences aroused. These men wished for more opportunities to process these and other events in their lives, and their various coping styles mirror those adaptive variations previously seen in other groups.

Interview Subjects Whose M Scale Scores Indicate Strong Hypermasculine Attitudes

The last two students to be described both obtained scores in the high range of the Hypermasculinity Inventory. As reviewed in Chapter III, these findings characterize a "macho personality constellation" consisting of calloused attitudes toward women, a conception of violence as manly, and a view of danger as exciting (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984, p. 151). It is important to the present inquiry that socialized attitudes and beliefs be considered as principle variables to the meaning and processing that occurs for males who may have been sexually abused. Therefore, the two profiles that follow, coupled with detailed verbal accounts, will offer an opportunity to contrast how these experiences are understood in comparison to the other three groups. Again, there may be some overlap with other descriptions, but given the relative absence of high M Scale scores in the larger student sample, these indicators set these two interviewed students apart in their own classification.

George. George is a 21 year old Caucasian male who is single and completing his last year of college. He lived with both biological parents throughout his life before entering college and described his relationships with both parents as close. George's father completed college and is employed as a professional while his mother obtained semi-skilled employment as a result of completing high school. George depicts his parent's marriage as somewhat happy, although he never saw them hug each other or hold hands. He recalls his father scolding him for saying dirty words and looking at sexual pictures, and stated that his father was very often verbally abusive to him. His father was also described as anxious much of the time and generally unresponsive to his son. George's mother was characterized as more nurturing, available, and physically affectionate, although he also saw her as frequently tense and nervous. George reported that his mother physically struck his father once or twice, though his father never initiated any marital violence. He also remembers getting spanked every week by his father and only once or twice by his mother. George stated that he was never physically abused by his mother, but was abused physically by his father once a month. George also felt mildly emotionally neglected as a child.

George indicated that his first date was at 13 years old, followed by his first homosexual experience at 14, and his first episode of sexual intercourse at age 16. He identified himself as having a steady girlfriend and reported no other experiences with another male after 16 years of age. In the past month, George has "made out" more than 20 times, had intercourse 6-10 times, and masturbated 11-15 times. He also estimated a total of 11-15 women with whom he has engaged in sexual intercourse. George admits to having had a drug problem, and having had periods of sexual promiscuity, which did not effect

his above average rating of his sexual adjustment (3 out of 7), or his average current overall rating (4 out of 7).

George did not complete the SDTLI adjustment scales so there are no independent measures of interpersonal relationships available. George identified 21 out 30 responses on the Hypermasculinity Scale that were strongly supportive of the "macho personality constellation," and these characteristics may influence his perceptions of the childhood sexual encounters he reported.

Four sexual experiences were described in the LEI questionnaire, three of which occurred before the age of 12. When George was 8, he had two sexual experiences with two 16 year old male cousins, and he reported the same details for both experiences. They each occurred twice over a period of 8 months and were both initiated by his cousins. There was "a little" force or threats used, and his cousins allegedly tried to bribe him. No alcohol was involved, and the sexual activities included an invitation, the older male displaying his genitals, George fondling and touching his cousin's sex organs, and oral-genital contact. His reactions to both experiences were fear, confusion, and disgust, along with embarrassment, anger, upset, hurt, shame, and helplessness. He recently told his girlfriend about these events, and at the time, he clearly felt that both experiences were negative. He continues to feel this way in terms of the effects that these episodes have had on his life overall, but perceives the CSEs to have a neutral impact on his current sexual life.

George also included two sexual experiences when he was 9 with a 7 year old male cousin, two of his brothers, and another male cousin that occurred for three years. The ages of the other participants were not recorded. George felt that these experiences were self-initiated, somewhat forceful, and involved reciprocal displays of each other's bodies, and George

touching their sex organs. He described his reactions to these events as interest and confusion, along with some embarrassment and some happiness. He told his brother and a cousin about these experiences but never spoke to a counselor at all. He viewed the sexual activities as mostly positive at the time, with a neutral impact on his sexual and overall adjustment.

The last experience reported involved a 24 year old male friend of George's when he was 14 years old. George clearly felt that these sexual interactions, which occurred twice over three months, were nonconsensual. They involved being touched and fondled, being rubbed up against, and oral-genital contact. Although no force or bribes were stipulated, his friend had been drinking. His reactions to these events included fear, shock, surprise, confusion, and disgust. George also identified embarrassment and anger as subsequent feelings. He disclosed this experience to his girlfriend, and again saw these events as mostly negative at the time as well as in his current life, despite having no impact on his present sexual functioning.

Mel. Mel was in his second year of college when he completed this research. He is a 19 year old Caucasian male who also was not married, and who lived with his biological parents. His relationships with his parents were seen as very close, and their marriage was judged to be somewhat happy. Both parents completed college, had professional careers, and earned high incomes. Mel's father had a graduate degree, and he held firm ideas that children should not talk back to adults, and that women should not be in authority positions over men. Mel remembers his parents kissing sometimes and hugging often, but only witnessed one or two incidents of physical aggression initiated by his father toward his mother. Mel stated that he was only spanked by his father a few times each year, and was punished for saying dirty words and looking at

sexual pictures. Mel felt his father verbally abused him often, sometimes had emotional problems, and was only occasionally available to his son on an emotional level. His mother was described as physically nurturing, responsive to her son's emotional needs, and she treated Mel as if he were important. Mel felt mildly emotionally neglected as a child, and only had one or two good friends when he was 12 years old.

Mel began dating when he was 12 and first had intercourse at age 16. He reported no same-gender sexual encounters and stipulated being engaged or going steady with one woman. Within the past month, Mel has "made out" more than 20 times, had intercourse between 16 and 20 times, and masturbated more than 20 times. He estimated that he has had intercourse with 3-5 women overall, and feels somewhat that he should be having more sex and thinking less about the subject. He also expressed some dislike of his body. Mel admitted to having had a drug problem, having been arrested, having been treated for emotional problems, and having had periods of sexual promiscuity and problems with premature ejaculation. He rated his overall sexual adjustment as above average (2.5 out of 7) and his current overall adjustment as below average (4.5 out of 7).

Mel selected all but 8 hypermasculine responses on the 30 item M Scale, and falls clearly in the high range of this inventory. Mel strongly identifies overall with "macho personality" traits. His academic subscales on the SDTLI were below standardized norms, typifying a student who has difficulty setting career goals, actively pursuing a personal direction in his life, and structuring independent and self-sufficient daily activities. He was particularly deficient in the Career Planning subtask (30), Lifestyle Planning (37), and Cultural Participation (34). His interpersonal subscales were all

within the average range except Academic Autonomy (38), which confirms Mel's potential difficulties with ambiguity and self-directed learning.

Mel detailed three childhood sexual experiences in his written survey, but only one of these fit the research criteria. The other two events are briefly described because they may border on coercive, and could possibly arise from his interview transcripts. There were a total of 45-50 sexual events reported over a two year period of time when Mel was 12, with a 24 year old female friend of the family. This older woman was said to have initiated sexual kissing and hugging, reciprocal fondling of each other's bodies, touching Mel's sex organs, and her rubbing her genitals up against his body. Neither force, threats, bribes, or alcohol were involved, and Mel reacted to these experiences with pleasure, interest, excitement, and some happiness. He told a friend about the episodes, but chose not to disclose these details when he met with a counselor. He saw the experiences at the time as mostly positive. He feels that they have had a neutral impact on his overall life, but clearly perceives a positive impact on his current sexual life.

The two other experiences described at age 16 involve female friends who were 16 and 14 respectively. Both encounters happened once and were initiated by the female. Although Mel felt that the first girl had used a little force even though they had both been drinking, he was shocked and pleased by the experience, and reported excitement and happiness and feelings at the time. This second noncoercive experience, with the slightly younger girl, also involved mutual drinking, and was seen as pleasing and confusing. The overall reaction was one of excitement, with some embarrassment, happiness, and confusion as well. Mel told a friend about both episodes and didn't tell his counselor. He rated the first experience as mostly positive at the time, mostly positive overall in his life, and positive in its effect on his current sexual life.

He saw the second experience as having a neutral impact on all facets of life, past and present.

Analysis of Interview Transcripts

There are more differences between these two students than there are similarities. The few recurrent themes that arise underscore the strong hyper-masculine belief system that developed from childhood, however the majority of other variables fit neatly into several other categories, already discussed. Thus, the bulk of this discussion will focus on the individual characteristics of each subject as they relate to prominent themes found in other groupings of students. The underlying commonalities between the two men will first be reviewed before detailing the specific factors which differentiate their stories.

Strong Identification with Peers. Perhaps the greatest similarity in both of these accounts is the strong peer influences that these men describe. The extensive amount of time that these boys spent outside of the home allowed them repeated exposure to hypermasculine attitudes and behaviors. There are a number of interrelated variables that may have created these various opportunities, including less stringent parental supervision, and family stresses that prompted staying away from home. These factors will be discussed in a later section. The hypermasculine belief systems that arose in these subjects may well have been shaped by these ongoing peer encounters:

Well, actually then, if it was sixth grade when he (best friend) met me, he would have described me as a really, what do you call it, obedient

kind of, you know, a mama's boy. And then, as we, as the years went on in Jersey with my parents always being away and stuff and me hanging out with him, cause this kid was like, he was crazy. And we used to go out and we'd just, he'd sort of teach me his own way of doing things. Which is pretty much- look after yourself. And we would destroy my town. (Mel, p. 3)

Actually when I was 8 or whatever, I said there was a cousin in the neighborhood whose parents were really lax and let him do whatever he wanted. He was probably 15 years old and drinking beer and messing around- magazines and all that. I think I had access to porno magazines. (George, p. 8)

Before he (best friend) met his first girlfriend, he was pretty promiscuous. He'd go out and he really didn't care who he was with. And then he met one girl and he was with her for I'd say a good year and a half before she moved. And he was head over heels about her. And then after she moved away, he was with a bunch of different girls again until he met his most recent girlfriend- who he's been with now for five and a half years, I guess. ...Believe it or not, I think he started (being promiscuous) when he was 13. (Mel, p. 3)

I was just getting down. I mean in school, I'd find serenity in my friends and stuff. But after this (CSE) happened I just, you know, got close with my friends. By that age, 14, that's about the time, scary to say, but a lot of times kids start drinking around that age, experimenting with drinking. I may have started just a little maybe. ...No drugs or anything. Just, drugs didn't come until I was a junior in high school. That was just pot. Eventually, towards my junior year it was cocaine- and personally, I don't consider pot that drastic of a drug. (George, p. 9)

Well, everything I did, I did with Rick (best friend). And, well, let me just try to put this into perspective. Rick was the toughest kid in our town, okay. And when I started hanging out with him, I quickly came to notice that he had a lot of enemies, people who would just try to, you know, they'd try to prove themselves as the toughest person in town. So

what I found out was, Rick got into a lot of fights. And naturally, being his sidekick, I gradually got myself into that, too. And I don't know, I had fun going out with him. Just hanging out downtown. We'd just go out and we didn't usually just go out. We weren't looking for anything most of the time. And we would just be out just trying to have some good times for ourselves, and it would just lead to that. And eventually, it got to be kind of fun, but it was just, but as far as leisure and recreation, I mean, that could be anything from just sitting down at the computer, to going out at midnight, one o'clock in the morning all dressed up in fatigues, with the cork on the face and all that, and just having fun that way. Go out and just rip things apart. (Mel, pp. 8-9)

Yeah, we used to raise all hell. But like for the 2 years before we moved out to Massachusetts, my grandmother was babysitting us before my parents came home from work, and we'd be out raising hell with my cousins and such. We'd be doing whatever. And then before my father'd come home, she'd sit us down on the couch like angels. We'd sit down on the couch and he'd come walking in the door and just look down with a shit-eating grin on his face. Just, cause he knew that we were raising hell all day. (George, p. 3)

I'd come home (from school) and I'd do my homework. And then Rick would come over, and usually we'd go out during the day, downtown, where we would just like hang out and sort of have to see whether or not we were gonna get in a fight downtown. And at night time, you would see us get dressed up and just go out and, not like dressed up, but I mean dressed up in like fatigues or camouflage stuff, and we'd just go out around town and just like do little things here and here. (Mel, p. 5)

But when I was 14, I started you know, I made love for the first time when I was 16. And after that, I just started bopping 'em. You know all my girlfriends throughout the, that I had since eighth grade. In the course of 2 years, I probably made love with 11 girls. (George, p. 9)

I would go out with Rick, I'd give him a call. (He'd) come over and we'd take off somewhere. ...Well, no, I didn't like report it (CSE) to him every

time. I just generally told him what was going on. He was just like, he'd always have questions like, wow, you know, well what's going on. He thought it was fine. Sometimes he'd say that you know- you know the questions like, 'did you fuck her' and all that kind of stuff. He would never like say do this, do that. No, he never said anything like that. (Mel, p. 5)

The significance placed on peer acceptance and modeling oneself to social expectations stands out in these excerpts as influential in both of these men's lives. The attitudes and beliefs that were communicated through these relationships closely corroborate with those items that George and Mel selected on the Hypermasculinity Index. The variables that contributed to the strength and influence of these important alliances are discussed next in order to establish links between relationships with peers, with family, within oneself, and surrounding their respective CSEs.

Insecurities and Low Self-Confidence. Both men discussed their self-perceptions as children, which are suggestive of being introverted and lacking self-confidence. These descriptions may have a strong relationship between wanting to belong, and adhering closely to peer influences. Regardless of the amount of time spent with other children, it still seemed as if these two boys felt isolated and insecure:

And I guess at that point, I wasn't really listening to anybody. I was just sort of, you know, I think the best way of putting it was just me and my best friend, we were growing up together and that was it. He didn't live at my house. We were always together. ...Just the basic insecurities. I've never really had a lot of self-confidence. So it's been kind of difficult just getting out and meeting people, so I'd just pretty much be with my best friend. (Mel, pp. 1-2)

At 14, I was very reserved after that (CSE), very reserved, and quiet and introverted. But I realized what happened and I made sense of it and I know that this guy had a problem. And I didn't connect that with what may have happened previously, you know when I was eight. But when I was 14, I realized that this guy was either homosexual or whatever to do this to me. And after I had placed all this trust in him and you know, my whole family trusted this guy. Then to do this to me, I said 'what the hell, he's sick.' Cause I had trusted him. He just totally shattered that- it was just crazy. And I was just very introverted. And I never told anybody. I just rode it out for a while and it naturally faded.
(George, p. 8)

When I was 12? Oh, kind of pudgy, and probably happy. Kind of shy. I was really shy. I didn't open up really to anybody. I used to, when I was 16, I read one of those books by, I don't remember what the guy's name was, but it was a book called Intimate Connections. It was all about how to get some personal self-esteem and confidence and stuff like that. But before that, I was really shy. I didn't really talk to many people at all. I basically didn't really like people very much. (Mel, p. 2)

I just, when I, I'm fairly extroverted now. Like when I meet people, even at parties, I just, I'm very- very personable. But say in high school, in high school, it was more of a battle, the peer pressure, impress, and to be accepted. That's when it affected me. But now, I really can't say- maybe to a certain degree it's harder to be accepted. But, not harder to be accepted, but in a certain degree, yes, harder to be accepted. You know, it's just that feeling that you gotta work a little harder. (George, p. 12)

Well, I'm not the most confident person in the world. I'm a little bit more outgoing than I used to be. Actually, I'm a lot more outgoing, but I'm not very confident. ...Well, just since, I mean, let's see how to put this, maybe just because I started so young like that, it was just, sort of made me a little more confident or ready to deal with stuff that might have happened later on. No, self-confident, no. But, I mean confident in terms of sexual intercourse or sexual whatever. I'm just, me

personally, my confidence level's pretty bad. In terms of just like my future. Cause I just don't know what I want to do- things like that, you know. But in terms of me, my confidence level is not that great. But in terms of other people in relationships, I'd say I have pretty good confidence. (Mel, pp. 7-8)

Thirteen years since the first experience and seven years since the second experience. I think I have a, I don't know, I have a hard time maintaining a long relationship, a heterosexual relationship. Not that I'm homosexual. I'm far from homosexual. Since that time, I have had no experiences like that and I curse because of it. Totally, typical, heterosexual experiences. But I think that I have had a hard time maintaining a long term heterosexual relationship. I'm not sure if it stems from it (CSEs) or not. But this girl, I have deep feelings for and I just have a hard time keeping down- I mean I've cheated on her twice. Told her about it once. And I'm not sure if that's because I'm trying to impress or prove to someone that it's either myself or someone else that yes, here I am, hetero-, normal, heterosexual. But I just really think I have a hard time with others, maintaining that. But I think, I think males at my age, at least the males I'm around and where I come from, have a hard time staying with one girl. And then you've got another beautiful girl knocking on your door. And it's just a hard time for me to turn that down. (George, p. 10)

You know, I do have jealousy and, where's the word, sometimes I get insecure, that's the one, insecure about relationships. ...I guess it goes back to like before I read that book I talked about before. You know I just, I was never very outgoing. I never really felt like worthy. Not, worthy's not the right word. I never felt secure enough to just be myself. You know what I mean? (Mel, p. 8)

My college days are gone. And what lies in store with this girl in my life? Am I gonna cheat on her again? I expect that I'm going to- I mean that's awful. I don't, I wish there was something in me that wouldn't make me do it. At first there was. You know, there was that deep ridden love that you know I couldn't cheat on her. And I didn't-

for a year when I, actually it was probably 8 months, I cheated on her. I just wish there was something that could guarantee that I wouldn't cheat on her or something that would make me understand why I would. (George, pp. 10-11)

Similar self-reports have been presented by several other interviewed subjects, and by virtue of their reoccurrence, they pose the possibility that the developmental stressors of college might influence a young adult's sense of confidence in themselves. However, the descriptions that were forthcoming from these men enlarge the context within which they participated in a sexual experience as a child and add a coherence to their strong inclinations to feel identified with a significant peer in their lives. In these cases, it was a neighborhood boy or a continual girlfriend. These are profiles of youngsters who emphasize their introversion and mistrust of others, only to withdraw from social interactions or to overcompensate with repeated efforts to prove their self-worth. It is important to further weave together the nature of their family environments and the potential sources of this alienation and self-doubt. The sexual experiences that created the rationale for these interviews will then be adequately contextualized for analysis.

Family Stressors. Both of these men describe conflictual family environments that appear to add substantial confusion to their lives. George, in particular, describes repeated episodes of physical abuse at the hands of his father, and the anger that ensued toward his father is difficult to separate from the "raging spirit" he states feeling in reference to his sexual "molestation." Mel is less forthcoming about the problems he encountered at home, but it is apparent that he suffered great disappointments that his family was rarely available to him. In both circumstances, each boy had many

opportunities to be unsupervised in their communities, which can only increase the likelihood that potential sexual encounters will occur. These family difficulties appear to be in the process of emotional resolution for these men, although it is uncertain how much their resentments and disappointments still linger. The glorification of physical violence to protect oneself from being violated is one hallmark of the hypermasculine constellation of attitudes, and adherence to these values may indirectly provide outlets to resolve other betrayals and abandonments:

My father's very strict. And he always was. I mean there's three boys. We were hellions. We used to get the shit beat out of us. I mean not real bad. But bad enough. He was very strict. I don't mean fists or anything. But when he hit us with a belt, he didn't just let us go with one. He'd hit us a good fifteen times. Yet, that went on since I was younger. He was always an authoritative, authoritarian, rough type. (George, p. 2)

That's just because , I mean, I was just always used to having my mother around at some point, you know. And then when we moved to New Jersey and she got the new job, she was travelling a lot. She wasn't really home as much as she used to be. And my dad and I, I mean we got along sometimes but sometimes we didn't. And I never really liked to talk to my father very much. Now we talk a lot actually. Cause he's home a lot now. But my mother, she used to be the one that I'd always talk to. And she was usually the one who was there. And then after she got that job, she just wasn't around. (Mel, p. 2)

Well, like I said, we used to get the belt. I can recall one time when living in New York, this was probably just before we were about to move, maybe a year before we were gonna move. And there was laundry on the bed in the back room and someone had knocked it off the bed. And when my father came home, he was all upset and he had my brother Phillip and I, my brother just below me, he was probably 10 and I was probably 11, or 9 and 10. He come home from work and just called

us into his room and started hitting us with a belt. And neither of us had did it. And he just kept hitting. You always say no. And then I'd give in. ...That brother has since deceased...car accident. But that's real, that's a real touchy subject. (George, p. 3)

See, they (parents) fight a lot, usually. And my mom, I don't know, sometimes she says it's because she's had emotional problems. She's, I mean, we'll talk about it sometimes, but you know, that's really kind of personal, I think, if you don't mind. (Mel, p. 2)

Like I said before, my father was always, like just this past summer, said my brother went through it for some many years... referring to the hell that my father put us through. When we were going through that 14 year old stage, the teen stage, he'd give us all, he'd just come down on us for some reason. ...So it seemed like maybe he dragged me down. Cause I love my father despite the things he did. But I did have resentment for him in a way. (George, p. 4)

The new variables add to the complexities of this grand equation and set the scene for the sexual experiences that occurred within this evolving time frame. Both sets of parents are clearly not perceived as responsive or available to their children, and this lack of attention may have provoked these boys to seek out nurturance from other people. It may have also fostered a deeper experience of disconnection from the social world, parallel to the isolation that they may have felt in their families. Thus, there might have been ongoing tensions between the desire for a sense of belonging and acceptance, and the loneliness and isolation of feeling misunderstood and uncared for.

Individual Differences. The childhood sexual experiences that were disclosed by these men are strikingly different. Mel revels in the enjoyment

and playfulness of his recurring encounters with the family's live-in housekeeper. George continues to berate himself for participating in a sexual experience with an older male friend of the family, and only recently acknowledged the coercion and manipulation that defined an earlier molestation with a male cousin. Mel expresses concerns that other boys not recreate his experiences, however, he is able to enumerate many benefits and rewards that resulted from his CSEs. George, on the other hand, continues to feel anger and bitterness at his assailants, in addition to the resounding shame and self-recrimination that preoccupies his attentions. These differences amplify the importance of the child's experience surrounding their sexual encounters, with particular emphasis on the gender of the older participant. The specific nature of these experiences will be briefly reviewed and compared to the other accounts in this chapter.

Mel characterizes his sexual experiences with his housekeeper as fun, playful, exciting, curious, and an ego boost. He came to see this woman as a good friend in his life, even though he reported few lasting emotions when she eventually left after eighteen months in their home:

And it just started out as little like joke things. We'd always joke around with each other. She was real nice. And I don't know, it was just like maybe after about a year or maybe a little less than that, we just started playing around. And I guess it was fun. It was different. I liked it. ...And it just gradually moved to she would take off some of her clothes, and then I would, it was just regularly playing. And I'd just play with her boobs and she'd sort of touch me. I don't know. It was fun. I think I did like maybe touch her once or twice. Not very many times. She kissed me sometimes down there. Usually we were alone in the house. You know, I'd go up behind her every once in a while and I'd just sort of, I'd playfully bounce my hips against her rear. And she'd chase me a little bit. And then I'd kind of like wrestle her to the floor, whatever.

You know, just random. It would just happen every once in a while. She had a husband and a kid. She was separated from her husband. ...Sometimes, she'd just say stuff like 'I can't believe that I'm doing this,' or 'What the fuck's going on.' I didn't think too much about it either way. I just remember I sort of did it. I just remember that she was fun and I liked having her around. ...I think what she really just meant was why am I doing this with someone so young. She'd tell me things. I don't want to sound egotistical or anything, but she'd tell me things like, 'you're so cute' or 'you're so handsome.' I mean she didn't say it like every time but every once in a while she would say it. That would make me feel good. (Mel, pp. 4-5)

The gradual progression from joking, to wrestling, to fondling seems to have dispelled any surprise or fear for Mel. This woman was readily available to him and met his needs to feel liked and attractive. Mel was straightforward about the benefits he derived from these experiences:

I really didn't have any knowledge. I guess I was just taking it in and learning. You know, I just wanted to see what it was like. I mean I sort of got to see what felt good to me. And I learned more about a girl's body than you can just learn from like a magazine and stuff. ...I think they, I'm mean I'm very open about sex. I mean, I don't think there's anything wrong with it at all. Like I said before, I love it. I think it's great. I really don't think there was a negative side to it. I mean it sort of opened a new door for me, you what I mean? Just the sexual world. And I thought it was great. I had fun doing it. (Mel, pp. 4-7)

This account is unequivocally positive. It is difficult to find a hint of apprehension or an inconsistency in the recounting of the experience. His descriptions are more evocative of the first group of men who uniformly report positive experiences throughout their lives. Mel not only had an available outlet of support to confirm his decisions, he was also getting

confirmation of his masculinity from the older person directly. The only discrepancies in his collection of research protocols are his self-reports of having had a drug problem, treatment for emotional problems, and periods of sexual promiscuity and premature ejaculation. He also rated his current overall adjustment as just below average and his sexual adjustment as high. It may be perceived that the sexual sphere of Mel's life stands apart from other areas of adjustment, but it is more likely that a strong relationship exists between the social context in which he had his sexual experiences, his male identity formation, and how he currently adapts to interpersonal tasks. Within a widely sanctioned male ethic of orchestrating frequent sexual performances, the criteria for appraising successful sexual adjustment may overlook the qualitative dimensions of Mel's interactions. He even advocates for greater attention in this arena:

The disadvantages of being a man is, sometimes girls have a really unique way of looking at things. I think it's really cute and I think it's adorable. You know, some of the things that they can look at and really feel about. I could look at and just not really give a shit, you know. And I'd say that maybe a disadvantage of being a man is that just maybe the way I've been conditioned in terms of being a man that sometimes things that maybe I should have a little more concern about or more feelings about, I just don't. They don't affect me. Such as sometimes other people's feelings. I mean, I'm not the, I think I am caring. But I don't think I'm as caring as I could be. (Mel, pp. 9-10)

On the other end of the spectrum, George epitomizes a male who struggles to contain the rage and shame he felt as a result of being sexually misused by two older males. His defiance about his heterosexuality appears to be fueled by strong homophobia, so that the same emotional climate that

heralded Mel's sexual pursuits condemned George for being coerced, and for being confused. He perceives his trust in people to have been sorely betrayed, and his references to being "caught in something I couldn't get out of" acutely describes the bound up nature of his unresolved anger and self-blame. George has only recently felt able to discuss a portion of his story with one girlfriend "cause I just couldn't hold it back anymore," (p. 9) and the strength of his desires to break years of silence and secrecy is only unmatched by his need to understand how these sexual experiences have affected "the way I make relationships and how comfortable I feel in certain predicaments " (p. 12). The following excerpts provide direct testimony of these dilemmas:

The experience that I'm talking about now, it also happened before with that other 8 year old (cousin), also with my 16 year old cousin. The first time it happened at my great-grandmother's house. And he was there. And then another time, I don't know when it was, it was at my house. And all's I, I really can't recall how it started. But he, I don't know, he coaxed me into a bathroom with him. And then, you know, he was reassuring, oh it's okay, it's okay. And then you know, he did whatever- I just don't like saying it. Fellatio. Yeah, he made me do that to him. And that's what he had done the previous time. See okay. The first time, I knew he had made my cousin do that to him. The one who I had said previously I had a lot of trust in. You know we had this bond just me and my cousin. So that made it seem that it was alright for me to do that. (George, p. 5)

But one time, it seemed like the time I was speaking about, when we were up in that bathroom in my house, he, my brothers were outside the door and it seemed that they knew what we were doing, you know what I mean. And that was the first time I ever remember feeling embarrassment. Like you know that surge you get through your whole body. It's like and then you blush. And ever since then, it was, that was the first time I think I ever remember doing that for him. It really

drove deep. If there was one thing I wish I could erase, it was just that one experience, that feeling. Cause it was just deep and embarrassment. (George, p. 5)

That was another person. Crazy stuff. But yeah, it happened again. That was a friend of the family. After we'd moved... I'd been thrown out of the house at the time. I think I was a sophomore in high school. My father and I were having trouble. ...He was like one of the first people we met. And me and my brothers used to go bowling with him. And he met my parents. My parents approved of the guy. They still do to this day. And they don't know about this. But he knows, I keep my distance from him. I have no use for the guy. I think he's slime for what he did. (George, p. 2)

I was having trouble at home I guess right before. I had been having trouble with my father for quite a while. And he was a good friend. And he had an apartment that was just one block, so you know, I went up there one night. He didn't have another bed. So I slept in the same one he did. And just you know, facing the other way than he was. He was facing one way. I was facing the other. And just he came over and put his hand on my hip or whatever. And I was, you know. I was nervous as hell. A rush of adrenalin came through my body. And then, he did it to me. Oral stimulation, whatever. And I was like what the hell is going on. Course, at the time, lips are lips, about the same. But afterwards, it was like, wow, what the fuck did you do. I didn't ejaculate or anything. I never had. ...It was just like I was sleeping, and he, you know, like I said, he started doing that to me and after he was done, I just, I took off. And he came down and asked 'What's the matter?' And I said, 'You know exactly what the fuck's the matter. I kicked his car. Put a dent in his car, whatever, just took off. Didn't talk to him after that. But when I did eventually get thrown out of the house, I went back to stay with him. Cause that was the only place I could go. (George, p. 6)

The first one was molestation. Well, okay, you've got sexual abuse, okay, that is abuse. I mean that's abusing sex for, this was where this person was abusing it. Personally, I was at the age of 8. But this person was

because he knew I didn't know better. So he was abusing it. ...The second one, I don't know why I let it happen. Cause I could have stopped it right at the beginning. But I don't know what you would call that. I've got a lot of blame there. Because there I did, I could have stopped it. (George, p.6)

Before, I'm trying to think, and I think that it did happen twice. I can say for sure it never happened twice orally. But it may have happened. I just wanted to go to bed, you know. That was a place to sleep. So, and then I felt his hand on me, it was like, 'holy shit.' That's when I felt that surge- sort of anxious to what might happen, what might happen next. And scared. During, I was slightly curious cause you know, how do you know what the hell's under the sheets. You know, when someone's doing that to you, you don't know if it's a male or a female. It's awful. I hate saying that now but it's true. I was a little scared then, too. Slightly, you know, I was anxious. I just wish, I wished it wasn't happening, you know? I really did. But that's like saying you cheated on somebody. You know it feels good but you wish it wasn't happening, you know. I don't know how to describe that... resentment, maybe. Okay, and afterwards was definitely resentment and embarrassment. (George, p. 7)

Not that he forced me or anything, but I just had this rage through me. I don't know if you've ever got that surge of adrenalin through you. You know, you could move mountains. But I just had that . I was like, ooh... (George,p. 11)

The slogans that are going around now, like nationally advertised stuff- Like, don't let people touch you and stuff like that. Don't, you can't trust people. I mean that's scary, but you just can't trust 'em now. (George, p. 11)

Not if they're queer. I'm sorry. I couldn't deal with them. Cause I mean I'm just, I have no use for them now. Not that I had any use for them like I did before, but I'm not saying I did before. I'm just saying that I have no respect for them. I think they're the lowest form of life- and I

just couldn't possibly sit in the same room with homosexuals. Normal heterosexuals, without a lisp, I could talk to. (George, p. 12)

I really think that that one jolt of embarrassment I felt when I was eight years old really shook me. ...it's really come to the surface. (p. 12)

George speaks pointedly about his shame, mistrust, and anger and it has now become clear to him that these feelings have festered under the "surface." Many levels of confusion can be found throughout these passages, in the same way that the men in the third group questioned their levels of responsibility and pleasure, their willingness to trust, and their sense of betrayal. George may have conformed to a hypermasculine belief system at a time when he most needed confirmation that he could expel his frustrations through acts of aggression and violence, or that he could reaffirm his heterosexuality by moving through a series of sexual conquests and warding off any hint of homosexuality. As the multiple layers of distress continue to unfold, these attitudes and behaviors may transform and, ultimately, soften.

Summary. These intricate profiles provide a fitting conclusion to a chapter, who's intention was to bring the wide array of contextual variables together in it's most interconnected form and application. As we approached the last group of students, a number of templates had been created, so that facets of these two men's experiences were far more identifiable than when this analysis began. The following chapter will review these contextual patterns and reflect upon how the qualitative data informs the results from quantitative measures. These preliminary signposts will hopefully guide the way of theory building and clinical intervention with males who are also questioning their early and current sexual experiences.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This concluding chapter draws together the information that was presented in the preceding four chapters in order to answer the original research questions that guided this investigation. In order to accomplish this goal, it is first necessary to synthesize the results that were generated from this study before approaching each research question independently. The quantitative data will first be reviewed, in relationship to the applicable literature in the field. The overriding directional trends that arose in these results will be noted, along with a running critique of the ways in which more precise data could be elicited in future research. The prominent themes that arose in the qualitative data will also be summarized, particularly in an attempt to establish a cross referencing of variables between subject groups. The influence of researcher bias on the organization and implementation of this study will then be examined, including personal reflections on the processing and meaning making that occurred for this researcher in the analysis and discussion of the data. This will set the stage for direct responses to the five initial research questions that constituted the problems to be investigated in this research. These questions inquire into all of the aforementioned interrelationships- correlating between types of data, discerning levels of meaning ascription, and translating this information into potentially viable research and clinical applications in the future. Where facets of questions cannot adequately be answered, the limitations of the

research will be accounted for. The chapter will offer a succinct summary of these responses in its final concluding section.

Quantitative Results Revisited

The research sample that comprised the basis of this study revealed few surprising characteristics. This predominantly white and unmarried group of 18-22 year old males reported high rates of intact and happy families, and not surprisingly, indicated that their mothers were more nurturing and their fathers were more professionally accomplished. The findings that approximately 20-25% of surveyed students who reported witnessing marital violence or experiencing verbal abuse or emotional neglect is consistent with other family violence research (Gelles & Strauss, 1988). This local research sample has also approximated a larger sample of students nationwide in their successful adjustment (academically and interpersonally) to college, and the majority of students indicated an overall low identification with hypermasculine attitudes and beliefs.

Past and current sexual practices elicited a modal profile detailing the boy's first date at age 16 and intercourse at age 17. Half of these men in the total sample were currently engaged in sexual intercourse with women, after 3-10 such similar experiences, and one third of the group was also masturbating at least 1-5 times each month. The sexual history questions were strongly biased toward heterosexual activity and thus, they were unable to elicit adequate information about current homosexual practices or previous questioning or confusion about sexual identity. Although one third of the respondents reported some post-pubescent homosexual encounter, these percentages narrowed significantly to 7-10% after age 16 to the present. A

more extensive series of inquiries into past and present sexual attitudes, fantasies, and practices would have been more instructive and revealing to the research undertaken.

Current base measures of sexual adjustment suggest that at least one third of all college men admit to sexual difficulties, preoccupations, and promiscuity. These men tended to rate their sexual adjustment as lower than their overall adjustment, and this is likely to reflect developmental and peer expectations to master sexual performance skills in preparation for later courtship and marriage. It is likely that sexual anxieties would tend to run higher in this age group, particularly when the variety and frequency of sexual opportunities increases significantly in college, and young adults are struggling to define their sexual identities.

The prevalence of men who reported a childhood sexual experience with a significantly older person in this project closely conformed to two other prevalence studies conducted (Timock, 1985; Fromuth & Burkhart, 1987). The 18% frequency of CSEs falls at the upper end of the national random survey results (Timock, 1985) and just below the 20% rate uncovered in the research (Fromuth & Burkhart, 1987) from which this present study is replicated. These results are twice as high as the original pilot college survey (9%) that preceded these subsequent investigations (Finkelhor, 1979), and the source of these discrepancies still remains unclear. It can be speculated that after a decade of media exposure and literature attention to the realities of inappropriate childhood sexual encounters, men and women are feeling more permission and less stigmatization to openly discuss these experiences.

It was an oversight in the LEI questionnaire to not allow students to indicate any coercive or forceful sexual interactions before the age of twelve. In the description of the criteria for what CSEs to elaborate upon, forceful or

nonconsensual experiences were not even adequately delineated for those subjects over twelve. Hence, only a couple of students indicated a coercive CSE that did not conform to the other age criteria. It would have been more useful to have explored the subtle variations in overall childhood sexual experiences in a separate section characterizing all childhood sexual encounters. In this way, we could arrive at more specific distinctions between CSEs that were playful, benign, confusing, and coercive. Many of these questions were intentionally omitted in order to keep the LEI to a reasonable length, however more specific inquiries into stressful CSEs, regardless of the age of the participants would have been beneficial.

When comparing the CSE group to those students who did not allege engaging in a CSE, higher levels of family conflict in the CSE group closely conform with these qualitative findings and with other research in the field of family violence (Green, 1980; Gelles & Strauss, 1988). Higher frequencies of marital discord, marital violence, and child abuse occurred in families where the male child had experienced a CSE. More frequent punishments and scolding for sexual behaviors with CSE subjects is likely to reflect their heightened interest in sexuality as a result of their sexual experiences. There are numerous theories (McFarlane & Waterman, 1986; Friedrich et al. 1986) that purport that children symbolically act out their experiences as a way of resolving their confusions and fears, and the literature on child sexual abuse reports a variety of sexualized behaviors in those children prematurely exposed to sexual stimuli. It is also likely that these admonitions more often occurred due to explorations of one's sexuality at inappropriate times or places, as a way of trying to process the sexual encounters. However, as noted in Chapter IV, it is also conceivable that these men came from families where

parents adhered to more sexually repressed attitudes, thus creating a more enticing and forbidden area of exploration for the child.

Differences in sexual adjustment between these two groups point to a small trend in lower sexual self-esteem and higher sexual dysfunction in males who report a CSE. These results are far from statistically significant, and are further compounded by perceptual discrepancies in the self-reports from CSE subjects (compared to the non-CSE group) of more positive sexual adjustment, in addition to identifying themselves more often as having a sexual problem. Subjects reporting CSEs tended to be less sexually active with partners currently and more likely to engage in masturbation. Independent measures of adjustment and hypermasculinity did not reveal any differences between groups, which is either indicative of relatively similar adjustment processes for all students, regardless of their early sexual experiences, or to the shameful barriers to disclosing personal difficulties that preclude accurate reporting of these situations. The 3:1 ratio of men in the CSE group who were treated for emotional problems could be indicative of a stronger negative impact of CSEs on males, in conjunction with a positive impact of early psychological treatment in ameliorating these difficulties over time. There are no definitive ways of confirming either of these hypotheses.

A comparative glance at the characteristic data of the CSE group in relation to other college studies indicates extremely strong concurrence with the mean frequencies overviewed in Chapter II. There was virtually no variance in any descriptive variable of the sexual event, except for slightly higher incidences in other studies of stranger CSEs (17% vs. 3%) and experiences involving penetration (29% vs. 17%), and slightly lower frequencies of juvenile older participants (41% vs. 50%) and CSEs within the family (20% vs. 30%). These differences, however, were minimal. This last

correlation certainly suggests that this quantitative profile of boys who were engaged sexually by older people is highly consistent with other existing accounts and serves to strengthen the empirical knowledge that is already available of this population.

A major flaw in the questionnaire design was the omission of several questions that asked those subjects reporting a CSE to choose a definition of the sexual act that best defines how they perceived the interaction, during and after the CSE, and currently. This would have added a new level of analysis, comparing the recurring CSE-specific variables in each account that fit the various definitions of sexual abuse, sexual misuse, seduction, sexual play, or any terms that the subject wanted to write in on his own. Due to this oversight, the CSEs reported by the men who were not available or who did not volunteer for an interview cannot be categorized in terms of the type of interaction they would define the interactions to be.

There has been no research to date that has delineated between CSEs before and after age twelve, so the findings that arose between these groups have no basis of comparison. However, these results stimulate some interesting discussion. According to the differences noted in Chapter IV, younger boys are much more likely to participate in an intrafamilial CSE, which is well documented in the literature (Finkelhor, 1984; Faller, 1989), and older boys are more likely to engage in a sexual encounter with an older friend or acquaintance. CSEs with older boys seemed to involve twice as many incidences of force and fondling, and at least five times more episodes of intercourse and alcohol consumption. This may explain the higher rates of fear, shock, embarrassment, and shame that these adolescents reported. More older boys (42% vs. 29%) also felt excited, despite also feeling that the experience was more negative at the time. As the qualitative data will attest to,

boys in the midst of their most significant sexual development, who are then coerced or ambivalently led into a CSE, particularly with an older male, are often prematurely confronted with frightening questions about their sexual identity. On the other hand, those older boys who feel initiated into a perceived gentle and caring sexual encounter with an older woman, more often feel a boost of sexual confidence, which they report propels them to seek out other gratifying sexual situations. These two phenomenon may explain how CSE subjects generated higher frequencies of current sexual activity and lower rates of sexual self-esteem. The significant differences in reported levels of sexual problems, promiscuity, sexual dissatisfaction, and premature ejaculation bears testimony to the confusion that older boys experience as they struggle to come to terms with their sexual identity. The high levels of sexual promiscuity in this older group strongly demonstrates the need to repeatedly assert one's sexual competence with multiple partners. These results are even more informative when looking at gender differences of the older participant.

Family variables between these younger and older CSE groups also corroborate some of the qualitative findings. Younger boys who engaged in sexual activities within the family (or extended family) were more likely to be exposed to other inappropriate family interactions (e.g. violence, abuse, generational or sexual boundary confusion). Intrafamilial CSEs appear to be more symptomatic of larger family disturbances, which make the specific impact of the CSE difficult to separate from other environmental stressors. Older boys, reported feeling more alienated and misunderstood by their families, provoking them to spend more time in the community, looking to fulfil heightened needs for acceptance, closeness, and warmth from others. It is not surprising that many of these boys encountered sexual opportunities

that were seen as nurturing gestures to shelter the boy from his own loneliness.

Demographic idiosyncrasies between CSE-Male and CSE-Female subjects were too insignificant statistically (due to small frequencies) to even comment upon. Boys who were invited into a CSE with an older male experienced more oral-genital contact and more coercion, as opposed to the CSE-Female students who described more kissing, hugging, and intercourse. If distinctions can be drawn on the basis of sexual acts alone, boys who were sexual with older women were shown more physical affection and warmth, in comparison to same-gender sexual encounters which involved less physical closeness and embracing of one another's bodies.

The differences in perceptual evaluations of these experiences illustrates the powerful impact of homophobia that pervades the boy's environment. From the child's earliest days in grade school, the name calling and belittlement of males often involves slurred references to being gay. It is not surprising, therefore, that boys who are or become aware of the potential implications of a same gender sexual experience might react in a similar way to the subjects in this study: with shame, confusion, fear, anger, upset, hurt, and helplessness. It is possible that the higher levels of force and coercion reported in these CSEs also involved threats to keep silent, however, the literature is too plentiful with references to the shame and fear of exposing one's masculinity for public scrutiny to otherwise explain why 65% of the subjects in the CSE-Male group chose not to tell anyone (versus 35% for the CSE-Female subjects).

It is impossible to separate the actual CSE experience from the subsequent reactions that the child later had or received from others about the meaning of his sexual experience. As noted in the follow-up interviews,

almost all of the boys who engaged in sexual relations with older females told a friend about their experiences and they were praised and congratulated for their accomplishments. This may explain why none of these men reported that their CSE had a negative impact on their life. We might only imagine if boys continually heard from kindergarten on that homosexual experiences were the pinnacle of heroism and honor, how the CSE-Male group might have processed their experiences differently.

For the subjects in the CSE-Male group, it is also difficult to extract these overwhelmingly negative perceptions of their CSE from their developing sexual self-esteem and later sexual experiences. It follows then, that boys who felt distressed and confused by an early sexual encounter might perceive his subsequent sexual interactions as awkward, unsatisfying, and problematic. This is likely to be a combination of keeping the distress private, which exacerbates the sense of isolation from others, and being unable to resolve the sexual confusion that arose as a result of the CSE. Again, these speculations will be further strengthened by the qualitative results that are revisited in the next section of this chapter.

Summary. The quantitative findings that this research generated places it well within the range of other reported studies. This empirical data confirms our knowledge that boys frequently engage in sexual experiences with an equal ratio of older males and females, with whom they are well acquainted. These males are also clearly affected by these events in their lives, most notably in their subsequent sexual adjustment throughout adolescence and young adulthood. Younger boys who are prematurely exposed to sexual activities are less likely than older boys to feel a strong negative impact from the CSE in their lives. However, these boys are at higher risk of

having their sexuality abused, along with other forms of maltreatment within the family. Older boys clearly have their sexual development more abruptly arrested and incur significant impairments to their sexual self-identity, particularly when their CSE involved an older male. This study supports other existing accounts that assert that boys who engaged in sexual acts with older women perceive far less negative influence in their lives, and it will be demonstrated how these males also participate in a far wider and more reinforcing support network than CSE-Male subjects, based on widespread cultural sanctioning of early heterosexual adventures for adolescent boys. These sanctions work to stigmatize and isolate boys who fear that CSEs with males will signify their homosexuality, thus, inhibiting them from making the same efforts to seek out social confirmation and understanding.

Qualitative Results Revisited

The extensive analysis of interview transcripts already undertaken in Chapter IV will not be repeated here. Instead, the salient features interspersed throughout all of the qualitative data will be synthesized and discussed. The purpose of this review is to reestablish a contextual terrain in which to juxtapose one group of students with the other groups. There is an interactive relationship between the characteristics that surfaced on the quantitative measures and the elaborations of these variables in the structured interviews. This relationship will be examined in light of the discrepancies and consistences between the types of information that were elicited.

The presence or absence of early family life stressors constituted the criteria for membership in the first two groups investigated. The distinctive features between these groups was the direct experience of trust, support, and

predictability in the child's life that either allowed him to foster interpersonal attachments, or compelled him to retreat from social interactions. These fundamental experiences of oneself as either belonging within the family structure and being sustained by it, or feeling emotionally neglected and tussled by the family's ineffectual efforts to resolve conflicts, seems to promote a map of the world that is either welcoming of the child's experiences, or insensitive to the pain of others. Within each frame of reference, a certain adaptive process unfolds that may strengthen or repattern itself, depending upon whether the significant adults in the child's life reinforce or dispel his early experiences within his family.

Developmentally, the demands to engage more concertedly in peer relationships as the child moves through puberty and into adolescence intersect with the child's past patterns of coping within his family, propelling him to seek out confirmation of his own competence and adequacy (which has already been previously nurtured), or to avoid fulfilling an intolerable prophesy of incompetence and inadequacy, that was also shaped and misguided at home. There also seem to be those youngsters who overcompensate for their perceived lack of confidence by surrounding themselves with incessant social distractions which create the illusion of belonging and connectedness. Privately, these men suffer the same isolation and loneliness that those boys feel who can't bear to have their vulnerabilities inadvertently exposed in the act of relationships.

When a childhood sexual experience occurs, with a person who, by virtue of their age, size, experience, endowed authority, or knowledge holds a strong and powerful influence over the child, the boy is exposed to sexual stimulation which cannot help but raise curiosities and confusions about one's sexuality. Regardless of this individual's gender or the degree of coercion

employed to gain compliance from the child, the child often has a direct experience of physiological arousal, varying levels of emotional comfort, preliminary awareness of social perceptions about sexuality, and a sense of one's own control or helplessness over these experiences. These sexual occurrences, according to the interview transcripts, reactivate the ways in which the child has learned to gain mastery and control over the primary environment where he lives. Again, he may utilize available resources in his support network to normalize or condone his sexual activities; he may thrust himself into various other sexual encounters as a way of imposing an illusion of control over these interactions, or he may choose seclusion from any interactions that might dislodge his feelings of helplessness or confusion. These adaptive stances recreate old patterns of responding to stress and co-create new meanings about one's sexual identity and sexual self-esteem.

For boys who participate in sexual encounters with other males, there is a prevailing social current which denotes strong condemnation of these activities, and this censure becomes embedded in the ecology of ideas surrounding the child. Within this context, meaning gets reconstructed to include an internalized recrimination of oneself as bad, blameworthy, or defective. Without any perceived outlets to discredit or subvert these beliefs, the child seems destined to fortify barriers of silence and shame to contain these perceived admissions of homosexuality, until at some point, he begins to feel like a "loaded cannon" who can't hold it in any longer.

For boys who are engaged in sexual activities with older women, a similar social influence becomes operationalized, which also impedes upon the child's innate rights to self-determination. This involves a pervasive social description of a boy who fails to capitalize on all available heterosexual opportunities as anti-macho, inadequate, or not interested in sex. This can

even take on the same debilitating connotations of being homosexual. For the men in this study in the CSE-Female group, there was shame in their confusion, and ambivalence about their apprehensions, despite the availability of peer support to reframe their confusions as strength and fortitude.

There were many interrelated variables that modified and reconstructed some of these dynamics significantly. The extent to which the child was subjected to blurred sexual and generational boundaries within his family and neighborhood seemed to impair the child's ability to discern between later appropriate and abusive transgressions of sexual boundaries. Inconsistent parental supervision and freedoms to move independently throughout the community increased the risk that the child would encounter a potentially sexual opportunity. This was strongly correlated to the child's hunger for appropriate male role models and his need for attention and companionship. For some boys, this resulted in strict adherence to attitudes and behaviors sanctioned by peers that would insure a sense of acceptance and belonging. It was not uncommon for these peers to model deviant, aggressive, and calloused behaviors, which promoted strong identification with hypermasculine beliefs and attitudes. This added a new factor into the meaning making equation, magnifying the need to avenge all perceived violations and threats to one's manhood, or to glorify and exalt all heterosexual conquests as prized trophies. To some degree, this constellation of ideas influenced the ways in which every man in this study processed his sexual experiences.

What also became readily apparent from these findings was the mediating impact of the child's level of interest, curiosity, and excitement during the sexual experience itself. There seemed to be a natural progression that occurred for some men from everyday childhood amusements to the suspense and excitement of discovering new sensations that were not

experienced as jolting or disruptive to the child. The element of playfulness, particularly for younger children, was portrayed as consonant with many other aspects of their life at the time, and was not initially perceived as unusual or out of the ordinary. For those boys who were already defining clear parameters around sexual behavior as taboo or forbidden, their experiences were more surprising and unsettling. For adolescents, the lack of any forceful means of protest or resistance seemed to signify consent, personal liability, and even the belief that they had initiated the sexual encounter. Thus, the developmental level of the child, coupled with his immediate experience of the sexual activity, had a prominent impact on the adult's later sexual and interpersonal adjustment.

The variable most intimated and least acknowledged in the transcripts was the sexual identity confusion that preoccupied a majority of these males. Some men were able to openly discuss the questions they faced about their sexual orientation. However, it was more common for a majority of these men to deny any confusion that might have arisen from their sexual encounters with other males. Some males just opted to suppress or extinguish the memories of these events from their conscious awareness. The child may have been introduced to this survival technique while under the influence of alcohol during the sexual event or subsequently thereafter, creating the belief that this kind of misconduct was mitigated by forces outside of his control. Several accounts contained strong indications that the student was actively resisting the remote possibility that there might be some sexual identity confusion, particularly in light of active defiance of any potential link with pleasurable reactions to the sexual experience. These men seemed to be the most hindered by the impact of this event in their life.

In contrast, those men who, through repeated opportunities to talk about and question their experiences, came to confront and accept these occurrences, were ultimately able to transform their perceptions of these events into lessons and knowledge to help them in the future. They were able to get sufficient social validation of their concerns as important, common, and resolvable so as to shed any lingering beliefs about themselves as impaired or defective. This occurred for some men, even when the older participant was another male. This documentation is further evidence of the powerful role of social supports and bearing witness to one's experiences publicly. Perhaps this is the same key ingredient that continues to make twelve-step recovery groups helpful to so many people. It also highlights the fluidity and malleability of the meanings and perceptions that people associate with significant events in their lives. For several of these men, meanings did evolve and transform over time.

There were a variety of other factors that were not apparent in these personal accounts that warrant brief mention. Given the limited representation of subjects, it is highly probable that many other contrasting profiles were not investigated and should not be overlooked. Specifically, only two accounts described evidence of physical force. We have yet to examine those childhood sexual interactions that were violent or terrorizing. This kind of experience may incite a far more dysfunctional profile, one that is deeply entrenched in self-protective coping responses that avoid any threats of emotional danger. There were also no accounts of a CSE when the older person was a parent or caretaker. The degree of trust in, and dependence on this person for the child's survival can easily be shattered by such an experience, setting in motion a hypervigilance to any other potential sources of betrayal. Finally, there were no examples of CSEs involving bribery, pornography, or

prostitution, whereby the child was used or photographed sexually in exchange for money or safe assurance that no harm or violence would be perpetrated on someone. These extreme deviations on the experiences reported in this project do occur regularly, and the impact of this trauma on the child's adult adjustment deserves further exploration.

The quantitative findings have also revealed that there are numerous experiences that males choose not to discuss openly with others. Non-interactive research measures seem to allow these men the selective ability to choose what experiences they feel comfortable to disclose, while the anonymous nature of the protocols enhances the likelihood that they will report something. Particularly with men who have had several sexual experiences with other men, many of these incidences were more likely to be forgotten and underreported. Given the high frequency of male sexual offenders in the literature, we can only imagine that the results obtained here are conservative and attenuated. In contrast, the interactional facet of the structured interview allowed some men the freedom to speak more openly about the impact of these CSEs on their life, sometimes for the first time. If for no other reason than to simply take stock of and account for previous experiences, this process provided an airing out of old emotional cobwebs, and seemed to be an emotionally cleansing process for some of these men.

Summary. The qualitative results that have been summarized here refine what has previously been uncovered by the quantitative results in this study. Boys are more likely to see sexual experiences with other males as far more negative and problematic in their lives. Older boys, specifically, show more behavioral signs of sexual difficulties, while younger boys, who were sexual with a family member, may have more long-term emotional difficulties

as a result of various other stressors in their lives. Interview data further elaborated on the intricate link between early self-concept formation, interpersonal adaptations to stress, socially embedded ideas about male sexuality, and access to nurturing, supportive others with whom to talk over these experiences. The majority of the men surveyed here were uncertain about their sexual participations, and a majority of men, in retrospect, reevaluated their CSE as sexual misuse. As the social climate becomes more receptive to the potential realities of sexual misuses to boys, this may allow more males to share their stories with others and to unravel the influences of these experiences in their lives.

The Recursive Influence of Researcher Bias

Few research projects are undertaken without a preliminary hypothesis to be tested and hopefully supported. This study was guided by an appreciation of the social ecology of ideas about male sexual development, and a sensitivity to the potent inhibiting influences of cultural homophobia. The various assumptions and beliefs that fueled this project arose from the researcher's skepticism that men's accounts of their sexual lives could readily be accepted at face value. In other words, what men said about their sexual experiences needed to be tempered by the social context in which these stories were constructed, and closely cross-checked by reliable indicators of interpersonal functioning. With this bias firmly in place, the study was organized to evaluate the consistency of men's perceptions of their sexual development from a variety of different sources.

There was also a strong bias inherent in the presentation of this project that clearly suggested that sexual interactions between children and

significantly older people was at the very least, inappropriate, and in its fullest manifestation, abusive. These values were personally shaped by the pressures and fears of becoming sexually active before feeling prepared or educated, and by the realization of the emotional maturity needed to integrate sexual experiences into one's life without dissociating sex from intimacy. In the same way that children should be allowed every opportunity to excel academically, athletically, socially, and artistically at their own pace and in their own ways, it is also believed that children should be allowed to develop sexually, unimpeded by the subtle and overt requests from more powerful people in their lives to prematurely engage in sexual activities. These potentially intimidating power imbalances are as likely to occur amongst peers as between children and adults, and yet, as the "male ethic" so decisively dictates, these advances should be met with self-reliance, self-assuredness, and the ability to protect oneself at all times.

Regardless of the gender of the other person, there are few socially sanctioned avenues available to men to talk about their sexual discomforts, confusions, and apprehensions. This dissertation was a small effort to evaluate the need for more open discussions about male sexual experiences. The interview format and follow-up questions were designed to elicit the distinctions that men devise between different types of sexual interactions. This goal was accomplished. As expected, there is still a prevailing notion about sexual "abuse," particularly for males, that necessitates the presence of physical force, lack of consent, and humiliation. More males, however, are beginning to delineate between the subtle manipulations and intentionality of older and more knowledgeable people as sexual misuses of their position with the child. This may also be a direct function of the specific questions posed to elicit these responses. This distinguishing between types of sexual

interactions, usually in a more hypothetical and depersonalized context, seemed to clarify the student's own frame of reference, from which to then evaluate his own sexual experiences. This process was one of the most valuable procedures upheld in this study.

In retrospect, it was inevitable that these biases would influence the ways in which the data was elicited and presented. Every effort was made to allow the men's stories to guide the analysis, and in some ways, they transformed this researcher's universal beliefs about the impact of inappropriate sexual experiences on children. It was important to be reminded of the ways in which children approach the exploration and experimentation of their sexuality- in the same ways that they approach a game, an unsolved mystery, or a challenging adventure. It now seems more comprehensible how a CSE might naturally evoke the same kinds of curiosities and playfulness that the child experiences in other aspects of his life, in a slow, progressive, and caring context. Aside from the pleasures and fun that the child might experience, there are also emotional consequences that arise for the child from these interactions. This aftermath has yet to be adequately demonstrated as free of distress and confusion, and there is still an overriding concern that the older person's advanced maturity allows him or her to walk away less affected than the child, who may ultimately feel used and manipulated. These concerns need more focused attention in future research studies looking at the dissolution of sexual relationships in adolescence.

Finally, it became increasingly less important what labels and language were used to characterize CSEs for boys, and more instructive to create opportunities to simply review these incidents, uninhibited by social constructions of healthy, normal, and aberrant sexual interactions. It also became clearer throughout the course of this investigation that to impose a

confining definition onto someone's experience does nothing to alter the realities of that experience for the person; whereas the freedom to reconstruct his own perceptions of these events, may ultimately be more transformative than any other intervention. It presupposes that we be comfortable tolerating and using more cumbersome language that neutralizes these social influences rather than the ready-made labels that are easy to resort back to, such as abuse, victim, and molestation.

The Initial Research Questions

We return full circle to the original research questions that directed this study. We have a final built in assessment tool to monitor the success of this project, depending upon the ability to adequately respond to these five inquiries. Each question will be addressed in turn

- 1) In what frequency do college men experience childhood sexual experiences with older or more powerful participants? What are the characteristics of these experiences, specific to the sexual events and to the family environment in which the child lives? What are men's self-reported perceptions of these experiences at the time of the event and how do they evaluate the impact and influence of these experiences on their current lives?

This chapter has attempted to summarize the answers to these questions and has hopefully demonstrated the importance of providing men with opportunities to ask these questions of themselves. It was not surprising that many of the men interviewed had not thought about the ways in which these experiences had influenced their lives. They may have not been introspective about most things; they may have attributed other significant variables as

more relevant to their adjustment; or they simply may have been unaware of the impact that childhood sexual experiences can have for adult males. This study has shown that self-reported perceptions of a CSE do not always correspond to their actual problems in living, or to independent measures of adjustment.

2) What differences exist between what men anonymously report as the impact of these experiences on their lives and more objective measures of young adult adjustment? Are there relationships between certain variables of these experiences that correlate to better or worse adult adjustment for men?

As stated earlier, several men reported positive perceptions of their CSE and scored well below national norms for interpersonal adult adjustment or higher than most men on the hypermasculinity index. This does not, however, suggest a causal relationship, due to the other prominent variables that mediate an impact on later adult adjustment. A brief review of these factors include, conflictual family environment (including marital violence, child abuse, and blurred sexual and generational boundaries), poor self-image and social withdrawal, sexual identity confusion, denial and suppression (including alcohol/drug use and abuse), and most importantly, limited social supports and restricted opportunities to openly discuss these experiences. The other contributing variables, which are applicable in any occurrence of a CSE, are the developmental age of the child, the use of force or violence, the level of trust and dependence on the older participant, the experience of the CSE as positive, and the gender of the older person. These latter characteristics are more situationally specific and do not take into consideration the former contextual variables. Neither set of contributing elements surrounding the

CSE exist without the other, and this study has attempted to highlight the interrelationships between the social context, adaptive coping styles, and CSE-specific characteristics.

3) How do differences in traditional gender-role identification influence the ways in which males evaluate potentially abusive sexual experiences as a child? Does gender identification in males correlate more specifically to differences in meaning ascription dependent upon the gender of the older participant in the sexual experience?

Of the ten men interviewed, half of these subjects scored in the middle to high range on the Hypermasculinity Index. There were clear distinctions between these men, depending upon the gender of the older participant. Boys who interacted sexually with older women were far more likely to experience these CSEs as positive, to get positive peer reinforcement for their choices, and to attribute these experiences to subsequent sexual encounters in adolescence and adulthood. They were just as likely as their CSE-Male counterparts to demonstrate their adequacy and competence through physically aggressive and sexual promiscuous behaviors, however, they were not as incited by outrage or self-blame at the injustice of their violation as were CSE-Male subjects. These boys were far more likely to isolate themselves socially, to keep the shameful details of their CSE hidden, and to avoid struggling with deep-seated confusions regarding their sexual identity. These were the men who felt the sharpest stigmas as a result of same-sex interactions and they were willing to continually reassert their sexual and physical prowess in an attempt to safeguard their masculinity and to keep any homophobic instincts tightly concealed.

4) On what qualitative dimensions are the constructs of abuse, misuse, seduction, and sexual play as defined by males related to their quantitative descriptions of their childhood sexual experiences? Are retrospective accounts of the impact of childhood sexual experiences on men's lives over time as reported in a structured interview consistent with independent descriptions of their difficulties and accomplishments in living according to quantitative measures?

Unfortunately, it is unclear to what extent different definitions of CSEs conform to quantitative measures. Because there were 16 men who were not interviewed, their LEI surveys did not indicate this distinction. Including these constructs in this questionnaire would have been extremely useful, and its omission is one of the study's most significant flaws.

There were some discrepancies between what these men indicated on their written protocols and what they reported in their interviews. Several men remembered other CSEs that had not been disclosed on the LEI, particularly incidents with older men, and many of their descriptions of their current adult adjustment were not consistent with their own ratings of their adjustment. This was especially true of socially and sexually active men who were positively reinforced for their abilities to successfully go through the social motions. However, internally, they may have lacked self-direction, confidence, and a firm grasp of their own strength and abilities. Those men who were having the most difficulties in interpersonal interactions (indicative of low SDTLI scores) were able to accurately reflect these stresses on their adjustment ratings; however their verbal accounts tended to suggest a much happier social adjustment. Those areas in the subject's life that were most difficult or shameful to accept were also most often the details that were minimized or deleted on these measures.

5) Can qualitative levels of meaning be ascertained from men's descriptions of childhood sexual experiences that correlate with the contextual variables (i.e. sexual event characteristics, environmental factors, and cognitive attributions) of the experience? Can these levels of meaning inform our understanding of how language can be used in clinical research, assessment, and treatment that liberates men's ability to create their own definitions of these events and correlations between their past patterns of adaptation to their current modes of adult functioning?

What stands out most strongly from the findings in this research are the relationships between other inappropriate interactions within the family (involving other transgressions of the child's emotional, physical, and sexual development), self-attributions of responsibility and blame for participating in the CSE, limited social supports, and the gender of the older participant. These variables tended to distinguish the ways in which men made meaning of these experiences. Other past interactions with blurred boundaries created an overall confusion about the appropriateness of sexual interactions and thus, created a level of meaning indicative of an "indiscriminate sexual experience." Those men who harshly judged their willingness to participate in the sexual experience expressed strong levels of remorse and regret that have been more strongly internalized as a "deplorable sexual experience." Social isolation was strongly correlated with sexual encounters with older males, inducing multiple layers of confusion, guilt, and anxiety, stemming from sexual identity concerns. This level of meaning is most characteristic of a "disoriented sexual experience." Finally those pleasurable sexual interactions with older women tended to be glorified and socially heralded by peers and the media, and were most often seen as "initiatory sexual experiences," opening the door to a wide world of sexuality.

These levels are clearly not exclusive of one another, but according to the qualitative research generated, these distinctions naturally arose.

Researchers and clinicians can take note of the complexity of these contextual levels and not overlook the importance of any of these spheres in the person's life; 1) adaptations to family stress, 2) interpersonal styles, 3) self-confidence levels, 4) breadth of social support system, 5) attribution of responsibility for the CSE, 6) stereotypic gender identification, and 7) sexual identity confusion. It is also critical to first allow the male to independently self-define his own experiences, and only afterwards, to help with several suggestive descriptors (e.g. confusing, ambivalent, disorienting, outrageous, seductive, manipulative, abusive, disconcerting, exploitative, playful, etc). It would be helpful at that point to extract the specific qualities or interactions that contributed to these self-perceptions. The full range of the person's childhood sexual experiences, regardless of age differentials, should be more carefully assessed and self-defined as well.

For clinicians and researchers who have opportunities to probe into these experiences in direct interviews, they might want to be most attentive to early interactional patterns that were established for the child within his family and amongst his peers, with particular emphasis on how these coping behaviors have progressed over time. These verbal explorations will allow the person to establish his own relationships between his responses to past sexual interactions and his current styles of asserting and inhibiting his sexuality. It is also important, when working with males, to offer him the opportunity to reflect upon a hypothetical situation parallel to his own, in order to determine; 1) how he might instruct someone external to himself, 2) how he would come to understand this other person's dilemma differently than his own, and 3) how he might choose to do things differently if given the chance. Men are far

more expressive of situations that appear to be outside of their own personal situations, than when they must directly comment about their own private experiences. This approach can be successfully utilized with a variety of different scenarios.

Finally, no discussion of CSEs would be complete without inquiries into the notion of power:

- What is power?
- How do people have power over other people?
- How do people use their power over other people?
- How do people abuse their power over others?
- How do people share power equally?
- In what ways do you feel personally powerful?
- In what situations do you feel interpersonal power?
- In what ways have you experienced community power?
- How has your own power been taken away from you?
- When have you felt your own power to have been enhanced?
- When have you used/abused your power over others?
- When have you equally shared power with others?
- In what other ways have you or do you imagine feeling power?

These questions probe into the person's understanding of power imbalances, abuses of power, and ways of feeling empowered without abusing their power over others. Responses to these questions also sensitize the person to ways in which they have, and might begin, to empower oneself alone, with others, and in the community. These questions also provide a frame of reference for identifying how their sexual experiences and current interpersonal styles are informed by their previous experiences and understanding of power.

Conclusion

This research project has accomplished what it has set out to uncover. It has adequately responded to the principal inquiries put forth at the outset of this investigation, by providing a clearer perspective of the intricate dynamics of childhood sexual experiences. The interplay between variables has hopefully been illustrated, and we can now heed the words of the men that are adapting to these experiences; pursue opportunities to discuss these experiences with other males and seek out ways to transform the meaning that has historically been attributed to these events. This study has amplified the significance of the social context in which the boy's meaning of his CSE is constructed, and how developmental, interpersonal, and family dynamics interfere with the evolutionary process of this meaning making into adulthood. The specific characteristics of the childhood sexual events that generated important distinctions most notably included the gender of the older participant and the age of the child at the time of the CSE. The wide continuum of descriptions to evaluate these experiences attests to the need for greater flexibility in allowing males to define these events as they best understand them. A variety of clinical applications informed by this research were offered, advocating for conversations focusing on the concept of power in relationships, and how this power is used, shared, and abused.

We must await further research to better understand how sexual interactions between children, within the family, and under uncomfortable circumstances are more generally detailed, and how this data enhances the results that were uncovered here. The breadth and complexity of these issues warrants selective focus in each research endeavor, and thus, only a portion of the larger picture can be revealed. This research study has illuminated one

of these important facets in this field of inquiry- the immediate voice of the adult male who has coped with and attributed meaning to these childhood occurrences. As other empirical studies are conceived and implemented, it is hoped that this voice does not get lost or submerged below the more quantifiable portions of terrain.

APPENDIX

RESEARCH FORMS AND MATERIALS

Life Experience Inventory**Part A**

1. Your race (Circle one)
 - a. White
 - b. Black
 - c. Hispanic
 - d. Other_____
2. Your age at last birthday_____
3. Marital status
 1. Single
 2. Married
 3. Separated or divorced
 4. Widowed

We would like to gather some information about MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY.

4. First, about your FATHER
 - a. Is he:
 1. Living with your mother
 2. Divorced or separated from her
 3. Widowed
 4. Living apart for some other reason
 5. Deceased
 - b. Was there any time before you were 16 when you didn't live with him for more than one year?
 1. YES
 0. NO
 - c. If yes, how long were you separated?
 1. 1 to 3 years
 2. 3 to 5 years
 3. More than 5 years
 - d. When you last lived with him, how close did you feel to him?
 1. Very close
 2. Close
 3. Somewhat close
 4. Not close
 5. Distant

5. Did you also have a STEPFATHER?

1. YES

0. NO

(If NO, go to item 6)

a. Is your stepfather:

1. Living with your mother

2. Divorced or separated

3. Widowed from her

4. Living apart for some other reason

5. Deceased

b. Was there any time before you were 16 when you did not live with him for more than one year?

1. YES

0. NO

c. If yes, how long were you separated?

1. 1 to 3 years

2. 3 to 5 years

3. More than 5 years

d. When you last lived with him, how close did you feel to him?

1. Very close

2. Close

3. Somewhat close

4. Not close

5. Distant

6. Now, about your MOTHER.

a. Is she:

1. Living with your father

2. Divorced or separated from him

3. Widowed

4. Living apart for some other reason

5. Deceased

b. Was there any time before you were 16 when you did not live with her for more than one year?

1. YES

0. NO

c. When you last with her, how close did you feel to her?

1. Very close

2. Close

3. Somewhat close

The rest of the questionnaire applies to your family when you were age 12. All questions should be answered with reference to the members of your family when you were age 12 (unless otherwise indicated). That means when a question asks about your "father", it means the father you lived with when you were 12.

If you did not live with one or both parents when you were 12, answer for that parent(s) at the nearest age to 12, when you were living with him or her.

10. What were your parents occupations when you were 12?

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Semiskilled or unskilled worker ((factory worker, hospital aide, truck driver)	1	1
Skilled worker or foreman (machinist, carpenter, cook)	2	2
Farmer (owner operator or renter)	3	3
Clerical or sales (but not manager)	4	4
Proprietor, except farm (owner of a business)	5	5
Professional (architect, teacher, nurse) or managerial position (department head, store manager)	6	6
No occupation outside home	0	0

11. When you were 12, which of the following came closest to your parents' annual income before taxes? (You are not expected to know exactly, but please estimate.

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Not employed	0	0
Less than \$4,000	1	1
\$4000 to \$5999	2	2
\$6000 to \$7999	3	3
\$8000 to \$9999	4	4
\$10,000 to \$11,999	5	5
\$12,000 to \$14,999	6	6
\$15,000 to \$19,999	7	7
\$20,000 to \$29,999	8	8
\$30,000 and over	9	9

12. What was the highest level of education attained by your parents?

	Father	Mother
Some grade school	1	1
Completed grade school	2	2
Some high school	3	3
Completed high school	4	4
High school and some other training, but not college	5	5
Some college	6	6
Completed college	7	7
Some graduate work	8	8
Graduate degree (M.D., Ph.D.)	9	9

13. Would your father and/or mother have agreed or disagreed with the following statements? Circle number from 1 to 4 to indicate degree of agreement or disagreement.

- 1 = Agree
- 2 = Agree somewhat
- 3 = Disagree somewhat
- 4 = Disagree

a. Children should never be allowed to talk back to their parents or they will lose respect for them.

Father	Mother
1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

b. In making family decisions, parents ought to take children's opinions into account.

Father	Mother
1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

c. Women should never be placed in positions of authority over men.

Father	Mother
1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

14. When you were 12, how would you say your parents' marriage was?

- 1. Unhappy
- 2. Not very happy
- 3. Somewhat happy
- 4. Happy
- 5. Very happy

15. How often do you remember your parents:

Kissing Hugging Holding Hands

Never			
Rarely	1	1	1
Sometimes	2	2	2
Often	3	3	3
Very often	4	4	4
	5	5	5

16. When you were 12 did you have:

- 1. Many good friends
- 2. A few good friends
- 3. One or two good friends
- 4. No good friends

17. Do you feel you were emotionally neglected as a child?

- 1. No, not at all
- 2. Yes, mildly neglected
- 3. Yes, moderately neglected
- 4. Yes, severely neglected

18. Were you ever punished, scolded or warned about any of the following by your father or mother?

(Circle all that apply)

- 3 = Punished
- 2 = Scolded
- 1 = Warned about
- 0 = None of the above

Not having clothes on	Father	Mother
Playing sex games with other children	3 2 1 0	3 2 1 0
Saying dirty words	3 2 1 0	3 2 1 0
Asking questions about sex	3 2 1 0	3 2 1 0
Doing something sexual on a date	3 2 1 0	3 2 1 0
Looking at sexual pictures or books	3 2 1 0	3 2 1 0
Touching your sex organs	3 2 1 0	3 2 1 0
Masturbating	3 2 1 0	3 2 1 0

19. Answer the following questions about the set of parents you had when you were 12. If you did not live with both parents when you were 12, answer for that parent at some earlier age when you were living with him or her.

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
1	2	3	4	5

How true was this of your father and mother?

	Father	Mother
a. Treated you as if you were important	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
b. Was verbally abusive of you	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
c. Played with you	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
d. Was tense, nervous, worried	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
e. Was ill	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
f. Drank heavily	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
g. Understood you	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
h. Kissed you	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
i. Hugged you	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
j. Talked to you when you had a problem	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
k. Was responsive to your emotional needs	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
l. Had emotional problems	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

PART C

It is now generally realized that most people have sexual experiences as children and while they are still growing up. Some of these are with friends and playmates, and some with relatives and family members. Some are very upsetting and painful, and some are not. Some influence people's later lives and some are practically forgotten. Although these are often important events, very little is actually known about them.

We would like you to try to remember the sexual experiences you had while growing up. By "sexual", we mean a broad range of things, anything from playing "doctor", to sexual intercourse, to sexual contact against your will -- in fact, anything that might have seemed "sexual" to you.

20. According to the above definition, did you have any childhood sexual experiences?

- 1. Yes.
- 2. If NO, go to page 77

21. How many experiences did you have growing up which seemed sexual to you? _____

We want you to think of three sexual experiences -- or however many up to three -- that you had BEFORE the age of 12 with someone who was at least 5

years older than you. This might include strangers, friends or family members like cousins, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, father or mother. Pick the three most important to you and answer the following questions.

Take one experience and answer all the questions on the three pages that pertain to it, and then return to answer the same questions about experience #2 and #3.

With regard to the first experience: -

	exper #1		exper #2		exper #3	
22. About how old were you at the time	_____		_____		_____	
23. About how old was the other person (If not sure, please estimate)	_____		_____		_____	
24. Was the other person: 1 for male 2 for female	1	2	1	2	1	2
25. Was the other person:						
A stranger (identify gender: Male/Female)	1		1		1	
A person you knew, but not a friend.(M/F).....	2		2		2	
A friend of yours.(M/F).....	3		3		3	
A male friend of your parent(s).....	4		4		4	
A female friend of your parent(s).....	5		5		5	
A cousin(M/F).....	6		6		6	
An aunt or uncle.....	7		7		7	
A grandparent.....	8		8		8	
A brother.....	9		9		9	
A sister.....	10		10		10	
A father.....	11		11		11	
A stepfather.....	12		12		12	
A mother.....	13		13		13	
A stepmother.....	14		14		14	
26. What happened? Circle - 1 for Yes 0 for No						
a. An invitation or request to do something sexual.....	1	0	1	0	1	0

b. Kissing and hugging in a sexual way.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
c. Other person showing his/her sexual organs to you.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
d. You showing your sex organs to other person.	1	0	1	0	1	0
e. Other person fondling you in a sexual way.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
f. You fondling other person in a sexual way.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
g. Other person touching your sex organs.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
h. You touching other person's sex organs.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
i. Other person rubbing their genital organs against your body.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
j. Oral-genital contact.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
k. Anal intercourse.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
l. Intercourse.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
m. Other, please mention:	1	0	1	0	1	0

Experience #1_____

Experience #2_____

Experience #3_____

27. Who started this?
1. You 2. Other person

1 2 1 2 1 2
28. Did other person threaten or force you?
2. Yes 1. A little 0. No

2 1 0 2 1 0 2 1 0
29. Did other person try to bribe you with promises,
candy, money, etc...
1. Yes 0. No

1 0 1 0 1 0
30. Did you threaten or force the other person?
2. Yes 1. A little 0. No

2 1 0 2 1 0 2 1 0
31. Had the other person been drinking?
1. Yes 0. No

1 0 1 0 1 0
32. Had you been drinking?
1. Yes 0. No

1 0 1 0 1 0
33. Please estimate how many times you had a
sexual experience with this person.

years older than you. This might include strangers, friends or family members like cousins, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, father or mother. Pick the three most important to you and answer the following questions.

Take one experience and answer all the questions on the three pages that pertain to it, and then return to answer the same questions about experience #2 and #3.

With regard to the first experience: -

	exper #1		exper #2		exper #3	
22. About how old were you at the time	_____		_____		_____	
23. About how old was the other person (If not sure, please estimate)	_____		_____		_____	
24. Was the other person: 1 for male 2 for female	1	2	1	2	1	2
25. Was the other person:						
A stranger (identify gender: Male/Female)	1		1		1	
A person you knew, but not a friend.(M/F).....	2		2		2	
A friend of yours.(M/F).....	3		3		3	
A male friend of your parent(s).....	4		4		4	
A female friend of your parent(s).....	5		5		5	
A cousin(M/F).....	6		6		6	
An aunt or uncle.....	7		7		7	
A grandparent.....	8		8		8	
A brother.....	9		9		9	
A sister.....	10		10		10	
A father.....	11		11		11	
A stepfather.....	12		12		12	
A mother.....	13		13		13	
A stepmother.....	14		14		14	
26. What happened? Circle - 1 for Yes 0 for No						
a. An invitation or request to do something sexual.....	1	0	1	0	1	0

34. Over how long a time did this go on?
(Indicate number of days, months, years)

35. Which of these would best describe your
reaction during the experience?

1. Fear
2. Shock
3. Surprise
4. Interest
5. Pleasure
6. Confusion
7. Disgust

1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3
4	4	4
5	5	5
6	6	6
7	7	7

36. Please indicate to what degree each of the following describes your
reaction to the experience.

Not at all

A little

Somewhat

A lot

Very much so

1

2

3

4

5

	exper #1					exper #2					exper #3				
a. Embarrassed.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
b. Excited.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
c. Angry.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
d. Indifferent.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
e. Upset.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
f. Happy.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
g. Hurt.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
h. Special.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
i. Ashamed.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
j. Confused.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
k. Helpless.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
l. Scared.....	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

37. Who did you tell about this, if anyone?

	Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No	
1. No one	1		0		1		0		1		0	
2. Father	1		0		1		0		1		0	
3. Mother	1		0		1		0		1		0	
4. Other adult	1		0		1		0		1		0	
5. Brother/sister	1		0		1		0		1		0	
6. Friend	1		0		1		0		1		0	
7. Other, please specify	1		0		1		0		1		0	

38. Was this experience ever reported to the police?

1. Yes	0. No	1	0	1	0	1	0
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39. Have you ever talked to a counselor about this experience?

1. Yes	0. No	1	0	1	0	1	0
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40. Have you ever talked to a counselor without discussing this experience?

1. Yes.	0. No.	1	0	1	0	1	0
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41. At the time, how did you feel about the experience?

1. Positive	1	1	1
2. Mostly positive	2	2	2
3. Neutral	3	3	3
4. Mostly negative	4	4	4
5. Negative	5	5	5

42. In general, what kind of effect did this experience have on your life?

1. Postive	1	1	1
2. Mostly positive	2	2	2
3. Neutral	3	3	3
4. Mostly negative	4	4	4
5. Negative	5	5	5

43. Specifically, what kind of effect does this experience have on your current sexual life?

1. Postive	1	1	1
2. Mostly positive	2	2	2
3. Neutral	3	3	3
4. Mostly negative	4	4	4
5. Negative	5	5	5

NOW GO BACK TO PAGE 7 AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ABOUT OTHER EXPERIENCES. IF NO MORE EXPERIENCES, GO TO NEXT PAGE.

We would like you to think of any sexual experience that occurred to you **AFTER** the age of 12 with someone at least ten years older than you. ALSO please report any sexual experience that occurred to you, regardless of age, which you did not consent to. That is, a sexual experience which was forced on you or which you didn't want to happen. Do not repeat a relationship which you described earlier. Pick the three most important and answer the following questions; take one experience first and answer all the questions; then return to answer the questions on experience #2, and then #3.

No such experience (), go to page 10. 16

With regard to experiences AFTER age 12 or that were nonconsensual:

	exper #1		exper #2		exper #3	
44. About how old were you at the time _____						
45. About how old was the other person (If not sure, please estimate) _____						
46. Was the other person: 1 for male 2 for female	1	2	1	2	1	2
47. Was the other person:						
A stranger(identify gender: M/F)..... 1			1		1	
A person you knew, not a friend (M/F) 2			2		2	
A friend of yours.(M/F)..... 3			3		3	
A male friend of your parent(s)..... 4			4		4	
A female friend of your parent(s)..... 5			5		5	
A cousin.(M/F)..... 6			6		6	
An aunt or uncle..... 7			7		7	
A grandparent..... 8			8		8	
A brother..... 9			9		9	
A sister..... 10			10		10	
A father..... 11			11		11	
A stepfather..... 12			12		12	
A mother..... 13			13		13	
A stepmother..... 14			14		14	
48. What happened? Circle - 1 for Yes 0 for No						
a. An invitation or request to do something sexual.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
b. Kissing and hugging in a sexual way.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
c. Other person showing his/her sexual organs to you.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
d. You showing your sex organs to other person.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
e. Other person fondling you in a sexual way	1	0	1	0	1	0

f. You fondling other person in a sexual way.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
g. Other peson touching your sex organs.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
h. You touching other person's sex organs.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
i. Other person rubbing their genital organs against your body	1	0	1	0	1	0
j. Oral-genital contact.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
k. Anal intercourse.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
l. Intercourse.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
m. Other, please mention						

Experience #1_____

Experience #2_____

Experience #3_____

	exper #1	exper #2	exper #3
49. Who started this? 1. You 2. Other person	1 2	1 2	1 2
50. Did other person threaten or force you? 2. Yes 1. A little 0. No	2 1 0	2 1 0	2 1 0
51. Did other person try to bribe you with promises, candy, money, etc... 1. Yes 2. No	1 0	1 0	1 0
52. Did you threaten or force the other person? 2. Yes 1. A little 0. No	2 1 0	2 1 0	2 1 0
53. Had the other person been drinking? 1. Yes 0. No	1 0	1 0	1 0
54. Had you been drinking? 1. Yes 0. No	1 0	1 0	1 0

55. Please estimate how many times you had a sexual experience with this person

56. Over how long a time did this go on? (Indicate number of days, months, years)

57. Which of these would best describe your reaction at the time of the experience?

1. Fear
2. Shock
3. Surprise
4. Interest
5. Pleasure
6. Confusion
7. Disgust

1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3
4	4	4
5	5	5
6	6	6
7	7	7

58. Please indicate to what degree each of the following describes your reaction to the experience

- Not at all
- A little
- Somewhat
- A lot
- Very much so
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

	exper #1	exper #2	exper #3
a. Embarrassed.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
b. Excited.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
c. Angry.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
d. Indifferent.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
e. Upset.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
f. Happy.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
g. Hurt.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
h. Special.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
i. Ashamed.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
j. Confused.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
k. Helpless.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
l. Scared.....	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

59. Who did you tell about this, if anyone?

	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. No one	1	0	1	0	1	0
2. Father	1	0	1	0	1	0
3. Mother	1	0	1	0	1	0
4. Other adult	1	0	1	0	1	0

5. Brother/sister	1	0	1	0	1	0
6. Friend	1	0	1	0	1	0
7. Other, please specify	1	0	1	0	1	0

60. Was this experience ever reported to the police?
1. Yes 0. No

61. Have you ever talked to a counselor about this experience?
1. Yes 0. No

62. Have you ever talked to a counselor without discussing this experience?
1. Yes 0. No

63. At the time, how did you feel about the experience?

	exper #1	exper #2	exper #3
1. Postive	1	1	1
2. Mostly positive	2	2	2
3. Neutral	3	3	3
4. Mostly negative	4	4	4
5. Negative	5	5	5

64. In general, what kind of effect did this experience have on your life?

	exper #1	exper #2	exper #3
1. Postive	1	1	1
2. Mostly positive	2	2	2
3. Neutral	3	3	3
4. Mostly negative	4	4	4
5. Negative	5	5	5

65. Specifically, what kind of effect does this experience have on your current sexual life?

	exper #1	exper #2	exper #3
1. Postive	1	1	1
2. Mostly positive	2	2	2
3. Neutral	3	3	3
4. Mostly negative	4	4	4
5. Negative	5	5	5

11
NOW GO BACK TO PAGE 11 AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS FOR OTHER EXPERIENCES. IF NO MORE EXPERIENCES, GO TO NEXT PAGE.

Finally, we would like you to think of any sexual experience you had when you were 16 years old or older. WITH someone who was 12 years old or younger. Pick the three most important to you and answer the following questions. Answer all questions for experience 1 first.

No such experience () go to page 11, 7

	exper #1		exper #2		exper #3	
66. About how old were you at the time _____						
67. About how old was the other person _____ (If not sure, please estimate)						
68. Was the other person: 1 for male 2 for female	1	2	1	2	1	2
69. What happened? Circle - 1 for Yes 0 for No						
a. An invitation or request to do something sexual.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
b. Kissing and hugging in a sexual way.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
c. Other person showing his/her sexual organs to you.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
d. You showing your sex organs to other person.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
e. Other person fondling you in a sexual way.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
f. You fondling other person in a sexual way.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
g. Other person touching your sex organs.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
h. You touching other person's sex organs.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
i. Other person rubbing their genital organs against your body.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
j. Oral-genital contact.....	1	0	1	0	1	0
k. Anal intercourse.....	1	0	1	0	1	0

l. Intercourse..... 1 0 1 0 1 0
m. Other, please mention

Experience #1 _____

Experience #2 _____

Experience #3 _____

	exper #1		exper #2		exper #3	
70. Who started this?						
1. You 2. Other person	1	2	1	2	1	2
71. Had you been drinking?						
1. Yes 0. No	1	0	1	0	1	0
72. Please estimate how many times you had a sexual experience with this person	_____		_____		_____	
73. Over how long a time did this go on? (Indicate number of days, months, years)	_____		_____		_____	

NOW GO BACK TO TOP OF PAGE AND ANSWER QUESTIONS FOR EXPERIENCES #2 AND #3. IF NO MORE EXPERIENCES, GO TO THE NEXT PAGE.

PART D

The next series of questions concerns violence in the family.

74. Think back to the time when you were 12 years old. During that year, did ytour mother ever hit, strike, or in any way attempt to physically harm your father?
- 1. Never
 - 2. Once or twice
 - 3. A few times each year
 - 4. Once a month
 - 5. Every week
 - 6. More often than once a week

75. During that year, did your father ever hit, strike, or in any way attempt to physically harm your mother?

1. Never
2. Once or twice
3. A few times each year
4. Once a month
5. Every week
6. More often than once a week

76. When you were 12 years old, how often would your father or mother spank you?

MOTHER

1. Never
2. Once or twice
3. A few times each year
4. Once a month
5. Every week
6. More often than once a week

FATHER

1. Never
2. Once or twice
3. A few times each year
4. Once a month
5. Every week
6. More often than once a week

77. Before you were 18 years old, were you EVER physically abused by your father or your mother?

MOTHER

1. Never
2. Only once or twice
3. Several times
4. Once or twice a year
5. A few times each year
6. Once a month
7. Every week
8. More often than once a week

FATHER

1. Never
2. Only once or twice
3. Several times
4. Once or twice a year
5. A few times each year
6. Once a month
7. Every week
8. More often than once a week

PART E

Please answer the following questions concerning your present sexual and overall adjustment.

78. How old were you when the following first happened to you? If you can't remember exactly, give the approximate age. (Write age in space. If this never happened, leave blank.)
- a. _____ Started going out on dates
 - b. _____ First had sexual intercourse
 - c. _____ First sexual experience with someone of the same sex after the age of 12
79. Which of the following best describes how frequently in the past month you engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman?
0. I have never engaged in sexual intercourse
 1. I have engaged in sexual intercourse, but not in the past month
 2. 1-5 times in the past month
 3. 6-10 times in the past month
 4. 11-15 times in the past month
 5. 16-20 times in the past month
 6. More than 20 times in the past month
80. How frequently do you wish you could engage in sexual intercourse with a woman?
0. Not at all
 1. 1-11 times a year
 2. 1-5 times a month
 3. 6-10 times a month
 4. 11-15 times a month

- 5. 16-20 times a month
- 6. More than 20 times a month

81. WITHIN THE PAST MONTH, how often have you "made out" with a woman?

- 0. Not at all
- 1. 1-5 times
- 2. 6-10 times
- 3. 11-15 times
- 4. 16-20 times
- 5. More than 20 times

82. How many women have you had sexual intercourse with?

- 0. None
- 1. One
- 2. Two
- 3. 3-5
- 4. 6-10
- 5. 11-15
- 6. 16-20
- 7. More than 20

83. Which of the following describes how frequently you dated in the past month?

- 0. Not applicable, I'm married, living with a woman, engaged, going steady, etc.
- 1. Not at all
- 2. 1-5 times
- 3. 6-10 times
- 4. 11-15 times
- 5. 16-20 times
- 6. More than 20 times

84. In the last year, how many sexual experiences have you had with another man?

- 0. None
- 1. One
- 2. Two
- 3. 3-5

- 4. 6-10
- 5. 11-15
- 6. More than 15

85. After age 16, how many men have you had a sexual experience with?

- 0. None
- 1. One
- 2. Two
- 3. 3-5
- 4. 6-10
- 5. 11-15
- 6. More than 15

86. How frequently in the past month have you masturbated?

- 0. Not at all in the past month
- 1. 1-5 times
- 2. 6-10 times
- 3. 11-15 times
- 4. 16-20 times
- 5. More than 20 times

87. Please indicate on the right whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

- 1 = agree
- 2 = agree somewhat
- 3 = disagree somewhat
- 4 = disagree

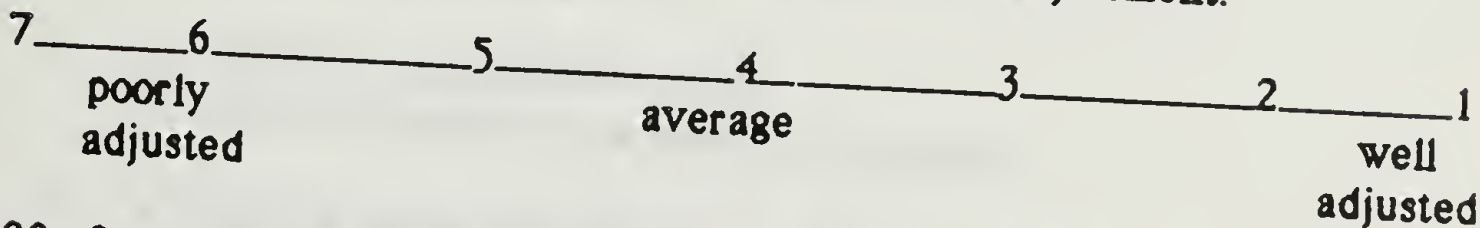
- | | |
|---|---------|
| a. I find I spend too much time thinking about sex..... | 1 2 3 4 |
| b. I often find myself in awkward sexual situations.... | 1 2 3 4 |
| c. I really like my body..... | 1 2 3 4 |
| d. If I'm sexually interested in someone, I usually take the initiative to do something about it..... | 1 2 3 4 |
| e. After sexual experiences, I often feel dissatisfied.... | 1 2 3 4 |
| f. Someone my age should be having more sex than I am..... | 1 2 3 4 |

88. Please circle appropriate answer:

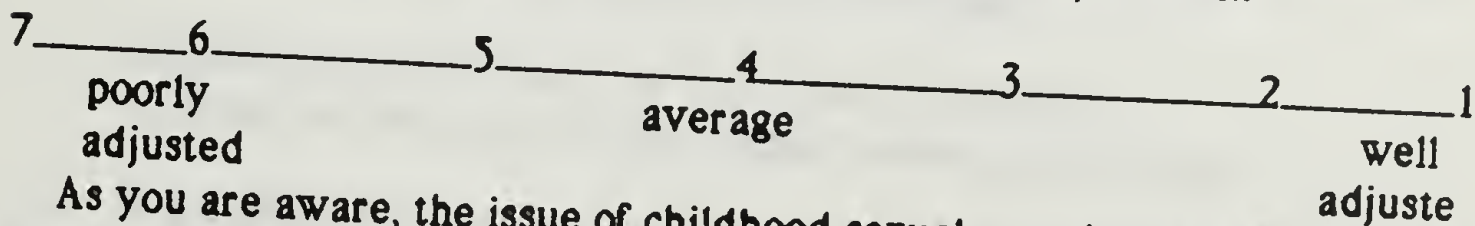
Have you ever...

1. Had a drinking problem?.....	YES	NO
2. Had a drug problem?.....	YES	NO
3. Attempted suicide?.....	YES	NO
4. Been hospitalized for emotional problems.....	YES	NO
5. Run away from home?.....	YES	NO
6. Been arrested?.....	YES	NO
7. Do you consider yourself to have a sexual problem?...	YES	NO
8. Had periods of sexual promiscuity?.....	YES	NO
9. Been treated for emotional problems?.....	YES	NO
10. Have you every had problems with premature ejaculation?.....	YES	NO
11. Have you every had problems in achieving or maintaining an erection?.....	YES	NO

89. On the following scale, rate your overall sexual adjustment:



90. On the following scale, rate your current overall adjustment:



As you are aware, the issue of childhood sexual experiences has become of great interest to our society. Your participation in this research is greatly appreciated. In an attempt to learn more about the meaning of these experiences, we will be conducting one hour personal interviews with participants willing to discuss their experiences further. Please leave at least your first name and telephone number if you are willing to participate. Your confidentiality will of course be respected.

We understand that responding to the material in this questionnaire can be disturbing to some people. We have prepared a list of professional resources that are available to you in this community to address these issues. In addition, we have compiled an extensive bibliography on this subject matter that is available to you.

Scale M

Please circle the item in each question pair that fits you best:

1. a. After I've gone through a really dangerous experience, my knees feel weak and I shake all over.
 b. After I've gone through a really dangerous experience, I feel high.
2. a. I'd rather gamble than play it safe.
 b. I'd rather play it safe than gamble.
3. a. Call me a name, and I'll pretend not to hear you.
 b. Call me a name, and I'll call you another.
4. a. Fair is fair in love and war.
 b. All is fair in love and war.
5. a. I like wild, uninhibited parties.
 b. I like quiet parties with good conversations.
6. a. I hope to forget past unpleasant experiences with male aggression.
 b. I still enjoy remembering my first real fight.
7. a. Some people have told me that I take foolish risks.
 b. Some people have told me I ought to take more chances.
8. a. So called effeminate men are more artistic and sensitive.
 b. So called effeminate men deserve to be ridiculed.
9. a. Get a woman drunk, high, or hot and she'll let you do whatever you want.
 b. It's gross and unfair to use alcohol and drugs to convince a woman to have sex.
10. a. I like fast cars and fast women.
 b. I like dependable cars and faithful women.
11. a. So called prick-teasers should be forgiven.
 b. Prick-teasers should be raped.
12. a. When I have a few drinks under my belt, I mellow out.
 b. When I have a few drinks under my belt, I look for trouble.

13. a. Any man who's a man needs to have sex regularly.
b. Any man who's a man, can do without sex.
14. a. All women, even women's libbers, are worthy of respect.
b. The only woman worthy of respect is your mother.
15. a. You have to fuck some women before they know who's boss.
b. You have to love some women before they know you you don't want to be boss.
16. a. When I have a drink or two, I feel ready for whatever happens.
b. When I have a drink or two, I like to relax and enjoy myself.
17. a. Risk has to be weighed against possible maximum loss.
b. There is no such thing as too big a risk if the payoff is large enough.
18. a. I win by not fighting.
b. I fight to win.
19. a. It's natural for men to get into fights.
b. Physical violence never solves an issue.
20. a. If you're not prepared to fight for what's yours, then be prepared to lose it.
b. Even if I feel like fighting, I'd try to think of alternatives.
21. a. He who can, fights; he who can't, runs away.
b. It's just plain dumb to fist fight.
22. a. When I'm bored, I watch T.V. or read a book.
b. When I'm bored, I look for excitement.
23. a. I like to drive safely, avoiding all possible risks.
b. I like to drive fast, right on the edge of danger.
24. a. Pick-ups should expect to put out.
b. So-called pick-ups should choose their men carefully.
25. a. Some women are good for only one thing.
b. All women deserve the same respect as your own mother.
26. a. I only want to have sex with women who are in total agreement.

- b. I never feel bad about my tactics when I have sex.
27. a. I would rather be a famous scientist than a famous prize fighter.
b. I would rather be a famous prize fighter than a famous scientist.
28. a. Lesbians have chosen a particular lifestyle and should be respected for it.
b. The only thing a lesbian needs is a good stiff cock.
29. a. If you are chosen for a fight, there is no choice but to fight.
b. If you are chosen for a fight, it's time to walk your way out of it.
30. a. If you insult me, be prepared to back it up.
b. If you insult me, I'll try to turn the other cheek.

University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts

Consent Form

I, _____, hereby consent to my participation in the following research project:

Theme of the project: Life experience and adjustment assessments

Project director: Jeff Fishman, M.S.W.
Doctoral Candidate
School of Education 5-3610 Or 51926

Sponsoring Department: William J. Matthews Ph. D.
Associate Professor
School of Education telephone * 545-3610 or 545-1926

I acknowledge that I have orally received from the experimenter the following information:

1. A full oral explanation of the procedures to be followed.
2. An offer to answer any inquiries concerning any question on the inventories.
3. A statement that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue participation in the project at any time.
4. A statement that I can receive results of this study if I so desire.
5. We are required to advise that asbestos removal is going on in Tobin Hall and that you are asked to enter and exit on the second floor.

I have read the above statement, understand the same, and voluntarily sign this form.

Date: _____, 198

signature of subject

signature of experimenter

SUBJECT FEEDBACK FORM

Thank you for your participation in this study. As you can see, this study attempts to assess the range of sexual experiences boys have growing up. Much of the available research focuses on female subjects and does not offer any information on how males may differ in their experiences. Our hope is that we can find out more accurately the extent of boy's sexual involvements and how they have come to perceive these events. Your participation has allowed us preliminary access to this information.

Answering some of these questions may have been difficult for you. Uncomfortable memories can be stirred up when recounting these details and a list of resources is available if you feel the need to contact someone further about these events. We have also provided an extensive bibliography from which you can choose to read selected materials on this subject. We will also be available to discuss these resources with you if you need further clarification.

If you are interested in receiving a summary report of this study's results, or if you would be available for a follow-up interview to discuss these issues in more depth, please leave your name and address below and we will contact you.

----- Summary Report _____ Follow-Up Interview
 _____ Both

Name _____
Address _____
Phone # _____

Thank you again.

RESOURCE GUIDE TO COUNSELING SERVICES

1. PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES CENTER

Tobin Hall

U. Mass.

545-0041

Days/Hours: Mon.-Fri. 8:30 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Fees: Based on sliding scale. Students free.

Services: Individual, group, and family psychotherapy.

2. MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

127 Hills North

U. Mass.

545-2337

Days/Hours: Mon.-Fri. 8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Fees: Students/ Kaiser HMO members-1st 10 sessions free.

Services: Individual, group, and family psychotherapy.

3. FRANKLIN-HAMPSHIRE COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

50 Pleasant St.

Northampton, Ma. 01060

586-8680

Days/Hours: mon./Fri. 9-5, Tues/wed./Thurs. 9-8 p.m.

Fees: Medicaid, Blue Cross/Blue Shield, Sliding Scale.

Services: Individual, couples, group, and family therapy.

4. JEFFREY FISHMAN, LICSW

60 N. Whitney St.

Amherst, Ma. 01002

247-9837

Days/Hours: Variable. Evening hours available.

Fees: All private insurances, Sliding Scale.

Services: Individual, couples, and family therapy. Support groups and specialized services for male victims of abuse.

5. DOUG AYRE, LICSW

200 Main St.

Northampton, Ma. 01060

774-7998

Days/Hours: Mon./Wed. 9:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m.

Fees: All private insurances, Sliding Scale.

Services: Individual, couples and family therapy. Special attention to past family or current substance abuse issues and sexual identity concerns.

INFORMED CONSENT

University of Massachusetts, Amherst
School of Education
Jeffrey Fishman, LICSW

I am currently conducting a study of the ways in which boys and men make meaning of their childhood sexual experiences. This study will help us learn more about how these meanings affect one's subsequent adult adjustment. Ultimately, this information will help us to assist men who may be unsure of the impact of their early childhood sexual involvements. This study will not be used to evaluate or judge participants in any manner.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Your time and efforts are greatly appreciated and preliminary findings of this research will be available to you when compiled.

The audiotapes of the one hour interviews themselves will be used for research and educational purposes only and will be held in strict confidence. Transcriptions of the tapes that have been edited to insure confidentiality of the participants may be published as a portion of a dissertation or in other form. The School of Education and the researcher will hold all legal rights over the tapes. **UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL ANY MATERIAL COLLECTED BY THIS STUDY BE RELEASED IN ANY FORM THAT WOULD IDENTIFY YOU OR YOUR FAMILY.**

Because this interview may raise sensitive issues or stir up uncomfortable memories, a list of resources is available if you feel the need to contact someone further about these events. There is also an extensive bibliography available from which to choose selected reading materials on this subject. The researcher will be happy to discuss these resources with you if you need further clarification.

Again, thank you for your participation in this study.

.....

The procedures and adjunct resources of this study on childhood sexual experiences have been explained to my satisfaction and I consent to participate as described above. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time.

_____ Signature	_____ Date
_____ Printed Name	_____ Experimenter

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Jeffrey Fishman, LICSW and William Matthews, Ph.D. Private Practice Amherst, Ma. 01002 413-247-9837	School of Education U. Mass- Amherst, 01003 413-545-1926
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Introduction and Overview.

Before we begin, I would like to thank you for your time and willingness to answer more questions following the childhood sexual experiences study you did at Tobin Hall. As we stated then, there is almost no research to conclusively understand how boys grow up sexually and how they come to perceive their initial sexual activities. The interview will hopefully provide you with an opportunity to reassess how those experiences have influenced or shaped some of your behaviors today. If you feel uncomfortable and wish to skip a question (or questions) just let me know and we'll move on. If you have any questions about the study, I will be at more liberty to respond to those after we finish this interview. You also understand that we are being audiotaped and that your identity will be kept strictly anonymous. After transcripts of the interview are written, the tapes will be erased. Why don't we get started...

1. You describe in your written survey that you became sexually active at age ____ and with _____. Were these your first sexual experiences? If so, did these previous experiences influence your involvement in the sexual experiences with the older person(s)? Did these experiences with an older partner influence your involvement with subsequent partners?

2. How clearly do you remember the specific details of these reported experiences? Has your memory about these events been clearer or less clear during other times of your life? What were these times?

3. Would you describe for me what was occurring in your life just before this first sexual experience began, specifically in your family life, social life, and

private life? Did these conditions change during or after you had the sexual experience(s) with an older person.

4. How do you think your family would have described you (what kind of person you were) at the time of these experiences? How would those descriptions differ from your own perceptions? Would non-family members have described you differently?

5. How might you assess your maturity level, knowledge base about sex, and awareness of what was really happening as these experiences began (low, moderate, high)? How did this change over time and in-between these sexual events?

6. Could you please describe to your best recollection what specifically occurred during those sexual events? If something is unclear to me, I may need to ask you for some clarification...

7. How would you have described these sexual experiences at the time- as ABUSE/ MISUSE/ SEDUCTION/SEXUAL PLAY? What would have needed to happen or not happen to make your experience(s) characteristic of the other three definitions? How would you describe these experiences now?

8. Just before, during, and after each of these events, how did you feel about what was happening at the time you were going through this? Can you recall what you were thinking about- what thoughts, images, ideas or memories came to mind.?

9. Was anyone else aware of what was going on? Were you aware of this kind of thing going on with other people you knew or had heard about?

10. Remembering back to the months after this experience occurred, if someone had documented your life on videotape would you review this tape and see any significant differences in your life- the way you behaved, how you communicated to other people, or how you felt inside? What changes would be noticeable up until the present time?

11. At the time, did you do any investigating (reading/ asking questions/ finding information) to learn more about the sexual experiences you had? Did you gather any useful information?
12. It has been _____ years since that sexual experience has happened? over the course of this time, how would you say your life (relationships) has been affected by these events? How has your perspective changed about the way you understand what really happened then? Even as we speak about these events, does it make you question the ways in which you have looked at these experiences in your life?
13. What would you say to other boys who were about your age regarding whether or not to get involved in these same kinds of experiences? Would you do it differently if you could have? How would your life be different if you didn't have these experiences?
14. How specifically have these experiences been positive in your life? Negative? Is there anything valuable that you learned from this event? Anything valuable that other people should know from your experience? Anything that has hindered your life as a result of these experiences?
15. Who now knows about these experiences? Has it helped you to talk about them with others? What other ways might have been or would be helpful to discuss these experiences?
16. College is a time to begin defining your identity in terms of how you want to live autonomously. How have these experiences effected the adjustment you have made to college, the quality of relationships with others, sexual relationships, your internal sense of comfort with yourself, and your confidence level to leave school and survive on your own? What do you think you still need to do and learn in order to complete this kind of maturation process? (emphasis on interpersonal relationships)

The following questions are more general questions about growing up as a boy:

17. What were some of the activities and interests that you had during this time, specifically in regards to leisure, fun, recreational times. Were there specific things that you did with other boys- that you liked/disliked?
18. When did you first become aware of the differences between boys and girls? Did you remember feeling privileged or cheated in any ways?
19. Now that you have been socialized as a man, what would you say are the advantages and disadvantages of being a man? Of being a woman?
20. Are there any changes you would make today about being a man and being a woman?
21. Is there anything important about the sexual experiences we've talked about that I haven't asked you about or you haven't felt comfortable to talk about?

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