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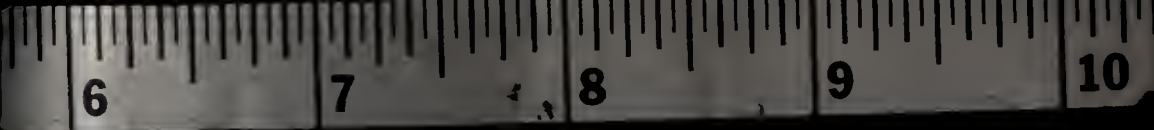
Bonni M. Alpert
University of Massachusetts Amherst
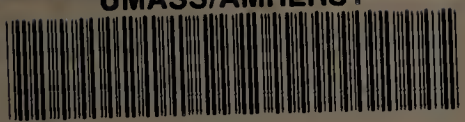
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROCEDURES FOR MEASURING
ASPECTS OF SOCIAL/COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF VERY
SEXUALLY COERCIVE MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

A Dissertation Presented

by

BONNI M. ALPERT

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

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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School of Education

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Approved as to style and content by:

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John C. Carey, Chair

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Gerald Weinstein, Member

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Sally Freeman, Member

_____

Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

To my beautiful Raina.
You were born from love and your
father and I hope your world
remains a mostly loving one.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

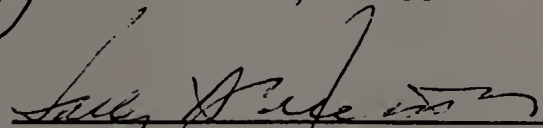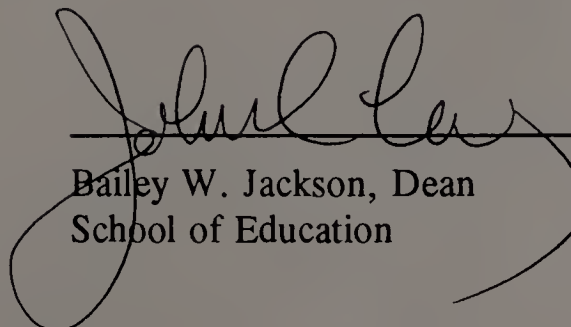## THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROCEDURES FOR MEASURING ASPECTS OF SOCIAL/COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF VERY SEXUALLY COERCIVE MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

MAY 1992

BONNI M. ALPERT, B.A., UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

M.S., UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by: Professor John C. Carey, Ph.D.

While rape is a complex multidetermined phenomenon, I believe that the most fruitful avenue of research into its causes lies in the understanding of the cognitive abilities of sexually coercive males. Could it be that most sexually coercive men are capable of aggressive acts because these acts make sense to them from their particular level of social understanding? If a relationship between social/cognitive abilities and the commision of coercive sexual behavior can be identified we will have the information we need to design prevention and treatment programs. The goals of this research, therefore, were to develop procedures for measuring the social/cognitive developmental level of sexually coercive (or potentially aggressive) male college students and contrast very coercive and normally coercive males on these measures. A version of the <u>Coercive Sexuality Scale</u> was administered to several hundred undergraduate males at a large public University in the Northeast, in order to identify samples of sexually aggressive and nonaggressive males. Subjects were also administered the <u>Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (AIV)</u>, which has been found to be a useful predictor of self-reported sexually coercive behavior. Based on scores from these

measures two extreme groups (15 "normal" and 13 "coercive" subjects) were selected to receive a semi-structured interview measuring their levels of intra and interindividual understanding. The interview is based on one videotaped vignette depicting young adult female-male interaction. Computer-assisted qualitative analysis procedures were used to categorize the developmental variability among Subjects related to several important social reasoning constructs (e.g. self-knowledge, understanding relationships, perspective-taking and understanding of consequences). A standardized coding system for these abilities was developed which helped to discriminate between very aggressive & "normally" aggressive samples. Data was also subjected to quantitative analyses.

The results of this study indicate that 1. the measures used to distinguish between "coercive" and "control" groups have some strength in terms of ability to measure social/cognitive development, and 2. on the whole the "Coercive" group responded at significantly more complex levels of social reasoning than did the "Control" group.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This paper explores some of the social/cognitive developmental factors that contribute to the development of male sexual aggression in order to illustrate some of the causes of rape. I will maintain that rape is a result of more than just the offender's attitudes toward women. It also involves the offender's reasoning abilities, in other words how the offender makes meaning of his particular situation. I will also argue that a cognitive developmental perspective is important since it provides a way of looking at the process by which the offender comes to understand, make social inferences, and act or inhibit certain actions accordingly. I hope and desire that the information obtained in this paper will be used to generate new and innovative techniques for the prevention of rape and the treatment of offenders.

Currency of Rape as a Social Problem

On April 19, 1989, a twenty-eight-year-old, white investment banker was discovered in a Manhattan park, violently raped and beaten into a coma. While jogging in Central Park, she was attacked by six "wilding" teenagers (Roberts, May 7, 1989). On April 29, a nineteen-year-old, black woman was found raped and strangled to death only 100 blocks from the first incident. This victim was identified by the police as a prostitute (Roberts, May 7, 1989). These are just two incidents of rape that have been granted national attention, yet the

truth is that once every minute of every day, a woman is raped in the United States (Ledray, 1986).

Although rape is a violent crime, which involves the coercion of an individual to perform sexual acts against their will, male and female sex role stereotypes, and issues of guilt and trust in a deadly way, it has come to our attention only recently as a widespread phenomenon. Koss et al. (1987) found that one in eight of the women students they surveyed had been raped (though many of the students did not refer to the experience using the term "rape." Instead they admitted to having been coerced to participate in sexual activity). Over four percent of the males they surveyed admitted to the use of violence to obtain sex, and an additional 27 percent had used lesser degrees of force (physical, verbal and emotional) to pressure a woman to comply.

The findings of Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) show that 15 percent of college men admit they've forced a woman to have sexual intercourse, and that an even higher percentage admit they've forced some lesser level of sexual contact on a woman. (Note: these are only the reported confessions. The actual percentages are probably higher). Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) cite evidence indicating that many college men would rape a woman if they were certain of getting away with it.

Finally, the Ms. Magazine Campus Project on Sexual Assault (1985) found that one quarter of women in college today have been either raped or victims of attempted rape. Ninety percent of those who were raped knew the offender.

While it is obvious that rape (specifically date rape) is recognized as a problem of epidemic proportions, antirape and offender treatment programs are a recent innovation. Many incarcerated and nonincarcerated sexual offenders receive no treatment. Arbuthnot (1984) suggests that many of these sexual offenders will continue to offend unless they are properly reintegrated into their society. Furthermore, the need for more research to enhance

2

learning about sexual offenders is also justified in order to prevent the emergence of future offenders (Whitford, 1987). A majority of the existing programs are geared toward treatment of the victim. Many of the prevention programs teach women to avoid sexually aggressive encounters. They do not seek to inhibit male aggressive behavior. However, it is only in this way that we, as a society, can begin to break the cycle of dominance, and oppression experienced by both men and women.

Why a Developmental Perspective on Rape?

Presently, there are very few standard approaches to the treatment of sexual offenders. Whitford (1987) maintains that the nature of the services provided by mental health practitioners are determined by the expertise or training of the provider or the limitations of the treatment setting. Hence, these programs tend to support one mode of intervention over others, rather than integrating these interventions in such a way that they compliment one another. And, rather than focussing on long-term change and development, these programs are best characterized as short-term interventions (Gondolf, 1987). A more holistic treatment model, which emphasizes long-term change and is designed to deal specifically with the issues faced by the sexual offender, is therefore greatly needed.

Developmental theory offers an innovative alternative approach to the design of treatment and prevention programs. This theory can be applied to both sexually aggressive and potentially aggressive males in a manner that integrates the variety of existing interventions. Developmental models look at the process by which individuals understand, remember, make social inferences, and act or inhibit action accordingly (Flavell and Ross, 1981). As such they provide a more complete picture of the long-term process of change, rather than focussing simply on extinguishing aggressive behavior, or the attitudes that lead to such behavior. Whitford (1987) stresses the need for methods which determine whether

3

sexual offenders demonstrate any verbal or nonverbal changes as a result of their treatment. Gondolf (1987) emphasizes the importance of interventions which correspond to the developmental stage of the target population. He suggests, for example, the ineffectiveness of many programs may be due to the "inappropriateness of the intervention, rather than to the design of the intervention itself." In other words, the subjects may be at developmental stages which are insufficient to accommodate the expectations of the intervention.

While offering many possibilities for effective treatment and prevention methods, developmental stage theories also offer an in-depth look at the offender's reasoning processes. It is emphasized throughout the literature that while stage development is unidirectional, not all individuals show the same rate of development. Cognitive, psychosocial and sociomoral development, for example, appear to be strongly influenced by individual physiological, sociocultural and psychological factors (Juhasz, 1985). Any number of experiences can effect this maturation process in any or all of the developmental domains. From this perspective, sexual assault may be the result of deficits in one or more of the developmental domains. While he may share similar patterns of beliefs found to characterize "normal" men (Malamuth, 1981), the sexual offender may differ in his inability to cope appropriately with stress. Noam (1985) maintains that the lower stages of social/cognitive development, which are characterized by a lack of impulse control and social-perspective-taking abilities, are often inadequate for coping with many adolescent and adulthood issues. From the offender's developmental perspective, he may believe the sexual assault to be his only means of relieving his stress.

In the following pages some of these initial assumptions will be clarified as a more detailed character profile of the sexual offender is provided.

<center>Psychosocial Factors In Male Development</center>

Many individual physiological, sociocultural, and psychological factors strongly influence development. Gondolf (1987) suggests, for example, that a lack of sufficient social interaction inhibits development to higher moral stages. He also maintains (1987) that certain gender differences promoted by our society may inhibit the moral development of a significant number of men. Two psychosocial factors which this author believes influence male cognitive development are: culturally current definitions of masculinity and cultural supports for male aggression. These factors may retard male development by defining acceptable male behavior in terms that focus on separation (versus inclusion), activity (versus reflection of self and others), and a focus on his own needs (versus a focus that includes the needs of others).

The following sections will explore the ways in which culturally current definitions of masculinity and cultural supports for male aggression may influence social/cognitive development by limiting a male's interpersonal opportunities and creating an atmosphere of anxiety as he struggles to adhere to societal expectations.

Culturally Current Definitions of Masculinity

Traditional ideology supports a power structure which assigns greater status and power to males over females. These assignments disregard other attributes, skills, knowledge, or accomplishments, and are based entirely on one's birthright (Pagelow, 1981). Furthermore, not only is an individual influenced by this cultural ideology, but the power structure continues to flourish via the individual's participation in and promotion of this ideology. As Jackson and Hardiman (working paper, 1986) state:

<center>5</center>

The application of institutional policies and procedures in an oppressive society run by individuals who advocate or collude with oppression produces oppressive consequences, e.g., unequal treatment by the justice system, employment discrimination,....

Learning to be masculine often involves preparation for active participation within this power structure. This may involve lessons in competition and aggression via sports, and other peer activities. Furthermore, since men are more often in positions of power than women are, they are therefore also in a position to further traditional ideology by promoting attitudes which preserve an unequal balance in power between the two genders.

However, there are also several implications for both cognitive development and psychosocial behavior inherent in this ideology. Specifically, this ideology often results in limited opportunities for males to partake in caring roles and to have perspective-taking experiences. Furthermore, institutions such as law and religion promote this ideology and pass it down through the generations. Other institutions such as the educational system and the family help to transmit traditional norms and encourage "sex-appropriate" behavior (Pagelow, 1981). Until recently, for example, women, capable of bearing children, spent their lives planning for and taking care of their families, while men, whose roles were defined by their intellectual and physical capabilities, became the providers and property owners of their wives and children. These norms continue to exist, possibly to a lesser degree, in our current societal customs. Men and women, both, continue to struggle against rigidly defined gender roles.

Male Gender Formation

The family, the peer group, and mass media help shape the male's view of masculinity, as well as his self-concept. This definition of masculinity may limit the range of behavior that a male can engage in and reflect upon. This has implications for the

6

development of both cognitive and interpersonal skills. The male child, for example, in his search for a healthy male identity, finds persons and ways of disclosing himself to them so that he can be known to others (Ettkin, 1981). Choderow (cited in Gilligan, 1982) points out that the interpersonal dynamics of gender identity formation, after the first three years of life, are different for boys than for girls. While a young girl's identity formation occurs within the framework of a continuous, on-going relationship with her primary caretaker (usually the mother), a boy must separate himself from his mother in order to develop a sense of himself as masculine. This is why separation and individuation are so critically tied to male gender identity.

Heroes, teachers, coaches, and the male peer group, thus become the means (in lieu of the family) by which the male child defines his masculinity. They become vital to the expression of male sexuality and aggression. Heroes, for example, are often extreme exaggerations of stereotypical cultural norms, (Ettkin, 1981). Comic book characters, such as Superman, Captain Marvel, the Hulk, and Spiderman are typical examples of the male child's heroes, a reflection of what is considered "masculine" by our culture. He is "powerful, keeps his own counsel, solves his own problems, and holds a tight reign on emotional expression...He is decisive, certain, and almost never wrong" (Ettkin, 1981).

In his relationships with coaches, teachers, and other mentors a male child has the opportunity to relate to older men in ways that might be less threatening than that of the father/son relationship. He can use these personal relationships to test out fantasy relationships with heroes (Ettkin, 1981).

The male peer group may be one of the most important influences on a male in the development of his identity and the formation of male characteristics. Johnson (1988) maintains that the preservation of gender distinctions and male superiority tend to be more important to males than to females, and that "these tendencies are more likely to develop in

7

separate male groupings than in any direct early interactions with females." Juhasz (1985) suggests that adolescents, involved in what Erikson has termed "the crisis of identity vs. identity diffusion," are most influenced by the peer group as they search for models of leadership and attempt to find out who they are as unique individuals.

Males, therefore, tend to be drawn to large, goal-oriented groups more than females are. The focus of these groups tends to be on competition for a respected position within the group and on solidarity, which is based on being a male and the ability to prove one's masculinity (Johnson, 1988). It is not surprising, then, that when Tiger (cited in Carter, 1981) compares traits observed in male primates and human males he consistently finds two male characteristics: The first is what he refers to as "male-bonding," or the tendency to seek out "exclusive status bound male-to-male relationships." The second he calls the "dominance-submission hierarchy," or the command chain. Certain traits reflecting "competency" help advance members to the top of the hierarchy, where they can legitimately exert control over the other group members.

Separation and Individuation within the Male Culture

Separation and individuation represent the male's interpersonal orientation in the same way that connectedness and empathy represent the interpersonal orientation of the female. Furthermore, these styles are nurtured by societal expectations for males and females. Lever (cited in Gilligan, 1982) suggests that these orientations are influenced by the games young children play. For example, the controlled and socially approved competitive games played by boys teaches them the independence and organizational skills necessary for future leadership roles (Gilligan, 1982). On the other hand, girls tend to play in small, intimate groups replicating the social pattern of primary human relationships, in terms of its emphasis on cooperativeness (Gilligan, 1982). Kegan (1982) also points out that the world of

8

work offers little opportunity for intimacy for the adult male. The work environment is, however, according to Kegan, ideally suited to culturing what Kegan terms the "institutional balance," a developmental stage supporting industry in the autonomous and independent individual. During this balance, intimacy can be experienced as threatening to a sense of self as independent.

An emphasis on separation and individuation can be recognized in the sexuality of males versus that of females. A male's objectified conception of his genitals, for example, differs greatly from the more subjective experience of the female. Donald Symons (cited in Johnson, 1988) points out that while the physiological and psychological responses of males and females are relatively similar during sexual activities, they differ in the ways they "negotiate sexual activity and in the kinds of relationships and interactions they are motivated to seek." While the sexual responses of males and females are of equal intensity, they occur for different reasons. He asserts that the initial arousal of the male is more impersonal than that of the female. Symons emphasizes his argument by suggesting that a male's greater interest in pornography (greater than that of a female) has to do with a kind of "impersonal sexual interest that pornography can satisfy."

One possible explanation for the male's more impersonal sexual orientation involves the interaction of physiological and psychosocial factors. To begin with, The penis is an external sex organ of the male which can become erect when stimulated. As such it is important for both sexual activity and reproduction. While thought processes can help to stimulate penile erections, an erection is mostly an involuntary reaction. For example, there is evidence that a male fetus can experience erections before he is even born, thus, indicating that the "physiological responses of human sex organs occur regardless of whether they are deliberately sought out or even desired" (Kelly, 1988).

9

Lack of control over one's penis can be a confusing and frustrating experience for an adolescent male. This lack of control is the result of major physiological changes occurring in the male's body during puberty. Kinsey reports that about 12% of boys' first ejaculation happened as a nocturnal emission. Some boys also report the occurrence of "spontaneous" ejaculations - those produced by nonsexual stimuli or psychological influences (arousing thoughts, pictures, etc.). "Spontaneous" erections are also a relatively common phenomenon for the adolescent male (Kelly, 1988). Therefore, it appears that new attention is brought to the sex organs as they begin producing hormones again during puberty.

Johnson (1988) points out that in early adolescence, masturbation is often an occasion for exhibitionism and comparison among males. A Kinsey (cited in Johnson, 1988) survey found that 60% of boys interviewed admitted to having engaged in sexual exhibition with other boys. Kinsey felt that this behavior was due in part to the young boy's interest in the anatomy and functional capacities of his genitalia. He also felt that this behavior was "fostered by his socially encouraged disdain for girls' ways, by his admiration for masculine prowess, and by his desire to emulate older boys" (cited in Johnson, 1988). Exhibitionism may reveal itself within the male peer culture in the form of "pissing" contests, comparisons in penis lengths, contests measuring the time it takes to achieve an erection (Garfinkel, 1985), and a variety of other ways.

It is possible that the competition and exhibitionism displayed within the male peer group may be geared towards gaining some control over their genitalia. It was suggested above that from the adolescent's perspective the penis may appear to have a life of its own. Not only is it external to his body, but during puberty it may become erect in any variety of situations. This competition may also serve to further depersonalize a male from his genitals. He learns that not only is his penis a tremendous source of pleasure, but it can also be used to

gain him a place in the "dominance - submission hierarchy." It can be used to demonstrate his "masculinity," first vis-a-vis other males, and later, females.

It seems, therefore, that male peer groups, which emphasize competition and exhibitionism among members, may help to encourage a more detached view of sexuality. This detached view may account for an often expressed discrepancy between the expectations of men and women in sexual relationships. Men, for instance, tend to seek out physical relationships more often than women. For these men the intimacy develops later in the relationship. Women, on the other hand, tend to seek out intimacy initially, with the physical relationship coming later (personal communication, A. Rossi, University of Massachusetts, 1988).

As a result of the emphasis on separation and individuation many men tend to have difficulty acknowledging a need for inclusion. Rather, they are hypothesized to spend longer times in "evolutionary truces" (developmental stages) tilted toward differentiation (Kegan, 1982). For example, Rosenkrantz et al. (cited in Carter, 1981) conducted research which revealed that the traits almost exclusively attributed to men reflect a sense of "competency." These include: "independence, dominance, activity, competitiveness, ambitiousness, logical thinking, and objectivity." Those traits reflecting "warmth-expressiveness" were attributed to women. These included: "tact, gentleness, ability to express tender feelings and kindness."

Parsons and Bales (cited in Carter, 1981) describe two characteristic personality types. The male personality type is referred to as "instrumental," encompassing similar traits to those described by Rosenkrantz et al. The "instrumental" male is athletic, sexual, independent, dominant, courageous, and competitive. The female personality type, on the other hand, is "emotional/expressive."

11

The Focus on Physical Activity Versus Emotional Intimacy Among Males

It has been demonstrated, thus far, that it is impossible to deny the impact of the male peer group on the formation of certain "male" characteristics. The polarity between masculine and feminine sex roles is further highlighted by the male peer group's emphasis on activity rather than emotional intimacy. This high activity level may actually limit the male's opportunity to participate in more introspective experiences. Rather, this focus on the physical and athletic encourages the male to prove himself through speed, strength, and perseverance (Hantover, 1981). Jeffrey P. Hantover (1981), in his essay on "The Social Construction of Masculine Anxiety," writes:

> Among his peers a boy with a mesomorphic physique and good coordination is likely to have more success in male activities; thus there would seem to be a physiologically based process of mutual reinforcement between secure sex-role identity and peer acceptance.

The focus on aggressive activities, through sports, fighting, and other forms of competition, is common in the male peer culture. It may even be accurate to say that many boys learn about their sexuality through this kind of aggressive "rough and tumble" play. Furthermore, this kind of play may provide the only context in which young males can hug and touch eachother. In D. H. Lawrence's Women in Love, for example, a wrestling match between two men has strong overtones of a sexual act:

> So they wrestled swiftly, rapturously, intent and mindless at last, two essential white figures working into a tighter, closer oneness of struggle, with a strange octopus-like knotting and flashing of limbs in the subdued light of the room; a tense white knot of flesh gripped in silence between the walls of old brown books. Now and again came a sharp gasp of breath, or a sound like a sigh, then the strange sound of flesh escaping under flesh. Often, in the white interlaced knot of violent living being that swayed silently, there was no head to be seen, only the swift, light limbs, the solid white backs, the physical junction of two bodies clinched into oneness.

The male peer group, with its focus on activity, therefore, becomes the means by which a male learns to define himself, his sexuality, and his sense of masculinity. Gilder (cited in Francoeur, 1987) asserts that while a woman's sexuality is experienced in almost every "important" aspect of her life - she conceives, bears, and suckles her child - manhood is validated and expressed only in certain chosen activities. (Note: I do not agree with Gilder's assumptions with respect to what constitute the important aspects of a woman's life. These assumptions are based soley on socially constructed definitions of femininity and are not shared by all women alike. Nevertheless, I do concur with his assertion that men must prove themselves).

Male Gender Role Identity and Anxiety

A man is therefore expected to demonstrate his masculinity by performing certain culturally prescribed behaviors. Unlike those women, who are seen as being defined by their femininity, it is his body (his physical maturity) that confirms his readiness to prove his manhood (Hantover, 1981). However, it is this need to prove himself that creates what Hantover (1981) refers to as "masculine anxiety." According to Hantover, this anxiety has two main causes. The first is the ambiguity regarding the male role. The early sex role demands on boys, for example, are primarily negative. A boy learns what he should not do, rather than what he should do, and he is punished more often for "inappropriate" sex role behavior than are girls his age. In other words, we are dealing with a stratafied gender system in which boys learn not to be "girlish" at a very young age. However, it is often quite acceptable for girls to participate in "boyish" activities (those associated with the dominant male culture) at least until their teenage years.

Recent research has shown that boys (at least those with an awareness of gender) begin distancing themselves from "feminine things" long before girls make any such gender

distinctions in their activities. While there are few, if any negative consequences for a young girl who prefers "boyish" activities, (these young girls are most likely expressing a desire for those privileges - independence, and dominance to name only two - accorded to the boys and men with whom they associate) (Taubman, 1986)), there are no acceptable social roles for boys who don't rapidly make their way to cultural goals of masculinity, those who want to be nurturant, emotionally expressive, submissive, and empathic (Johnson, 1988). Yet, boys are given no clear guidelines about what constitutes "masculine things." They must often figure it out on their own.

While the first cause of masculine anxiety occurs in the early years when a boy is learning to define gender appropriate behavior, the second cause occurs in the older years (adolescence and adulthood) when one knows and understands the male script, has the desire to live the script, yet, is denied the opportunity. Changes in the social structure, for instance, may limit the kinds of opportunities available for males to perform their culturally prescribed roles (Hantover, 1981). This may include limited access to women, money, and certain kinds of power.

In the male peer culture there is often a strong emphasis on proving one's manhood. According to the Cognitive Dissonance theory (Carter, 1981), many men experience so many hardships while they are learning the male role that it may be necessary for them to believe in the role and to resist any inconsistency with respect to their attitudes and behaviors. It would, therefore, seem likely that an individual who is highly invested in his "masculine" identity, who has "a high masculine sex-role preference, "may react anxiously when he is not able to meet the culture's sex-role norms (Hantover, 1981). Furthermore, this anxiety may inhibit a male's development by keeping him overly focussed on relieving his own stress rather than tending appropriately to various social demands. According to Hantover (1981), this anxiety,

a response to perceived threats to a male's sex-role identity, may be expressed in "a compensatory emphasis on the assertive and aggressive side of the male role."

Conclusion

In conclusion, socialization processes, which rigidly define acceptable male behavior, may be responsible for helping to retard the social/cognitive development of males by predisposing them to "a self-serving, competitive, and even oppressive outlook" (Gondolf, 1987). Taubman (1986) rightly points out that although white, middle class men represent the dominant political structure in this society, they can also be perceived as damaged people. D. Stevens (cited in Taubman, 1986) states that "men are daily facing norms which proscribe any type of sensitive, noncompetitive, sharing exchanges with other people." The rigidity of his role and the need to prove his manliness may keep the male focussed on his own needs, and inhibited from recognizing the needs of others. Furthermore, the separation and individuation which so characterizes male development may, in effect, preclude development to those stages which depend on maturation in the interpersonal realm.

Cultural Supports for Male Aggression

Encouragement for Male Inexpressiveness and its Relation to Aggression

Many men are taught to be inexpressive. That is, they are either unaware of their feelings, or unable to articulate their feelings (Balswick, 1981). Balswick (1981) claims that this inexpressiveness is due to the variety of roles men are expected to play. A male's gender role, for example, is the most influential in shaping his behavior. The various expressions of masculinity, such as aggressiveness, competitiveness, and perseverance, are valued by the

male child as he learns to be a man, and develops his self-concept (Balswick, 1981). It stands to reason, then, that expressiveness which is seen as a feminine trait, is often devalued.

These same expressions of masculinity are valued by the adult male as he creates an acceptable niche for himself in society. Farrell (1986) points out that a man learns that to be successful in the work place he must often behave competitively and aggressively. The top-down structures of many work environments encourage an atmosphere of distrust as many men (and today, many women) compete on their way to the top of the hierarchy. Yet, these behaviors can also cause him social and psychological conflict, by inhibiting him from establishing intimate relationships with significant others. Gilligan (1982) observes that men whose lives have historically served as a healthy model for adult development, are deprived of the capacity for intimate relationships and emotional expression. These men, for example, often describe their relationships in the "language of achievement, characterized by their success or failure, and impoverished in their affective range."

As aggressive as the work place can be, many men seem to feel more comfortable in this type of environment than in the intimacy of close personal relationships. For example, a study done by Pollak and Gilligan (1982) revealed that while women projected more violence into impersonal situations of achievement, men tended to see more violence in situations of personal affiliation. If aggression is borne from a perceived threat and sense of danger, the findings of this violence study suggest that while women may perceive danger in separation, men perceive danger in connection (Gilligan, 1982).

Aggression as a Learned Phenomenon

While men learn to be inexpressive, on the one hand, they are also more likely (than women) to approve of aggressive behavior. Social Learning theory (Pagelow, 1981) suggests that aggressive behavior is learned through methods such as reinforcement, modeling, and

16

socialization. When aggression appears to provide positive outcomes and the consequences are not unpleasant, (for the aggressor), the aggressive behavior is likely to continue, or to be practiced in the first place (Pagelow, 1981). Bandura (cited in Pagelow, 1981) asserts that "if [a] model's behavior appears to have a functional value, as it often does, observers have strong incentives to practice the modeled patterns and to overlearn them." Studies have shown, for example, that children who have experienced abuse in their childhood homes, may have a learned predisposition toward aggressive behavior as adults. These children learn that aggression is an appropriate means by which to resolve conflict, as it becomes associated with winning, with being superior (Walker, 1979).

In order to show the influence of modeling on behavior, a group of children were administered a variety of social-psychological tests, in which they were to view some form of aggressive behavior. The findings suggest that boys are more inclined than girls to remember and imitate aggression without rewards. The findings also suggest that familiarity with the model has a greater influence on a boy's tendency to imitate aggressive behavior, even if the relationship is not a warm, loving one. And finally, it seems as though a male adult model (as opposed to any other kind of model) is more likely to be imitated by both boys and girls (Pagelow, 1981). This last finding is not surprising considering that in a patriarchal family a man carries more prestige and "power" than does a woman. Furthermore, the fact that young boys are more likely to identify with their fathers than with their mothers, makes the imitation of their father's (or another adult male's) aggressive behavior a likely notion.

The evidence presented thus far give credence to the idea that the burden of aggression exists with the social institutions which promote, rather than discourage male violence. Furthermore, in a society where aggression is supported by cultural norms (Straus, 1976) socialization processes, which begin in childhood, reward men for their physical aggression, which may keep them all the more focussed on their own needs versus the needs

of others. The male peer culture, for example, has tremendous influence over a male throughout his lifetime. It appears that beginning at a very young age boys receive positive responses from other boys for male-typical behaviors. Fagot and Hagen (cited in Johnson, 1988), in a study of assertive-aggressive acts of toddlers, found that boys tended to respond more often to the aggressive behavior of other boys, than to the aggressive behavior of girls. Girls, on the other hand, responded equally as often to the aggressive acts of both sexes. The adolescent peer group supports male aggression by assuring respect to a male for his physical strength and athletic ability - which is demonstrated by his victory over others. Kanin (1985) points out that these peer groups tend to reward sexual experience and support "sexual transgressions" under certain conditions. Men who have raped report a perceived acceptance of their behavior from other peer group members. Kanin (cited in Johnson, 1988) also reports that rapists often have a history of "collaborative sex" in which group members share a female sexually in order to increase a sense of solidarity among the males involved.

Male Aggression as a Power Dynamic

It has been demonstrated thus far that the male role is ultimately validated by the ability to prove himself through his physical strength and/or his heterosexual experience. It may be useful, therefore, to look at how men's need for power over women is strongly related to the perceived threat to his masculinity - or rather, how men feel women have power over them. Pleck (1981) points to two kinds of power women have over men. The first is termed "expressive power," or the power to express one's emotions. Men are often taught to be cool and inexpressive. Yet, according to Pleck, they learn to express their feelings vicariously through women. The other form of power women have over men is "masculinity - validating power." In other words, in order for a man to experience himself as "manly," a

woman must play her part by doing things to validate his masculinity. This could possibly include acquiescing to sex, even when she does not desire it herself.

When either "expressive power," or "masculinity-validating power" are withheld, Pleck believes that a man will do anything in his power to get the woman to play her traditional role. This may, in part, explain the findings of recent studies which reveal that persons with more traditional values toward women (as measured by the Attitudes Toward Women Scale) - especially traditional men - rated rape as significantly more justifiable than did more nontraditional persons, especially in those situations in which the woman initiated the date, the couple went to the man's apartment, and the man paid the daSwng expenses (Muehlenhard, Friedman, and Thomas, 1985, Muehlenhard, 1988 and Fischer, 1986). It is not surprising that in a study of males who have engaged in spouse abuse, Neidig, Friedman, and Collins (1986) found that the men who had displayed abusive behavior scored significantly lower on self-esteem than did the controls. The anxiety and fear experienced by these men are said to have been converted into anger and expressed through aggressive behavior. Farrell (1986) also points out that man's role of taking initiatives and receiving rejection not only causes him to objectify women, it also "puts an aggressive anger in the pressure cooker." The gap between desire and fulfillment, and the perceived threat to one's masculinity, could possibly lead to a male's sense of anxiety and frustration (Farrell, 1986). Frustration is an emotional state which occurs when one is prevented from doing what one wants to do, such as achieving goals or performing certain behaviors (Girdano and Everly, 1979). The threat to or frustration of one's self-esteem may also brings with it a very high risk for arousing anger (Taubman, 1986). Initially, individuals may respond to frustration with feelings of anger and aggression. However, frustration then causes the stress response - a physiological reaction to a perceived threat. This response, by affecting many areas of the body, including the functioning of the brain, prepares the individual to fight or flight from the

19

stressor (Girdano & Everly, 1979). It is suggested that if there is no appropriate outlet for the male's anger, the potential exists for violence (Farrell, 1986, and Girdano & Everly, 1979).

The Role of Early Experience on Aggressive Behavior

The anger and frustration experienced by sexually abusive men very often has its roots in early childhood experiences. Chilman (1983) writes, for instance, that

> The way parents and children relate to eachother in the broad area of love and sexual expressions of all kinds....have a deep effect on the developing sexuality of the child and later, the adolescent. These learnings, combined with other, possibly inherent characteristics, are carried by the young person into the neighborhood, school, and community where the learnings are further affected by the knowledge and attitudes of peers and influential adults.

Experiences that deprive young people of necessary interactions with parents, peers, and the environment have the effect of retarding development to new orientations, or ways of interacting with the world. Furthermore, this arrested development may have important implications for the occurrence of antisocial behavior. As Kegan (1982) asserts, "strong connections are easier to separate from than are conflicted, tentative, or ambivalent ones." Gibbs et. al (1984) suggest, for example, that the lack of role-taking opportunities found in "power-assertive, disharmonious homes" is partly the cause of arrested development in social and moral reasoning among juvenile defenders. They point out that research shows that a significantly higher percentage of juvenile delinquents are at Kohlberg's sociomoral stage 2 (Instrumental purposes, individualism) than are at stage 3 (mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships, and interpersonal conformity) or stage 4 (social systems and conscience).

Rapists and batterers have also been found to be in the lower stages of moral development (Gondolf, 1987). Gondolf (1987) points out, for example, that rapists often

begin treatment at Kohlberg's Level One, with little concern for anyone but themselves. Gondolf calls this level "Denial," for the rapist is primarily interested in furthering his own needs and denies that he has been abusive. The two stages associated with this Level One orientation are Mwefiance" and "Self-Justification." In the "Defiance" stage the offender is not aware of any "moral wrong or personal consequence" as a result of his abusive actions. Rather, he may rationalize his actions as inconsequential or necessary for his survival. Unlike his attitude in stage one, the offender in the "Self-Justification" stage knows his behavior is abusive, nevertheless justifies the abuse as instrumental in meeting his needs. According to Gondolf (1987) the goal of treatment is to help the offender begin to see himself as a person who can influence the world around him. In this way his newly defined principles and moral values can begin to guide his more prosocial behavior.

In speaking about the adolescent sex offender, Margolin (1984) states that "the lying and manipulative behavior he shows is frequently a product of a very careful matching of means to ends." In other words, these individuals tend to operate from an egocentric world view. "If it benefits me, I'll do it." While they recognize that others have needs and interests different from their own, they are completely absorbed in their own needs (Kegan, 1982).

That offenders are at lower developmental stages that support embeddedness in their own needs, and a lack of perspective-taking abilities may support the findings of a recent study (Lipton et al, 1987) which supports the notion that rapists have information-processing (decoding) deficits that limit them from adequately judging negative interpersonal cues from women in first date situations. Subjects, consisting of rapists, violent nonrapists, and nonviolent nonrapists, were administered the Test of Reading Affective Cues (TRAC). This measure consisted of a series of videotaped vignettes of heterosexual couples on a first date, and others involving the interactions of more intimate couples. Subjects were asked to

determine which of five affective cues - romantic, positive, neutral, negative, or bad mood - was being conveyed in each party in the interaction. Rapists not only had difficulty reading the interpersonal cues of women on first dates, they had similar deficits in regard to the male counterparts. Lipton stresses, however, that "the specificity of rapists' deficits argued against the likelihood that their poor performance was merely an artifact of inattention or low motivation. It might be argued, however, that when a person is embedded in his/her own needs, it would be unlikely that he/she would possess the social/cognitive skills necessary to assess and respond appropriately to the needs of another (unless the needs of both parties were consistent).

Ryan (1987) also points out that males exposed to deviant sexual attitudes and behaviors while they are maturing may add these behaviors to their repertoire of potential sexual expressions. As it happens, male children are not only more often victims of serious injury from child abuse than females are, they represent 25% of the victims of sexual abuse (Ryan, 1987). A study by Longo (1982) indicates that the adolescent sex offender has generally had sex experiences prior to the onset of puberty, with a significant number of these being perceived as traumatic. In spite of this information, there are few services available for support in dealing with his feelings of anger, powerlessness, and lack of control. Rather, males are taught to defend themselves and take care of their own problems. Their victimization may, therefore, represent to them their failure as a male (Ryan, 1987). Chickering (cited in Orzek, 1984) maintains that many boys, but especially those who have been victimized, learn to deny and internalize their emotions. However, if this repressed anger is combined with the objectification of females, the objectification of one's genitals, and an egocentric world view, rape does not seem an unlikely phenomenon.

How the Culture Promotes Violence Against Women

Traditional ideology calls for men to have and maintain control over women. The media also promotes the idea that violence for a just cause is appropriate behavior (Straus, 1976). The attitude that women are the property of men, (which until recently was a commonly held notion), combined with a man's sense of loss of control/power can become a just cause for violence when a woman seeks to express her independence (Straus, 1976). For example, men who batter often reveal that the emotional capacities of their wives is extremely threatening to them (Gondolf, 1987). According to Gondolf (1987) "the batterers respond to the perceived threat with instrumental violence that attempts to remove the threat to their emotional underdevelopment." Snell et. al (cited in Pagelow, 1981) report on cases in which abused women (by their husbands) were diagnosed by a team of psychiatrists as "passive, aggressive, indecisive, masculine, domineering, masochistic, frigid, and emotionally deSwived people who needed periodic punishment for her castrating behavior."

Therefore, if a male's use of force and violence are acceptable means for maintaining control and validating masculinity, then he will use it. The information presented by Estrich (1987) suggests that not only is the system set up to provide insufficient punishments for sexual offenders, but there seems to be an opportunity for rewards. For example, evidence presented from New York police files, estimates that 24% of rape complaints in nonstranger rapes are judged to be unfounded by police. In stranger rape cases, about 5% are considered unfounded. Estrich also points out that even if the police do not demerit a complaint, a conviction is not guaranteed. In Washington, D.C. there is a 20% conviction rate. It's 25% in New York, 34% in California, and 32% in Indiana. So, while a rape offender may walk away from a rape free of any charges, he may also walk away with a heightened sense of domination over women.

The fact that boys and girls are so often encouraged to participate in gender-typical behaviors is not necessarily destructive in and of itself. Rather, it is the effects of this intense conditioning that appears to create a threat to both the individual and society. Aggression, for example, has its place in athletics. It's what makes the game both exciting to play and to watch. The problem, however, is that this desire to win, at the expense of others, does not always stay within the athletic arena. More often, it makes its way into other relationships, thus limiting the opportunities for relating equally and intimately with others (Lewis, 1981).

Summary

In summary, social influences that will help form an adult gender identity, and influence an individual's social/ cognitive development are set in motion at birth, and are determined by existing biological factors. This is not to suggest that biology causes certain behavior. Rather, biological factors may interact with social/environmental factors as to make some learnings and behaviors easier for one gender than another (Johnson, 1988). Taubman (1986) contends that:

> There is little doubt that whatever biologically based tendency for aggression might exist in both men and women, the form of its expression is shaped by experience which, in turn, is shaped by cultural norms and by social interaction.

Socialization processes, therefore, which begin at birth, encourage different behaviors for both males and females. While girls are encouraged to develop nurturant and empathic interpersonal skills, gender specific expectations often encourage males to be autonomous, independent, self-serving, and when necessary, aggressive. These gender specific roles may, in turn, serve to inhibit the moral and social development of many males by limiting opportunities for more intimate relationships. However, involvement in intimate relationships allows individuals to develop appropriate perspective-taking and empathic abilities, which are

needed for moral development. In speaking of a batterer's recovery, Gondolf (1987) stresses the importance of the developed capacity to establish relationships with some emotional dimension. He states that the batterer's "growing awareness of his own feelings enables him to recognize the feelings of others. Therefore, the man is able to develop a sense of respect for others and for authority beyond his personal will." It is only when we as a society can begin to ascribe to males the opportunity to engage in sensitive, cooperative exchanges with other people that we can also begin to ensure the development of males which precludes violence and fosters intimacy.

Male Adolescent/Young Adult Development and Social Behavior

Available data indicates that the age distribution of crime is invariant across social and cultural conditions, with adolescents and young adult males being overwhelmingly represented in all socially deviant behavior (Gove 1985, and Hirschi 1983). According to official data, the tendency to commit violent (or person) crimes peaks later than property crimes and the rates of these crimes decline more slowly with age. For example, violent crimes, such as murder and rape, are highest among 18 to 24 year olds, whereas after 30 there is a gradual decline, even with continued exposure to criminal influences (Gove, 1985). In trying to understand this age/crime relationship it seems appropriate to explore some of the developmental factors influencing the world view of the adolescent and young adult. These world views, in turn, can have a tremendous impact on an individual's choice of action.

This section will therefore explore male adolescent development as it relates to social behavior. The terms "phase" and "stage" will be used throughout this section. Phasic

development will be used to refer to a model of development which looks at an individual's psychological and affective functioning within a social context. Each social context presents individuals with certain tasks which eventually lead to particualar social crises. The way in which an individual negotiates these tasks and resolves these particualar crises helps to determine how that individual will resolve future developmental demands. Stage development, on the other hand, refers to the structural cognitive reasoning processes that help to determine how an individual (in this case the adolescent) makes meaning of certain developmental tasks and experiences. These reasoning processes move through an invariant sequence in which distinct changes in meaning-making occur from one stage to the next. The relationship of these concepts will be clarified in the following pages.

Phasic Development and its Relation to Male Identity Formation

Catherine Chilman (1983) points out that most individuals progress from "self-centered dependency toward a more socialized independence; from understanding and knowing almost nothing toward the ability to comprehend and deal more or less realistically with the outer world; from a deep attachment to parents (or parent substitutes) to attachments with others outside the family; from uninhibited expression of sexual interests to at least some control over these interests; from no sense of gender identity to an increasingly clear sense of gender." This development does not occur directly from one end of the continuum to the other. Rather, individuals develop gradually through a series of successive stages. From most theoretical perspectives, however, the young child is represented at one extreme while the mature adult is represented at the other. The adolescent, on the other hand, remains somewhere in the middle. According to Erikson (1968), for example, the crucial developmental phase for adolescents is Identity vs. Identity Diffusion, as they attempt to answer the questions "Who am I?" and "What will I be?" They are no longer as dependent

on their parents as they once were. Nor do they possess an inner-world orientation that allows them to believe they are the possessors and creators of their own eternal truths (Neugarten, 1979). Rather, the adolescent is most influenced by peer group members, and is egocentric and self-centered as he prepares himself for the adult world (Juhasz, 1985). Thus, for the adolescent male, the establishment of a masculine identity becomes crucial during this stage. As was mentioned earlier in this paper, this identity is established primarily through action, rather than intimacy. Stanley (1988) points out the importance of an environment which allows for experimentation with a variety of roles, the experience of decision-making, meaningful accomplishments, freedom from excessive anxiety, and time for reflection and introspection, in fostering the formulation of a positive identity. The positive resolution of this phase will help the adolescent cope more effectively with future phases. Furthermore, Rogers (1980) maintains that inadequate resolutions of developmental tasks may "lead to stress, anxiety, maladaptive behavior, and a decrease in resolving the tasks of future phases adequately."

Stage Development and its Implications for Behavior

However, the way in which an individual resolves a task (or phase) has a lot to do with how that individual makes meaning of that task (Kitchener, 1982). Aldous Huxley writes, for instance, that "experience is not what happens to you, it's what you do with what happens to you" (cited in Kegan, 1982). Furthermore, this kind of interpretation will vary according to an individual's cognitive developmental level. Dusek and Flaherty (1981) point out, for example, that events such as entrance into a new school, impending graduation, changing relationships to parents and peers, may influence an adolescent's self-concept depending on the way these events are evaluated by the individual.

27

Erikson's stage of Identity vs. Identity Diffusion has often been said to correspond chronologically to Piaget's Formal operations level of thinking. (However, there is no necessary link between the two (Dusek and Flaherty, 1981, and Kegan, 1982)). For example, as the adolescent struggles to determine his/her role within the "adult" social framework it is expected that he/she not only be able to analyze his/her own thinking, but must also have the capacity to reflect on the ideologies of the larger group (Inhelder and Piaget, 1958). In this view the definition of one's self-concept requires the capacity for formal thought (or the ability to maintain abstractions).

The assumption at the Formal Operational level is that when dealing with a conflict the adolescent has the capacity to define the problem, seek out alternative courses of action, hypothesize about cause and effect, and evaluate potential consequences of chosen actions (Juhasz, 1985). Furthermore, according to Kohlberg's socio-moral perspective (cited in Kegan, 1982) individuals at this stage of development should be capable of a societal orientation, one that binds them by a commitment to law and order (see Table 1 for an illustration of the correspondence among Erikson, Piaget and Kohlberg's developmental models). Then, how do we explain the fact that the highest conviction rate exists among adolescents and young adults?

The assumptions mentioned above might be challenged by at least those developmentalists who maintain that one's reasoning level depends to a large degree on that which is being reasoned about and thus may not be consistent across content areas (Selman, 1974). Furthermore, cognitive, psychosocial, and socio-moral development appear to be influenced strongly by individual physiological, sociocultural and psychological factors (Juhasz, 1985). While development is unidirectional, not all individuals mature at the same rate. Any number of experiences can effect this growth process in any or all of the developmental domains. Actually, there is evidence suggesting that many adolescents and

young adults do not attain full formal operations. Rather, many will remain at the concrete operational level, not yet able to predict the consequences of their actions (Noam, 1985 and Juhasz, 1985). J. Adelson (cited in Chilman, 1983), in speaking of the adolescent's inability to reason logically in cost/benefit terms, states that the "young adolescent is locked into the present. His view of the future is constricted: he may grasp the effect of today on tomorrow, but not on the day after tomorrow." Furthermore, the adolescent's thought patterns tend to be egocentric. In other words, they are often not able to differentiate their own concerns from those of others. (It was mentioned earlier that a more empathic orientation is fostered in the development of females. Males tend to remain in stages that foster separation and differentiation for longer periods of time).

It is unfair to generalize a specific stage of meaning organization to all adolescents. It is fair, however, to assert that different adolescents may organize the period of adolescence according to different meaning organizations (Noam, 1985), and that these meaning organizations may have implications for certain behaviors. Noam (1985) describes four self-other perspectives that an adolescent can use to adapt to various phasic demands (these orientations are based on Selman's perspective-taking levels). The first level is the Subjective Self-Other Perspective, an egocentric state in which the individual cannot relate self and other's perspective. According to Noam (1985) the individual at this stage is embedded in his/her own wishes and is vulnerable to impulsive outbursts if these wishes are denied. The adolescent who has not made the transition to concrete operations is left without the tools and the knowledge with which to guide his/her behavior. The second level is the Reciprocal-Instrumental Self-Other Perspective. During this stage, the individual is aware of different perspectives yet, cannot coordinate these perspectives simultaneously. Noam (1985) maintains that individuals at this stage engage in mutually beneficial exchanges that are instrumental in nature. When his/her needs are frustrated the individual may be prone to willful and planned

29

"acting out" (Noam, 1985). At the third stage - the Mutual Self-Other Perspective - the adolescent can reflect on the self from the viewpoints of others. During this stage the adolescent may experience the world primarily through the eyes of others as he/she tries to resolve the conflict between inclusion versus abandonment. The adolescent at this stage depends, to a large extent, on the support of the peer group for a positive sense of self. At this stage the peer group exerts tremendous pressure on the adolescent. This influence can be toward either pro or anti social behavior, for what is "right is determined by group norms" (Kegan and Lahey, 1984). And finally, at the fourth stage - the Systemic Self-Other Perspective - the individual is aware of a larger social perspective, and begins to define and value the self and others in terms of this larger system. Individuals at this stage should be beginning to define the self less by the judgments of others and more by his/her own personal choices goals.

Integration of Phasic and Stage Development

Therefore, while many adolescents may be confronted with similar tasks and conflicts, the way they negotiate these may depend, to a large extent, on his/her specific meaning orientation, i.e., developmental level. It is maintained, however, that "higher stages of moral reasoning demand the ability to see perspectives other than one's own" (Smith, 1978). It has also been suggested that because moral reasoning has such a strong cognitive core, a formal operation stage is a necessary condition for understanding and using higher forms of moral reasoning (Smith, 1978). Chilman (1983) points out that adolescents, in immature stages of development, may be unable to recognize and value the personhood of another. Gibbs et al (1984) also suggest that with his increase in size, strength, sex impulse, and ego capacity the adolescent male who has not developed to at least Kohlberg's stage 3 - reciprocal role-taking (similar to Noam's Mutual Self-Other Perspective) -is left with a world

view that puts him at risk cognitively and behaviorally to succumb to antisocial influences. Therefore, one possible explanation for the decline in violent crimes after the age of thirty is that as people age there is a tendency to move from a more egocentric world view to a concern for the group and the community. There is also a tendency to become aware of being the socializer rather than the socialized (Neugarten, 1979). (It is important to note, however, that while being at the interpersonal stage is an important condition for the preclusion of anti social behavior, it is not a sufficient condition. To be part of a group often requires one to commit actions that go against one's values).

The relationship between meaning organizations and behavior is also described by Kohlberg (1976). Kohlberg maintains, for example, that there is a necessary but not sufficient connection between an individual's moral reasoning level and their moral behavior. He suggests that while higher levels of moral reasoning are necessary for moral behavior, any number of factors can interfere with a person's ability to live up to his/her stage of moral reasoning in a particular situation. According to Rest (1986) these factors include the following psychological processes: 1. a recognition that the situation at hand is a moral dilemma (which includes an awareness of possible actions as well as the consequences of each action); 2. an ability to reason morally (or choose between several courses of action); 3. a willingness to pursue what one considers to be morally correct; and 4. a possession of the necessary skills to follow through on a particular course of action. In other words, while moral reasoning ability has an important influence on behavior, there may be other equally important factors which impact on an individual's choice of action.

With this in mind, my own analysis of the relationship between an adolescent's stage and social behavior is summarized in Table 3. Three theorists have been chosen to represent the social/cognitive development of adolescent males in each of three domains. Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning have been included in table 3 because they represent the foundation

31

from which other theories of social/cognitive development are borne. Furthermore, many of the existing studies linking social behavior and development have been based almost solely on the use of Kohlberg's theory of moral reasoning. It would therefore be a mistake to exclude this theorist from our discussion.

Selman's (and Noam's) social-perspective-taking model is also included because of it's importance and relevance to the topic of social behavior (Selman's stages 0-4 were used. These correspond to Noam's stages 1A-4)). It has been emphasized a number of times throughout this paper that the ability to take another's perspective is an important factor in the development of prosocial behavior. It is only when an individual can make inferences about another that he/she can truly understand the impact and consequences of his/her actions on that other person.

Finally, Weinstein's Self-Knowledge stages have also been included in Table 3. While there is nothing in the literature relating this theory to the social behavior of adolescents, this author feels that the ability to understand and describe one's own perspective is very much related to how one behaves. It was mentioned earlier in this paper, for example, that an individual can recognize the feelings of others when he/she is first aware of his/her own feelings (Gondolf, 1987). (See Table 2 for a nonempirically based correspondence among the forementioned theories of structural development).

To the far left of Table 3 are those skills that I believe the adolescent male must master in his development of prosocial behavior. The three remaining columns illustrate the stages at which these skills can be mastered within the domains of Moral Reasoning, Social-Perspective-Taking, and Self-Knowledge.

The literature presented thus far gives some credence to the notion that certain abilities are important in the development of prosocial behavior. For example, while the ability to self-reflect is a general characteristic, Gondolf (1987) emphasizes its importance in

helping individuals recognize and respect the feelings of others. In other words, individuals who do not possess an awareness of their own feelings cannot always understand how their actions effect how others will feel. Furthermore, these individuals may have difficulty recognizing how their own feelings contribute to the situation. They may be more apt to blame the situation for their feelings, and thus may be less likely to take responsibility for their actions.

A study by Mulvey and La Rosa (1986) supports the notion that the ability to self-refect is an important component to prosocial behavior. These researchers employed retrospective interviews with a sample of 15 to 20 year old reformed male delinquents in order to account for a documented drop in delinquent activity in late adolescence. The results of this study indicate that cognitive change was consistently found to be a precurser to behavioral change. For example, prior to the cessation of delinquent activities, subjects in this study pointed to their own internal resolve as the factor that allowed them to change. In other words, most subjects recalled a moment when they reflected on their lives and decided to effect positive change.

The ability to be self-reflective, therefore, has many important implications for the establishment of prosocial behavior. Individuals who understand themselves can better understand others, and they may be more able to accurately identify their participation in significant interactions.

The ability to take another's perspective is also important for prosocial behavior. Selman (1971) suggests, for example, that the development of the ability to understand perspectives other than one's own is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for higher levels of moral reasoning. In other words, the ability to take another's perspective is a precursor to the ability to respect the points of view of others to the extent that manipulative and controlling behavior can be seen as inappropriate means of attaining one's goals.

Individuals who operate from a more egocentric orientation run the risk of using antisocial means to further their own ends.

That perspective-taking skills are an important component of prosocial behavior is supported by Chandler's study (1973), which indicates that "prosocial behavior is linked to the development of age-appropriate role-taking and perspective-taking skills" and "that a variety of forms of social deviancy are associated with persistent egocentric thought." Forty-five delinquent and forty-five nondelinquent boys between the ages of 11 and 13 were administered the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) and a measure of social egocentrism. In order to measure social egocentrism, subjects were shown a single cartoon sequence and asked to describe this sequence first from their own point of view and then from the perspective of a partially informed witness or bystander (also a cartoon character in the stimulus materials). The results of this study conclude that while there is not necessarily a causal relationship between development and antisocial behavior (or prosocial behavior) the chronically delinquent subjects (as compared to the nondelinquent subjects) demonstrated a marked developmental lag in their ability to successfully adopt the perspectives of others. Furthermore, a follow-up study, implemented 18 months later, indicates that improvements in role-taking (due to a remedial training in role-taking) are associated with significant reductions in delinquent behavior.

The ability to tolerate and manage differences between self and others relies, to a large extent, on the ability to self-reflect and take the perspective of others. This ability is particularly important for the maintenance of prosocial behavior. The words "tolerate" and "manage" mean more than just "putting up with." They also imply a sense of acceptance, "a capacity to respond to persons in their own right" (Chickering, 1969). When an individual can tolerate and manage differences between self and others, they may be Mwre likely to use appropriate means to resolve conflicts. Furthermore, they may be less likely to view others

in absolute or stereotypical terms (Chickering, 1969). On the other hand, a person who has not developed this ability runs the risk of using antisocial means, i.e., violence, to further his/her needs. If an individual is not yet able to accept and respect the differences in others, it is also possible that they would not possess the ability to control their reactions to those differences.

It has been suggested many times throughout this paper that societal values and traditional male roles often pull for antisocial behavior (Brownmiller, 1975, Taubman, 1986, and Franklin, 1984). In other words, an adherence to societal expectations does not always guarantee a prosocial orientation, in less than optimal conditions. For this reason the last three skills mentioned in Table 3 are especially important for the development of more consistent prosocial norms. When one has an identity that is prosocial in nature, is able to discriminate between societal and self-selected values, and is able and willing to act according to those values, it is hypothesized that they would then be more apt to withstand negative external pressures. On the other hand, those who rely on optimal conditions and are easily influenced by external pressures run the risk of more erratic patterns of behavior. They have not yet developed an internalized set of principles to help manage their behavior. (See Table 3).

A study by Ford (1982) supports the abovementioned conclusion. Ford used two samples of ninth and tenth graders to assess the relationship between social cognition and social behavior, and implemented an open systems approach for analysis (the relevant aspects of this approach are described in Ford, 1982). The results of this study suggest that social cognition is significantly related to effective social behavior. More specifically, adolescents who are judged as able Mw behave prosocially in challenging social situations tend to be able to set goals for themselves and control their own destiny, rather than being strongly influenced by external pressures. There is also evidence that "socially competent" adolescents

are better interpersonal problem solvers, and that they are more likely to consider the possible consequences of their behaviors for themselves and others.

It was mentioned earlier in this section that life tasks can be approached in many different ways depending on the meaning applied at a particular developmental stage. However, given the complex social norms in our society, the relatively naive world view of the earlier developmental stages may make it difficult to resolve the social demands of adolescence (and adulthood). This does not imply that a more advanced development of the self will shield an individual from involvement in antisocial behavior (nor does it mean that the less advanced stages prohibit involvement in prosocial behavior). Rather, the more advanced stages may allow the individual to view the world through internal or psychological lenses and provide him/her "with a set of more complex and adaptive tools to resolve" certain fundamental tasks (Noam, 1985). For example, the self-protectiveness, lack of impulse control, and externalized sense of responsibility of the earlier stages (Kohlberg's stages one and two, Selman/Noam's stages one and two, and Weinstein's Elemental and Situational stages) are inadequate for coping prosocially with many important developmental abilities, i.e., introspection, taking the perspective of another, tolerating and managing differences between the self and others, establishing a masculine identity that allows for prosocial behavior, etc... As you can see in table 3, none of the mentioned skills can be accomplished at the earlier stages. Rather, many of these can only be attempted by the middle stages, and then only conditionally (or situationally).

By providing the adolescent with the ability to delay gratification of needs, a mutual orientation may help the adolescent more effectively deal with specific tasks and conflict situations (Noam, 1985). Yet, this outcome is not guaranteed, but depends, to a large extent, on the adolescent's ability to act according to his or her prosocial beliefs in the presence of negative peer pressure. It is not until one reaches the later stages of development (Kohlberg 5

36

and 6, Selman/Noam 4, Weinstein Pattern and Transformational) that there is a less conditional component to the maintenance of prosocial behavior. In other words, when an individual develops his/her own principles, and those principles are prosocial in nature, and when an individual is able and willing to manage his/her own behavior, then that individual's behavior is no longer situationally dependent.

In summary, therefore, many adolescents do not attain higher stages of development in any of the domains mentioned in Table 3. Rather, they linger somewhere between the lower and middle stages. It is therefore unrealistic to expect an adolescent's behavior to be guided completely by an internalized and mature set of principles. At best, prosocial behavior is conditional and may depend on the provision of a structured and supportive environment.

Table 1.   Correspondence Among Theories of Psychosocial and Structural
            Development. Taken from Kegan, 1982.

Erikson	Piaget	Kohlberg
Initiative vs. Guilt	Preoperational	Punishment and Obedience
Industry vs. Inferiority	Concrete Operational	Instrumental
Affiliation vs. Abandonment	Early Formal Operational	Interpersonal Concordance
Identity vs. Identity Diffusion	Full Formal Operational	Societal

Table 2.   Nonempirical Correspondence Among Theories of Structural Development.
Taken from Weinstein, 1985, Noam, 1985, and Muus, 1982.

Kohlberg (Moral Reasoning)	Selman/Noam (Social Perspective Taking)	Weinstein (Self-Knowledge)
	Physical Self-Other Perspective	
Punishment & Obedience	Subjective Self-Other Perspective	
Instrumental	Reciprocal Self-Other Perspective	Elemental Situational
Interpersonal Concordance	Mutual Self-Other Perspective	
Societal	Systemic Self-Other Perspective	Pattern
Prior Rights and Social Contract		
Universal Ethical Principles		Transformational

Table 3.   Skill Analysis. Skills which are important for prosocial behavior, and the
stages at which they are likely to occur within three domains.

Adolescent Male Tasks in the Development of Prosocial Behavior.	Kohlberg (Moral Reasoning)	Selman/Noam (Social-Perspective-Taking)	Weinstein (Self-Knowledge)
1. Ability to self-reflect.	(3) can from point of view of others. (4,5,6) can from self's perspective.	(3) can from point of view of others. (4) can from self's perspective.	(Situational) can when the situation is accommodating. (Pattern and Transformational) can in less than accommodating circumstances.
2. Ability to take another's perspective.	(3-4) simple role taking when others are similar to oneself. (5-6) can even when others are different from oneself.	(2,3) When one's own needs are not being threatened and when others are similar to oneself. (4) can even when others are different from oneself.	
3. Ability to tolerate/manage differences between self and others.	(5-6) can when one is secure with who one is and is not bound by absolute thinking.	(3) can when self-esteem is not threatened. (4) can when the maintenance of the larger system is not threatened.	
4. Establishment of a masculine identity that allows for prosocial behavior.	(3) can in optimal environment with structure and support. (4,5,6) can in less than optimal environment.	(3) can in optimal environment where peers behave prosocially. (4) can in less than optimal environment.	
5. Ability to discriminate between societal and self-selected values.	(5-6) can when one has developed an internalized set of principles.	(4) can when one has a context for self-chosen choices and commitments.	
6. Ability to act according to one's prosocial beliefs in the presence of negative peer/societal pressure.	(5-6) can when one has developed an internalized set of principles.	(4) can when one is no longer as dependent on other's perspective of self.	(Pattern and Transformational) can when one relies on internal versus external influences, which are not situationally dependent.

CHAPTER II

PILOT STUDY: DEVELOPMENT OF CODING MEASURES

Introduction

Presently, the existing research on development and sex offenders focusses primarily on juvenile and convicted offenders. Furthermore, this research is influenced primarily by Kohlberg's stages of moral development, with sexual offenders being at lower stages of moral development than their male counterparts (Gondolf, 1987). As such the research does not focus on any of the other developmental domains, i.e., social-perspective-taking, and self-knowledge. However, not only does Selman (1971) firmly stress the necessary (but not sufficient) connection between perspective-taking abilities and moral reasoning, Gondolf (1987) also suggests that self-awareness is a necessary precondition to the ability to recognize and understand perspectives other than one's own.

In response to the increasing occurrence of date-rape on college campuses additional research is essential to understanding the developmental factors that contribute to sexual aggression among college males. Therefore, the goal of this project is to develop a clinical interview which will measure developmental differences, with respect to Social-Perspective-Taking and Self-Knowledge, that may be related to sexual coercion. It is my hope that this model will ultimately be useful in the early detection of social/cognitive factors associated with male sexual aggression. The use of this model will increase the effectiveness of treatment and prevention programs by assisting service providers in identifying and advancing developmental stages of potential offenders. To quote Gondolf (1987): "Ultimately, we as a

society must make a commitment to assuring the moral development in all men that precludes abuse of women and violence in general."

Methods

Subjects

A total of 7 subjects were interviewed. The subjects were freshmen (n=1) and sophomore (n=6) caucasian males from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, who volunteered thirty to forty-five minutes of their time to participate in this pilot study.

Procedures

This instrument is designed to measure an individual's ability to both comprehend and interact with the social world. The constructs being assessed therefore include the subject's self-knowledge, and his awareness of others' perspectives, and interpersonal relations (based on perspective taking ability). Weinstein et al. (1985) suggest that individuals generate knowledge about themselves and others "by gathering the raw data of experience, construing that experience in various ways, and expressing it as descriptions and hypotheses." Therefore, since we cannot get into the minds of our subjects, a reliance on their descriptions is indicated.

Furthermore, current developmental research strongly maintains that one's reasoning level depends to a large degree on that which is being reasoned about (Selman, 1974). This interview, therefore, attempts to take into consideration the impact of the content area being used to probe developmental level.

Three short videotaped vignettes, each dealing with a particular issue and type of interpersonal relation (three girlfriends, boyfriend and girlfriend, and two male friends), were used to probe the subject's reasoning ability across different content areas. This method has been chosen based on the assumption that filmstrips will depict characters in greater depth than would be possible with verbal renditions of interpersonal dilemmas. Selman (1974) also maintains that because filmstrips are more realistic, subjects are encouraged to give more serious consideration to the problem. These film segments were chosen from two popular movies now on the market ("Mystic Pizza" and "Ordinary People"), and they range from more neutral to more emotionally sensitive topics, in order to elicit a range of responses.

After each filmstrip the subject is asked six to seven questions aimed at probing the subject's understanding of the subjective experiences of both one other person and two other person's in relationship. After the second filmstrip the subject is also asked to participate in a written portion of the interview. This written portion is based on Weinstein's (1985) Self-Knowledge interview, and as such measures the subject's intraindividual reasoning abilities.

<div align="center">Results</div>

Construct Definitions

In order to assess an individual's ability to comprehend and interact with his social world, his functioning in three domains needs to be known. These include: 1. his self-knowledge, or his ability to describe his internal experiences; 2. his ability to describe his awareness of other's perspectives; and 3. his ability to describe his awareness of interpersonal interactions.

Based on the analysis of the data five, more specific, constructs were developed. These include: Self-Knowledge, Identification of Feelings, Subjective Patterns, Perspective-Taking, and Understanding Relationships. These constructs allow for a more detailed analysis of the three more general domains mentioned above (see Table 4). They are defined as follows:

Self-Awareness

Self-Knowledge, as Weinstein et al. (1985) maintain, refers to an individual's ability to understand and describe the interactions between self and other from the self's perspective. The goal of self-knowledge development is the ability to describe experiences with progressively more complexity, and to manage experiences more and more intentionally. In order to probe the subjects' level of self-knowledge they were asked to remember a similar experience to the one presented in the "boyfriend and girlfriend" filmstrip, and to recall it in detail. They were then asked to respond in writing to a number of statements and questions surrounding their own experience (see Appendix B).

Table 4.   Constructs within three general social/cognitive domains and the catagories that were identified within each construct from the data used in this study.

Domain	Construct	Catagories
Self-Awareness	Self-Knowledge	Situational Pattern
Awareness of Others	Identification of Feelings	Simple Global Differentiated Complex
	Subjective Patterns	1 subjective state Sequential Subj. State Coordinated Subj. State Mixed Emotions
	Perspective-Taking	Self-Perspective Projection Non-Verbal Cues Mediation
Understanding Interpersonal Interactions	Understanding Relationships	Labels One perspective 2 Uncoordinated Persps. 2 Semicoordinated Persps. 2 Coordinated Persps.

Awareness of Others

The Identification of Feelings construct is derived from Weinstein's (1985) self-knowledge theory. It is similar in that it has to do with an individual's ability to describe internal processes. However, it differs from the self-knowledge theory in that it refers to this ability in relation to person's other than the self. In other words, it looks at a person's ability to make specific inferences about another person's feelings. In order to probe this ability, the subject was asked to view three separate movie segments and then respond to questions such as 1. How does Kat feel when she sees Daisy's boyfriend with another woman? and 2. How is Conrad feeling? (during an interaction that involves two male friends). (See Appendix A). The subject's ability to describe these feelings were then assessed, based on their responses.

Subjective Patterns is adapted from Selman's (1974) Social-Perspective model, and refers to the way an individual arranges his descriptions of another person's feelings either toward the same or different objects. In other words, does an individual describe only one subjective state when taking the perspective of another? Or, is the individual able to describe mixed emotions which produce a new subjective state which can be described in terms of relations (as opposed to emotions described without reference to another person or persons). The same kinds of questions were used to probe this construct as were used to probe an individual's ability to identify feelings.

Perspective-Taking is a construct that has often been associated with the work of Selman (cited in Muuss, 1982). While Selman's model centers more on the relationship of different points of view (how and if they are coordinated), the construct used in this study focuses on the kind of evidence a person uses to make sense of the points of view of other's. This ability was probed by using follow up questions to those measuring the previous two constructs. For example, a follow up question to "How does Kat feel when she sees Daisy's

boyfriend with another woman?" might be "How do you know this?" The subject's perspective-taking ability was then assessed, based on the responses elicited.

Understanding Interpersonal Interactions

<u>Understanding Relationships</u> is a construct derived from Selman's Social-Perspective-Taking model (1974, and cited in Muuss, 1982). It is defined in terms of an individual's understanding of how human points of view are related. In other words, this construct refers to the kind of perspective (or the relationship of different perspectives) that is taken when an individual is describing the relationship of two people. This ability was assessed by asking the subject to describe the relationship viewed in the video segment.

Social cognition has been described as that which focuses on the process by which individuals come to understand their social world, and their reasoning processes in social matters (Muuss, 1982). Each of these constructs may therefore be considered different aspects of social cognition, in that they explore the ways in which an individual uses his cognitive abilities to solve interpersonal tasks. One such task may include anticipating how another person will feel and/or behave in a particular social dilemma.

In the following section, I will explore some of the ways in which a person may conceptualize and describe his own thinking, the thinking of others, and the impact this thinking has on relationships.

<u>Variability Within Constructs</u>

In the brief overview that follows, there is a description of the variability within each construct that may be related to cognitive development (see Table 4). This description includes selections from the data that typify each stage.

Self-Knowledge

The results gathered from the questions in Appendix B (Describe a similar experience) suggest that this data can be evaluated in terms of Weinstein and Alschuler's (1985) Self-Knowledge theory. This theory describes four stages of self-knowledge development. These are: Elemental, Situational, Pattern, and Transformational self-knowledge. While the data from the present study reveal that the subjects' responses were beyond the Elemental stage, where descriptions contain only external elements of an experience, that are not causally connected, they also suggest that most of the subjects had not yet reached the higher stages. The Pattern and Transformational stages require, respectively, an ability to describe stable internal responses in reaction to a class of situations, and an ability to manage and control one's inner patterned life (Weinstein and Alschuler, 1985). Rather, most of the subjects' responses suggest that they are at the Situational stage.

Example: When asked to describe a situation similar to the one in the Boyfriend/Girlfriend filmstrip, one subject responds that "My friend, Scott, was upstairs and didn't know that Michelle [his girlfriend] was with someone else. I tried to keep him away whenever the other two were together. But, when he walked in and saw the other two....he was really upset about the whole thing. I was upset that I didn't succeed in trying to get him to avoid the situation." He goes on to say that "if my friends get upset, I get upset."

Another subject responded to the same question by saying that "I was staying over my girlfriend's house and I had second thoughts about sleeping with her. I'm not sure why I had second thoughts about it, whether I wasn't sure if it was right or her father would come home...."

In both examples the descriptions go beyond external states, however the internal descriptions remain at a global level (i.e., "upset," and "had second thoughts"). Furthermore, although causation is present in both examples it is relatively naive and one-way. For

48

example, according to the first subject he was upset because he didn't accomplish what he set out to do - protect his friend. In this case the situation caused his feelings rather than visa-versa. Furthermore, while this response looks, at first glance, like a patterned reponse ("if my friends get upset, I get upset"), it remains at the Situational level (although a higher level Situational), for the subject never makes reference to the internal responses that result in his feeling upset. In other words, we are given no information concerning what it is about his friends being upset that makes him upset.

These responses differ from the following:

When asked what he learned about himself from this experience, one subject replies that he learned "that there are a lot of things I want to do but can't because I have such a guilty conscience. I learned that I would rather let others hurt me rather than risk hurting a friend, not necessarily because I'm a stronger person, but because the hurt I am capable of bringing to myself is far worse than the hurt any friend could cause."

This response hints of the beginning of the Pattern stage. Not only is this subject able to see that his feelings contribute to his situation ("there are a lot of things I want to do but can't because I have such a guilty conscience"), but he is beginning to recognize a pattern in his internal response ("I would rather let others hurt me rather than risk hurting a friend." He goes on to explain a more in-depth internal response).

The following response also typifies the Pattern stage:

One subject describes a similar situation to the one in the filmstrip and then comments on what he learned about himself. He says ""It all started innocently as it always does; a little kiss, a few words of corniness, and a couple of looks of a pathetic puppy dog. But, as this went on, the mind searches for new paths to enter and goes toward the uncontrollable male/female sexual desire. Then the big red stop light goes on in my mind and makes me question what I am doing." He then talks about what he learned from this

experience. He says about his learning that "it puts the physical attraction I have into relative terms with what I believe and hold dear. No longer is it [sex] a cruel manipulator of a relationship but rather a tool for fun (and nothing more?)...If I don't treat them [thoughts about sex] as monsters in my mind, it won't be a monster for people who's lives I touch."

In this example, it is clear that the subject is just beginning to be able to consciously monitor and manage his inner patterns of response ("then the big red stop light goes on and makes me question what I am doing"). He is able to stop negative reactions, reinterpret situations, and place new meanings on situations ("No longer is it a cruel manipulator of a relationship, but rather a tool for fun (and nothing more?)..." However, this subject has not yet reached the Transformational level in that he does not describe the process by which he came to transform his thoughts, feelings, or actions. It is possible that with more probing this subject would have exhibited reasoning abilities consistent with the Transformational level.

Identification of Feelings

Simple. A person in this catagory describes the feelings of others primarily in terms of external phenomena. When feeling words are used they include words like: want, like, hope, happy, and sad. Another important characteristic of this stage is that feelings are not generally causally linked. In other words, feelings are not referenced to any particular situation. It's almost as if they exist in a vacuum.

Example: When asked "How does Kat feel when she sees Daisy's boyfriend with another woman?" the subject responds that "she doesn't want her to know and she doesn't want to hurt her feelings."

In this example the word "and" is used to link two separate subjective states. However, it is clear from the subject's rejection of words such as "because, so, therefore, etc., that these states are not causally linked.

Global. In this catagory descriptions are still primarily external. However internal states are described beyond the simple feelings and include more undifferentiated and global words. Some of these words might include: shocked, surprised, mad, angry, etc. At this stage the individual is also beginning to name causal connections (with situations causing feelings rather than visa-versa) with words such as: because, since, therefore, so, etc.

Example: When asked "How is Conrad feeling?" the subject responds that "...he was feeling really down about something. There seems to be some serious incident like the death of a friend between the two of them that seems to be making him feel really miserable."

In this example, the feeling words go beyond mere "want"ing and include feeling words such as: down and miserable. These feeling states are also referenced to a particular situation. In other words, it is suggested that Conrad feels the way he does because of some serious incident like the death of a friend.

Differentiated. An individual's description of internal states according to this conception includes one abstract or discreet emotion. These might include words like: depressed, hopeless, ambivalent, etc. In other words, situations are now being described abstractly rather than concretely, for the individual can see beyond the moment and is able to make predictive statements about probable reactions.

Example: When asked "How is Conrad feeling?" the subject responds: "He's depressed. He feels a little sorry for himself. Kind of hopeless like the situation isn't going to get any better........He feels that he can't talk to anybody. So, there would be no way for him to change the way he feels."

In this example the subject is able to use more differentiated words to describe the feelings of others. One also gets the sense that the subject is beginning to be able to see beyond the moment when he suggests that without someone to talk to, Conrad will continue to feel as depressed as he is now.

Complex. A person in this catagory is able to describe at least two distinct emotions, with at least one differentiated (abstract or discreet), existing side by side.

Example: When asked "how does Kat feel when she sees Daisy's boyfriend with another woman?" the subject responds that "she's afraid that her sister is going to be hurt so she feels kind of protective of her sister and mad at Daisy's boyfriend."

In this example the subject demonstrates the ability to describe two distinct subjective states (mad (a global emotion) and protective (a differentiated emotion)) side by side. However, these emotions do not seem to be in conflict in that they are referenced to two separate individuals. The causal connection in this example is also quite evident, when the subject suggests that Kat feels both protective and mad because she's afraid her sister will be hurt.

Subjective Patterns

One Subjective State. In this catagory only one subjective state is represented in the subject's description of another's experience. In other words, the subject is only able to conceive of one feeling state in response to a certain dilemma.

Example: When asked "How does Kat feel when she sees Daisy's boyfriend with another woman?" the subject responds that "she is very surprised and shocked."

No other subjective states are mentioned in this example, and both words ("surprised" and "shocked") describe the same internal response. They are non-distinct terms.

Sequential Subjective States. In this catagory more than one subjective state is represented in response to a certain dilemma. However, these states are represented sequentially. They do not exist side by side in a coordinated fashion.

Example: In response to the previous question the subject responds that "At first she doesn't seem to know what to do about it. Eventually she just tries to avoid the situation...and put off the decision for another time."

The terms "at first" and "Eventually" imply a sequential order of events. In this case the character in the film was first confused and then just wants to get away to avoid the situation.

Coordinated Subjective States. In this catagory distinct subjective states are represented side by side in reference to either one person or two persons. These subjective states do not necessarily conflict, although they can.

Example: In an example mentioned earlier, the subject responded that Kat "feels kind of protective of her sister and mad at Daisy's boyfriend."

In this example the subject is able to conceive of the same general situation as the source of more than one feeling. The two subjective states (protective and mad) exist side by side, however, they are in reference to two separate people. They therefore do not conflict.

Mixed Emotions. In this catagory an individual not only describes different feelings as existing side by side, but mixed emotions come to produce an altogether new subjective state.

Although none of the data in this study typifies this catagory, a hypothetical example will provide a conceptual illustration: In response to the question "how does Conrad feel?" the subject might respond that "Conrad feels love for his friend, but he also feels uncomfortable around him. He seems to both want him there and not want him there at the same time. I guess he's feeling mixed emotions toward his friend right now."

This example gives a clear demonstration of how a new level of feeling can result from a combination of two distinct feelings.

Perspective-Taking

Self-Perspective. In this catagory an individual's awareness of the feelings of others is derived from the self's perspective. In other words, the feelings of others' are not yet based on characteristics and perspectives particular to certain individuals. Rather, they are based on how the subject himself would feel in the same situation.

Example: When asked to explain how he knows how Kat is feeling, the subject at this stage might respond with a statement like "it's just my opinion," or "I just know."

In this example there is no mention made to the characteristics particular to Kat. Reference to these characteristics might include statements such as: her facial expression shows that she's confused; from her tone of voice I surmised that she was feeling anxious to get away, or; she seems like the kind of person who would get upset about something like this.

Projection. In this catagory an individual uses verbal cues to make sense of another's point of view. While this individual is beginning to be able to understand the feelings of others from their own perspective, this ability is still at its early stages. These feelings are based solely on the verbal content elicited by the individual under scrutiny.

Example: When asked how he knows how Conrad is feeling the subject replies that "he just told him [his friend] that he wanted to get away and get out of there."

In this example the subject relies solely on what Conrad said to back up his previous assertion that Conrad is "upset and he just wants to get away from everything."

Nonverbal Cues. In this catagory the individual is able to recognize the more subtle non-verbal cues when taking the perspective of another. In other words, cues such as a person's facial expression, tone of voice, and body posture are used, in lieu of verbal content, to identify the feelings of others.

Example: When asked how he knows that Conrad is either sad or angry, the subject responds that it is because of "his physical appearance and the way that he is talking. He is very emotional, jumping off the gun, and he is yelling at his friend. He looks like a mess..."

In this example, the subject goes beyond the content of Conrad's words and identifies both physical appearance and tone of voice as evidence that Conrad is either sad or angry.

Mediation. In this catagory the individual is not only aware of both verbal and non-verbal cues, but is also able to take previous knowledge of a person's subjective states and actions into consideration when taking that person's perspective. In other words, an individual at this stage is aware that before he can adequately judge another person's current subjective state, he needs to know more about that person than the current situation provides.

Example: When asked "How might Daisy feel when she finds out that her boyfriend is with another woman?" the subject responds that she will "be mad and then get really drunk." He goes on to explain that "it seems like she is more into living life less seriously. So, for something that would strike her like this she would step back a little."

In this example the subject does not rely solely on the immediate circumstances, but makes inferences based on Daisy's character. Another subject explains Daisy's possible reaction when he states that "she's been drinking, she doesn't know that her boyfriend is there, and if she did she might get really angry." This response differs from the first in that the subject does not take into consideration any previous knowledge of Daisy upon making meaning of her current experience.

Understanding Relationships

Labels. According to this meaning orientation an individual is able to label the relationship. However, he is unable to attach a subjective quality to even one perspective.

Example: When asked to describe the relationship between the male and female in one of the filmstrips, the subject responds that it is a "one night stand...Just a sexual thing."

In this example the subject provides no information concerning the interpersonal subtleties of the relationship. In other words, we are left with no idea as to what the two characters in the filmstrip are feeling toward each other, nor how these feelings impact on their relationship.

One Perspective. In this catagory the individual is able to describe the relationship in terms of only one person's perspective.

Example: When asked to describe the relationship between the male and female in the filmstrip, the subject responds that "it seems that the man in the clip is religious. With the statue of Jesus looking at him, he couldn't go along with what she wanted." He goes on to explain that the man in the film "is either very religious or has high morals that were brought back to him from either when he was younger or from his Catholic religion."

In this example we get no indication as to what the female character was experiencing with respect to the interaction with her partner. It is as if the relationship exists for only one person in a two person relationship.

Two Uncoordinated Perspectives. In this catagory a person is beginning to be able to take the perspectives of more than one person in a relationship. However, these perspectives are not yet coordinated. In other words, the subject provides no indication that these perspectives exist in relation to one another.

Example: When asked to describe the relationship between the male and female, the subject responds that "she wants him to have sex and he is not really sure if he wants to."

In this example it is clear that conflicting wants exist, but there is no indication as to the reasons for the conflict or the impact the conflict is having on the relationship. There is also a sense that these two people could be interchangeable. In other words, the subject

claims that "she wants him to have sex...," but he is not clear about with whom she wants to have sex. The subject does not say that "she wants to have sex with him [the male in the filmstrip]." Another important aspect of this meaning orientation is its "on/off" quality. In other words, there is a sense in the example presented above that the individual characters in the filmstrip either want to or don't want to have sex. There is not the sense that one member wants it more than another.

Two Semicoordinated Perspectives. According to this meaning orientation the subject is beginning to be able to coordinate different perspectives. However, the subject is still not able to identify the impact of these different perspectives on the relationship.

Example: When asked to describe the relationship of the male and female, the subject responds that "he is a little more serious about her than she is about him."

In this example one gets a definite sense of the reciprocity of perspectives. In other words, there is not the same interchangeable quality as was in the previous example. The subject does not state that "he is more serious than she is." Rather, he coordinates these perspectives by stating that "he is more serious about her than she is about him." Furthermore, unlike in the previous example, there is a "more/less" quality to this subject's description. Rather than describing this relationship using dualistic terms ("want"/"not want"; "is serious"/"isn't serious") this subject is aware of the more subtle gradations in feeling. He states, for example, that "he is a little more serious about her than she is about him."

Two Coordinated Perspectives. In this catagory the individual is able to both coordinate different perspectives and to identify the impact of character and differences in internal responses on the relationship. In other words, the individual is aware of the dimensions that describe polarities in relationships.

Example: When asked to describe the relationship of the two male friends, the subject responds that "they are two people who were really close when they were with this other person, but now they feel a little uncomfortable with each other because the other person is not around." He goes on to say that he feels "they are still friends, but not as close..."

In this example the subject not only explains that both characters are feeling uncomfortable with each other, he also explains the reason for this ("because the other person is not around."). However, unlike in previous examples, this subject is able to identify the impact of this discomfort on the relationship ("I would say that they are still friends, but not as close because Conrad felt that he couldn't share this situation with his friend. It was just too uncomfortable.").

Discussion

Many developmental theorists (Kitchener, cited in Hanson et al., 1982) have suggested that the concepts of self-knowledge, understanding others, and awareness of relationships follow their own developmental sequences. This is due to the differences in content in each area. However, it has also been suggested that there is a similarity in the general principles underlying development across these content areas (Kitchener, cited in Hanson et al., 1982). These general principles indicate that developmental sequences tend to move from more simple, concrete concepts to abstract concepts and finally to more high level integrated concepts (Kitchener, cited in Hanson et al., 1982). And indeed, the clinical interview developed for this study proved to be an effective instrument for measuring this developmental progression. The standard interview questions were found to elicit material

58

which appears to contain cognitive development related variability. As such, this instrument seems to be a promising approach for measuring the kinds of understandings which are likely to be delayed in male sex offenders.

However, while I am aware of the strengths of this study I also feel it is worth mentioning some of its limitations. The first of these limitations has to do with the size and limited age range of the sample group. Since the interview could be administered to only one subject at a time, and was therefore quite time consuming, only seven subjects were chosen to represent the findings of this study. This small sample size and limited age range, however, limited the variability in subjects' responses. This, in turn, resulted in two other important limitations. The first is that the lack of variability made it difficult to make any global statements about the population. In other words, while it is probable that the stages presented above exist within the immediate sample, it is not possible to assume that these same stages would therefore exist within an entirely different group of subjects. Furthermore, because of the limited data collected, it also proved impossible to collapse the proposed stages into global levels. The lack of variability made it difficult to find any consistencies with respect to patterns of responses. One such pattern may be as follows:

Example: When asked "How does Kat feel when she sees Daisy's boyfriend with another woman?" the subject responds that "she doesn't want her [Daisy] to know and she doesn't want to hurt her feelings." When asked how he knows this, the subject explains that it's "just my opinion."

In this example a global Level I - (Simple) is illustrated. While experiences go beyond a primarily external perspective, the only feeling word utilized in this subject's response is "want." Neither are the feelings causally linked. The subject does not say "she doesn't want her to know because she doesn't want to hurt her feelings." Rather, she uses the word "and" to connect the two clauses. Furthermore, only one subjective state is described

when talking about self or others. And finally, the self's-perspective is the primary evidence used to explain a subjective experience.

Another important limitation of this study has to do with its hypothetical nature. Kitchener (cited in Hanson et al., 1982) argues, for example, that when assessing an individual's developmental level it is important to take into consideration the instrument being used to assess it. It is also suggested (Kitchener, cited in Hanson et al., 1982) that if we are interested in understanding how individuals reason on complex, real world tasks, it is important to use appropriate measures and not assume that the results generated from hypothetical circumstances will generalize to the subject's real world. Most of the questions in this study were based on hypothetical circumstances in which the subject was to respond to the dilemmas of characters he did not even know. (There was only one section that asked the subject to recreate his own experience). As a result of this method the subjects were not given the opportunity to relate to the experiences subjectively. It is therefore possible that this measure does not provide an adequate means for identifying the subject's true capacity to both comprehend and interact with his social world.

Related to the previous limitation is the fact that the structured format, while measuring a person's spontaneous response, does not pull for an optimal level of reasoning. Probe questions would have been necessary to fulfill such a quest. However, I am not sure that the spontaneous response is not just as useful for the purposes of my study as an optimal response would be.

Based on both the strengths and the limitations of the present study, I would like to conclude with a proposal for a future model which will attempt to more accurately measure what this study set out to measure: 1. an individual's ability to describe his own internal responses, 2. an individual's ability to describe an awareness of other's perspectives, and 3. an individual's ability to describe an awareness of interpersonal interactions. This model is

based on Sweitzer and Weinstein's (unpublished paper) ERT2, an instrument used to assess Self-Knowledge Development.

Instead of being asked to respond to three different video segments, the subject will only be shown the second segment (boyfriend and girlfriend) and asked to recall in as much detail as possible an experience he's had that is similar to the one in the video. The format will be as follows:

Describe as fully as you can and in as much detail as possible the experience you remembered. Please include:

* What you did and what the other person(s) involved did

* A description of the relationship between you and the other(s) involved

* What you were thinking and feeling in the situation

* What the other person(s) was thinking and feeling in the situation

* How you would know what another person is thinking and feeling

* What made you respond as you did

* What led up to this experience

* What the results of the experience were for you

* What the results of the experience were for the other person(s) involved

From the experience you just remembered, please describe some of the things you know about yourself now. Please include:

* What ways were your thoughts, feelings or actions typical or atypical of

    thoughts, feelings or actions you've had in other situations

* What have you tried to do to modify your thoughts or feelings in order to

    change your way of responding in these situations

* How has your strategy affected your response

* How has your strategy affected the response of others

*   How did this interaction affect your relationship with those involved?

*   How might things have been different?

This method seems more useful to me for a number of reasons. Since this instrument will ultimately be used to assess the developmental differences between male sexual offenders and nonoffenders, it seems appropriate to measure development in terms of male/female relationships (since this is the arena where most of the sexual aggression takes place). As was mentioned earlier, it cannot be assumed that development is uniform across content areas.

Furthermore, because I am interested in identifying the subjects' ability to comprehend and interact with his social world (in terms of male/female relationships) it also seems appropriate to use a method that measures this capacity directly, in terms of the subject's own real life experience.

In conclusion, the outcomes of this project are many. The process of developing an instrument to identify developmental stages is complex. For example, a critical assessment of the instrument indicates a need for a high degree of skill in both utilizing the instrument and interpreting the data.

One of the most important outcomes of this study, however, was the detection of instrument limitations. It is this author's belief that future research should focus on the construction of a more reliable coding system. A comparison study between sexual offenders and nonoffenders should also be implemented in order to establish the validity of the instrument in assessing developmental differences between the two groups.

CHAPTER III

TEST OF PROCEDURES FOR MEASURING ASPECTS OF SOCIAL/COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF VERY SEXUALLY COERCIVE MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

Introduction

Rape is a violent act, which involves the coercion of an individual to perform sexual acts against their will. It involves violence, sexuality, dominance, male and female sex role stereotypes, and issues of trust and guilt in a damaging and potentially deadly way.

Rape has recently been given increasing attention by social scientists. This is due to the recognition of the seriousness of rape as a crime (Rapaport and Burkhart, 1984).

Rape (specifically date rape) is recognized as a problem of epidemic proportions on college campuses. Koss et al. (1987) found that one in eight of the women students they surveyed had been raped. Moreover, the findings of Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) show that 15 percent of college males admit they have forced a woman to have sexual intercourse, and that an even higher percentage admit they've forced some lesser degree of sexual contact on a woman. Rape is not confined to the "criminal elements" but is a common form of aggression male offenders inflict on females (most typically) in our society.

We do not have effective technology for the prevention of rape and treatment of rapists (Arbuthnot, 1984; Whitford, 1987). Most current "rape prevention" programs are focused on teaching females to avoid situations where rape is likely and do not seek to inhibit male aggressive behavior. Furthermore, many sexual offenders receive no treatment and will continue to offend unless they are properly reintegrated into society (Arbuthnot, 1984).

In order to prevent rape and treat rapists it will be necessary to understand the "social psychology" of rapists from the framework of a set of theoretical concepts which explain why the act of rape makes sense to some people and how some people can act with an apparent lack of understanding of the impact of their acts of another human being. It is likely that rape is a result of more than just the offenders attitudes toward women. It also involves the offender's reasoning abilities, in other words how the offender makes meaning of his particular situation.

Cognitive-developmental theories describe the ontogeny of people's understanding of the world and, hence peoples' capacity for adaptation, in a variety of domains of behavior. Most related to this project are social-cognitive-developmental theories which emphasize the development of peoples' understanding of the social domain. These theories originate from Kohlberg's classic descriptions of the ontogeny of moral reasoning and offer a more fine grained analysis of development of such important prosocial abilities as perspective-taking (Selman, 1974; Noam, 1985), understanding of relationships (Kegan, 1982), and self-understanding and self-management (Weinstein & Alschuler, 1985). These approaches offer the promise of providing detailed descriptions of both the normal ontogeny of prosocial skills and deviations from normal development which are manifested in psychopathological and/or sociopathic behavior (see Gordon, 1988; Noam, 1985).

While most theories on why men rape are not intentionally developmental in nature, there are aspects to these theories that lend themselves quite well to developmental analysis. Most of the current theories on rape, for example, focus on this phenomenon within the larger context of societal roles and expectations. From this perspective sexual aggression makes sense in a society where men consistently face norms which proscribe many sensitive, noncompetitive, sharing exchanges with other people. The rigidity of his role and the need to prove his manliness may keep the male focussed on his own needs, and inhibited from

recognizing the needs of others. Furthermore, in speaking about the adolescent sex offender, Margolin (1983) states that "the lying and manipulative behavior he shows is frequently a product of a very careful matching of means to ends." In other words, these individuals tend to operate from an egocentric world view. "If it benefits me, I'll do it." While they may recognize that others have needs and interests different from their own, they are completely absorbed in their own needs (Kegan, 1982).

From a developmental perspective, therefore, peoples' capacity for committing sexual assault may be the result of deficits in one or more developmental domains. For example, Noam (1985) maintains that the earlier stages of social/cognitive development, which are characterized by lack of impulse control and social- perspective-taking abilities, are often inadequate for coping with many adolescent and adulthood issues. From the offender's developmental perspective, sexual assault may be seen either as an appropriate behavior (from an extremely egocentric developmental position) or as an inappropriate behavior which is the only means of relieving his stress (from a less egocentric but still underdeveloped position).

Presently, the existing research on development and sex offenders focusses primarily on juvenile and convicted offenders and is influenced primarily by Kohlberg's stages of moral development. For example, Gondolf (1987) has adapted Kohlberg's theory of moral development to explain the change process of men who batter their wives. According to Gondolf's theory (1987), which is based on clinical observations of convicted batterers, men who batter begin treatment at a stage with little concern for anyone except themselves (level 1). However, with appropriate and extended treatment some of these men are able to develop empathy not only for their victims, but for women in general. Some may even become active supporters of women's rights (level 3). Gondolf (1987) emphasizes that other recent clinical assessments of men who rape or molest seem to corroborate this theory of stage development.

Research in this area does not focus on any of the other more specific developmental domains (i.e., social-perspective-taking, relationship understanding or self-knowledge). However, that offenders are at lower developmental stages that support embeddedness in their own needs, limited relationship understanding, and a lack of perspective-taking abilities may support the findings of a recent study (Lipton et al., 1987) which suggests that rapists have information-processing (decoding) deficits that limit them from adequately judging negative interpersonal cues from women in first date situations. Subjects, consisting of rapists, violent nonrapists, and nonviolent nonrapists, were administered the Test of Reading Affective Cues (TRAC). This measure consisted of a series of videotaped vignettes of heterosexual couples on a first date, and others involving the interactions of more intimate couples. Subjects were asked to determine which of five affective cues - romantic, positive, neutral, negative, or bad mood - was being conveyed in each party in the interaction. Rapists not only had difficulty reading the interpersonal cues of women on first dates, they had similar deficits in regard to the male counterparts. Lipton stresses, however, that "the specificity of the rapists' deficits argued against the likelihood that their poor performance was merely an artifact of inattention or low motivation." It might be argued, however, that when a person is embedded in his/her own needs, it would be unlikely that he/she would possess the social/cognitive skills necessary to assess and respond appropriately to the needs of another (unless the needs of both parties were consistent). However, further research is necessary to verify this assumption. As a consequence of the limited research on this subject, we know that offenders show lower levels of moral reasoning, however, we do not have a detailed description of the social-cognitive abilities of offenders that is needed for the design of effective prevention and treatment programs.

Gondolf (1987) has argued persuasively for the critical importance of designing interventions to match the cognitive developmental abilities of the target population. He

suggests that the ineffectiveness of many treatment programs is due to the inappropriateness of the intervention for the cognitive abilities of the target population. Furthermore, in order to prevent rape (and indeed other forms of interpersonal violence), it will be necessary to (1) identify people who are at risk before they actually offend and (2) tailor educational interventions to remediate psychological factors which are causally related to offense.

Therefore, the goals of this project were to develop a standardized, codeable, developmental clinical interview and scoring system which could be used to measure developmental differences among male adolescents and young adults that is related to their capacity to perpetrate sexual coercion. This procedure can eventually be used to study some of the developmental factors related to male sexual aggression.

I expect that this interview will ultimately be useful in the early detection of important social/cognitive abilities which are associated with male sexual aggression. I believe that it will increase the effectiveness of treatment and prevention programs by assisting service providers in identifying and advancing developmental stages of potential offenders.

This interview measured several different constructs. One of these is Self-Knowledge. Self-Knowledge, as Weinstein et al. (1985) maintain, refers to an individual's ability to understand and describe the interactions between self and other from the self's perspective. The goal of self-knowledge development is the ability to describe experiences with progressively more complexity, and to manage experiences more and more intentionally.

The Identification of Feelings construct is derived from Weinstein's (1985) self-knowledge theory. It is similar in that it has to do with an individual's ability to describe internal processes. However, it differs from the self-knowledge theory in that it looks at this ability in relation to person's other than the self. In other words, it refers to a person's ability to make specific inferences about another person's feelings.

Perspective-Taking is also a construct that was measured in this study. This construct has often been associated with the work of Selman (cited in Muuss, 1982). While Selman's model centers more on the relationship of different points of view (how and if they are coordinated), the construct used in this study focuses on the kind of evidence a person uses to make sense of the points of view of other's. There are four variations on Perspective-Taking ability. These are: self-perspective, projection, non-verbal cues, and mediation.

Subjective Patterns is a construct which has been adapted from Selman's (1974) Social-Perspective model, and refers to the way an individual arranges his descriptions of another person's feelings either toward the same or different objects. In other words, does an individual describe only one subjective state when taking the perspective of another? Or, is the individual able to describe mixed emotions which produce a new subjective state which can be described in terms of relations (as opposed to emotions described without reference to another person or persons).

Another construct measured in this study is Understanding Relationships. This is a construct derived from Selman's Social-Perspective-Taking model (1974, and cited in Muuss, 1982). It is defined in terms of an individual's understanding of how human points of view are related. In other words, this construct refers to the kind of perspective (or the relationship of different perspectives) that is taken when an individual is describing the relationship of two people.

Finally, Consequences is a construct that looks at, from simple to more complex, a person's ability to understand the consequences of certain behaviors and/or experiences to oneself and to others. Variability within this construct includes the following: No Consequence, in which the subject does not describe any consequence as resulting from the interaction he was asked to describe; Simple consequence(s), in which the subject described at least one consequence by using either no feeling words or very simple feeling words; One

68

<u>Consequence</u>, in which either global or more abstract feeling states are used to describe one consequence, and; <u>Multiple Consequence(s)</u>, in which global or more abstract feeling states are used to describe multiple consequences.

<u>Methods</u>

<u>Subjects</u>

The initial sample consisted of approximately 300-400 college males from a large university in the Northeast. These subjects were recruited from one residence hall and several courses, in different subject areas (i.e., education, history, mathematics, Stockbridge School of Agriculture...), in order to limit the potential for sample bias. Furthermore, these subjects were apprised of the purpose of this study and the procedures to be used. They were also informed of their right not to participate in the study and their ability to withdraw at any time. <u>The Coercive Sexuality Scale (CSS)</u> and <u>The Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (AIV)</u> were administered to these subjects as an initial screening of their sexual behaviors and attitudes towards women.

After all initial testing was completed, two groups of students were identified from this larger sample: 13 "Coercive," and 15 "Control" (or normally coercive males). These subjects were white males, ranging in ages from 17 to 27 years. The subjects in the "Coercive" group were chosen based on their own admittance to verbal and/or physical coercion resulting in sexual intercourse with a woman, one or more times. The subjects in the "Control" group were selected randomly from students who admitted to never coercing a woman into intercourse either verbally or physically. Subjects from both groups then participated in a follow-up developmental interview.

Instruments

Data for this study were collected through the use of the following instruments:

The Coercive Sexuality Scale (CSS). The original CSS (see Appendix C) is a criterion measure designed to define a continuum of coercive sexual behaviors (Burkhart and Rapaport, 1984). This measure has been used in a study by Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) in order to measure the personality and attitudinal characteristics of sexually coercive college males. Based on this study the CSS appears to be an adequate procedure for distinguishing between very coercive, "normally" coercive and non-coercive males. The modified scale is an abbreviated version of the original CSS and is designed specifically to investigate male behavior. The items range from touching a woman's breast, thigh, or genitals against her wishes to coercing her to have intercourse. The frequency of coercive behaviors and the methods used are also included in this scale. The scale will be administered to a large enough sample to insure the inclusion of an extreme group of coercive males. Ethical safeguards for subjects are described below.

The Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (AIV). The AIV (see Appendix D) is described by Burt (1980) as measuring the "notion that force and coercion are legitimate ways to gain compliance and specifically that they are legitimate in intimate and sexual relationships." Furthermore, Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) found the AIV to be a useful predictor of self-reported coercive behavior. In other words, coercive (or potentially coercive) males tended "to view women as manipulative and nontrustworthy, to legitimize the use of force as a viable means of obtaining gratification, and to define certain sexual situations as warranting force" (Rapaport and Burkhart, 1984).

A Semi-Structured Interview (see Appendix E). One short videotaped vignette, dealing with a boyfriend/girlfriend interaction was used to probe the subject's social reasoning ability. This method has been chosen based on the assumption that filmstrips will depict

70

characters in greater depth than would be possible with verbal renditions of interpersonal dilemmas. Selman (1974) maintains that because filmstrips are more realistic, subjects are encouraged to give more serious consideration to the problem. Furthermore, since this instrument measures the developmental differences between very sexually coercive and normally coercive males, it seemed appropriate to measure development in terms of male/female relationships (since this is the arena in which most of the sexual coercion takes place).

After the video the subject was asked a series of questions aimed at probing the subject's understanding of the subjective experiences of others (Identification of Feelings (OPA), Perspective-Taking (OPB), and Subjective Patterns (OPC)). The subject's understanding of relationships (RE) was also explored. Finally, the subject was also asked questions (based on Weinstein's (1985) Self-Knowledge Interview) aimed at probing the subject's intraindividual reasoning abilities. Because I was interested in identifying the subjects' ability to comprehend and interact with his social world (in terms of male/female relationships) it seemed appropriate to use a method that measured this capacity directly. This is why the subjects' real life experience was explored in reference to the specific constructs chosen for the interview. An initial pilot study was performed in order to refine the definitions and measurements of these constructs.

All subjects were assigned a code number (this code number was on the CSS protocal) prior to the interview process so that confidentiality was assured and that developmental scoring was done by raters who were blind to group membership. This code number was used later on to determine which data came from which groups.

<u>Procedures</u>

A modified version of the Coercive Sexuality Scale (Cole, 1988) was administered to several hundred undergraduate males from a large university in the Northeast in order to identify a very sexually coercive and "normally" coercive population.

In order to increase the likelihood of obtaining the desired number of subjects for the interview (15 "normal" and 13 "coercive" males) these same undergraduate males were also administered Burt's (1980) Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence (AIV) scale.

The following procedures were implemented upon administration of the <u>CSS</u> and the <u>AIV</u>:

1. All subjects were informed of the nature of the project (i.e., a study looking at attitudes and dating behavior of male college students) and assured of confidentiality.

2. All subjects signed informed consent forms (see Appendices F and G).

3. Each <u>CSS</u> and <u>AIV</u> protocal possessed a code. Also, an index card, bearing the same code and requesting the subject's name and phone number, were attached to the protocals.

4. Following completion of the <u>CSS</u> and <u>AIV</u>, a rater (an undergraduate assistant who was made aware of the ethical and legal responsibilities connected to this study) collected the <u>CSS</u> and <u>AIV</u> protocals and I collected the index cards containing the demographic information. By separating the subjects' names from the protocals there was no information directly linking names with admission of criminal behavior.

5. The rater assigned the coercive and non-coercive groups arbitrary names (Group A and Group B). The rater scored the <u>CSS</u> and <u>AIV</u> protocals immediately after administration, and potential Ss were assigned to these groups, which served a dual purpose. First, noone except the rater knew whether a subject belonged to the coercive or non-coercive group, thus further protecting the subject from any self

incrimination (although the rater was only aware of the Ss' code numbers since names were not on the protocal). Furthermore, I (one of the two interviewers) was also blind to actual group membership, thus preventing bias from entering the interviewing process.

6. The <u>CSS</u> and <u>AIV</u> answer sheets were then destroyed immediately after scoring. No record of actual admission of criminal acts have been maintained.

7. The rater gave me the code numbers of the Ss in groups A and B, and I then obtained subjects' names and phone numbers from the index cards.

Therefore, based on <u>CSS</u> scores two extreme groups (15 "normal" and 13 "coercive" males) were randomly selected to receive a semi-structured interview measuring their levels of understanding of a videotaped vignette depicting young adult female-male interaction, as well as their own similar experience. The time period between the selection of subjects and the actual interview was approximately 2-3 weeks. Furthermore, each subject received a monetary incentive ($10) to participate in the interview. Thus, from the approximately 40 males who were initially chosen, 28 chose to participate in the interview process.

After the interviews were scored I was made aware of each subject's group membership, using code identification numbers. The interviews were then linked to the nature of the groups (coercive and "normally" coercive). While information explicitly connecting subjects to either the cercive or "normally" coercive group were destroyed, I have nevertheless maintained a list of names and phone numbers of all participants, in order to send follow up information (including information on date rape and referral resources) upon completion of the interviews.

It should be noted that under no circumstances have individuals outside of this project been made aware that sexual offenders (or potential offenders) have been interviewed at a particular location during a particular time period.

I am also sensitive to the fact that participation in this study (especially in completion of the <u>CSS</u>) may have caused distress in some Ss. Also, I did not want to convey the notion that I tacitly condone sexual coercion by a failure to comment on its inappropriateness. Therefore, at the end of <u>CSS</u>/<u>AIV</u> administration and interview sessions, I have notified some Ss of our availability to discuss their concerns and provided referrals to university and community counseling services for sexually coercive males.

<u>Data Analysis</u>

Qualitative Analysis

Interviews were transcribed for computer assisted analysis, and the computer program, Ethnograph, was used to facilitate the construction of a developmental scoring system. Furthermore, criteria were developed for assigning different parts of transcripts to different cognitive ability domains. These domains include: self-knowledge, an awareness of another's perspectives, an awareness of interpersonal interactions, and an awareness of consequences to oneself and others.

Weinstein and Alschuler's Self-Knowledge scoring manual was used to analyze some of the data in the present study. Self-Knowledge, as Weinstein and Alschuler (1985) maintain, refers to an individual's ability to understand and describe the interactions between self and other from the self's perspective. This theory describes four stages of self-knowledge development. These are: Elemental, Situational, Pattern, and Transformational self-knowlege. The goal of development in this domain is the ability to describe experiences with progressively more complexity, and to manage experiences more and more intentionally.

Selman's Perspective-Taking model (1974) was also used for data analysis. Unlike self-knowledge, perspective-taking refers to an individual's ability to describe and understand the interactions between self and other from the other's perspective. This theory describes six

levels of perspective-taking. These are: Egocentric, Subjective, Self-Reflective or Reciprocal, Third Person or Mutual, Qualitative Systems, and Symbolic-Interactional perspective-taking. The present study utilized Selman's Perspective-Taking model as an analytic tool to help clarify specifically an individual's ability to make specific inferences about another person's thoughts and feelings (awareness of Subjectivity). This model was also used to explore some of the variability which exists in people's ability to understand and describe interpersonal interactions, or how human points of view are related.

Finally, there were constructs that I was interested in exploring that have not yet been touched on by other developmental researchers. One such construct is peoples' ability to understand and describe the consequences to oneself, to others, and to relationships that may result from certain interactions. This would seem to be an important variable in understanding the phenomenon of coercive sexual behavior. Interview questions were therefore designed to elicit responses dealing with the subject's understanding of consequences. However, since this construct has not yet been explored from a developmental perspective I have provided my own analysis of the data and have recorded any material which appears to contain cognitive development related variability.

Using code identification numbers, each subject's group membership (sexually coercive and "normally" coercive) was made available to the interviewer, once all interviews had been scored. It was then determined which transcripts belonged to which group and the sexually coercive and control groups were then contrasted.

To determine reliability, three other raters, who were blind to the initial codings, also coded segments of the data after the initial scoring was completed. Reliability was inferred from the percentage of exact agreement and percentage of agreement within one level of each rating scale.

Quantitative Analysis

The following statistical analyses were performed on the data sets. First, means, standard deviations, and Mann-Whitney U test statistics (Kruskal-Wallace One-Way Analysis of Variance) were computed for all measures in order to contrast groups in terms of CSS and AIV raw scores (only 9 out of 15 AIV questions were analyzed), demographics, and developmental measures. The significance for all of these tests was set at $p < 0.05$. The grouping variable for all measures was the score on Part 3 of the Coercive Sexuality Scale (CSS).

Spearman Rho Correlation Coefficients (r_s) were also utilized in this study in order to intercorrelate developmental variables. The significance for this test was set at $p < 0.01$.

Results

Differences Between Coercive and Control Groups

Descriptive statistics and the Mann-Whitney U test statistics of group contrasts are reported in Table 5. These results demonstrate that the two groups did not differ significantly on either age ($U = 127$, $p > .17$) or class standing ($U = 112.5$, $p > .44$). As would be expected from the fact that groups were selected on the basis of CSS scores, the groups were found to be significantly different on both part 2 ($U = 52.5$, $p = .023$) and part three ($U = 53$, $p = .029$) of the CSS. As expected the coersive group showed significantly higher CSS scores.

In contrast the groups were not found to differ significantly on the AIV ($U = 126$, $p > .19$). Even though the groups were different on actual measures of reported coersion, differences were not reflected in this attitudinal measure. Six out of the 10 developmental measures were found to be significant. Furthermore, in all of these instances the coercive

group was found to have scores that were indicative of more complex social reasoning abilities. The coercive groupshowed higher level of development in terms of Self-Knowledge, question 2 (SK2 (U=58.5, p=0.042)), Self-Knowledge, highest level achieved (SKH (U=50.5, p=0.009)), Identification of Feelings (OPA (U=53.5, p=0.030)), Perspective-Taking (OPB (U=35.5, p=0.003)), Subjective Patterns (OPC (U=49.5, p=0.012)), and Consequences to Others (C2 (U=42.0, p=0.015)).

The developmental measures that were not significantly different included: Self-Knowledge, question 1 (SK1 (U=79.5, p>0.45)), Understanding Relationships, question 1 (RE1 (U=71.0, p>0.2)), Understanding Relationships, question 3 (RE3 (U=62.5, p>0.1)), and Consequences to Oneself (C1 (U=100.0, p>1.0)).

In summary, therefore, it appears from the results of the present study that the "Coercive" group showed scores on developmental measures which would suggest more highly developed abilities in terms of being able to identify and describe more complex feelings about themselves and others. The "Coercive" group also seemed more able than the "Control" group to provide more sophisticated evidence when making sense of another's perspective, to arrange his descriptions of another person's feelings in a more complex manner, and to identify and describe consequences to others with a deeper level of understanding.

Intercorrelation of Developmental Measures

The Spearman Correlataion Coefficients are reported in Table 6. These results demonstrate that a significant relationship exists among many of the intra and interpersonal reasoning measures. As would be expected, there was found to be a strong correlation between all of the Self-Knowledge items. For example, as the subjects' reasoning levels increased on SK1, there was a tendency for their levels to increase on SK2 (r_s=0.535) and

SKH (r_s=0.701). Furthermore, as the subjects' reasoning ability increased on SK2, their

ability also tended to increase on SKH (r_s=0.896).

Table 5.   Differences Between Coercive and Normal Groups on Various Measures.

Measure	Control		Coercive		Mann-Whitney	
	$\bar{x}$	SD	$\bar{x}$	SD	U	p-value
Age	21.500	2.700	19.000	5.400	127.000	0.169
class	2.800	0.800	2.300	1.100	112.500	0.440
CSS 1	1.133	1.125	1.385	1.446	91.500	0.772
2	0.600	1.242	2.000	2.041	52.500	0.023*
3	0.000	0.000	2.923	2.178	53.000	0.029*
AIV	27.600	8.900	21.800	9.500	126.000	0.189
SK1	2.133	0.352	2.250	0.452	79.500	0.447
SK2	2.154	0.376	2.583	0.515	58.500	0.042*
SKH	2.133	0.352	2.615	0.506	50.500	0.009*
RE1	2.133	1.552	2.846	1.725	71.000	0.195
RE3	2.308	1.182	2.769	1.166	62.500	0.097
OPA	1.571	0.852	2.385	1.121	53.500	0.030*
OPB	2.214	0.699	3.231	0.832	35.500	0.003*
OPC	1.077	0.277	1.846	0.987	49.500	0.012*
C1	2.667	0.900	2.615	0.870	100.000	0.903
C2	2.267	1.033	3.250	0.754	42.000	0.015*

* Significant at $p < 0.05$ level.

Finally, there was also a significant relationship between Understanding of Relationships (measured by RE1) and Consequences to Others ($r_s=0.695$). Understanding how specific behaviors may effect another person, may in fact be an important component to making relationships work.

However, perhaps most striking and suggestive was the overall relationship found between Self-Knowledge reasoning (in terms of SK1, SK2, SKH, and C1) and the ability to understand others and relationships (as measured by OPA, OPC, C2, and RE1). First, as Self-Knowledge increased, with respect to SK2 and SKH, so did Understanding of the Consequences to Others ($r_s=0.458$ and 0.578, respectively). Moreover, as the subjects' reasoning abilities increased on SK2, there was also a tendency for their ability to increase on OPC ($r_s=0.518$). A significant correlation was also found between C1 and OPA ($r_s=0.591$). Finally, significant correlations were found to exist between SK1 and RE1 ($r_s=0.661$), SK2 and RE1 ($r_s=0.645$), and SKH and RE1 ($r_s=0.796$).

Thus, the results of the study indicate that there is a relatively high degree of correlation between Self-Knowledge Development (Weinstein and Alschuler, 1985) and some of the other constructs developed for this study. For example, the ability to identify and describe one's own feelings was shown to correlate positively with the ability to identify and describe situational and behavioral consequences to others. This same ability to identify and describe ones own feelings also appeared to be related (in a positive direction) to the ability to arrange descriptions of another person's feelings, and to understand how human points of view are related. In other words, as subjects were able to identify and describe more complex feelings about themselves, so too were they able to respond in a more complex manner with respect to the other constructs.

Table 6. Spearman Rho Summary of Intercorrelations of Developmental Measures.

Measures	OPA	OPB	OPC	RE1	RE3	SK1	SK2	SKH	C1	C2
C2	0.374	0.361	0.342	0.695	0.009	0.341	0.458	0.578	0.125	1.000
C1	0.591	0.125	0.158	0.421	-0.145	0.202	0.076	0.254	1.000	
SKH	0.042	0.173	0.443	0.796	0.141	0.701	0.896	1.000		
SK2	-0.054	0.260	0.518	0.645	0.082	0.535	1.000			
SK1	-0.235	-0.285	0.213	0.661	0.056	1.000				
RE3	0.132	-0.141	0.201	-0.164	1.000					
RE1	0.183	0.072	0.282	1.000						
OPC	0.365	0.292	1.000							
OPB	0.390	1.000								
OPA	1.000									

Furthermore, a positive correlation was also found between two of the more recently developed constructs. For example, the results indicate that as the subjects' were able to identify and describe situational and behavioral consequences to oneself with more complexity, they were also able to identify and describe more complex feelings about others (with respect to the specific interaction under scrutiny).

Interrater-Reliability

The percentages of interrater-reliability are reported in Table 7. Adequate interrater-reliability was established for all constructs that were measured. Exact agreement ranged from 71% on the Relationship (RE), Identification of Feelings (OPA), and Subjective Patterns (OPC) constructs to 86% on the Perspective-Taking (OPB) and Consequences to Others (C2) constructs. Agreement within plus or minus one level tended to be higher. These

percentages ranged from 82% on the Relationship (RE) construct and 96% on both Consequences (C1 and C2) constructs.

These relatively high percentages of interrater agreement indicate that the both the interviewing and scoring procedures used in this study seem to be accurate means of measuring variation among subjects within the identified constructs.

Table 7. Interrater Reliability.

Variable	Exact Agreement	Within $\pm$ 1 Level
SKH	79% (22)	89% (25)
RE	71% (20)	82% (23)
OPA	71% (20)	89% (25)
OPB	86% (23)	89% (25)
OPC	71% (20)	89% (25)
C1	82% (23)	96% (27)
C2	86% (24)	96% (27)

Discussion

Conclusions

Analysis of the data suggest that significant differences exist between the "Coercive" and "Control" groups with respect to certain developmental constructs. However, these differences occur in the opposite direction from what would be expected, based on previous

research. The data indicates, for example, that on the whole the "Coercive" group responded at significantly more complex levels of social reasoning than did the "Control" group.

The results gathered from the questions in Appendix E (Describe a similar experience) suggest that this data can be evaluated in terms of Weinstein and Alschuler's (1985) Self-Knowledge theory. This theory describes four stages of self-knowledge development. These are: Elemental, Situational, Pattern, and Transformational self-knowledge. While the data from the present study reveal that the subjects' responses were beyond the Elemental stage, where descriptions contain only external elements of an experience, that are not causally connected, they also suggest that most of the subjects had not yet reached the higher stages. The Pattern and Transformational stages require, respectively, an ability to describe stable internal responses in reaction to a class of situations, and an ability to manage and control one's inner patterned life (Weinstein and Alschuler, 1985). Rather, most of the subjects' responses suggest that they were at the Situational stage, in which their feelings and reactions were situationally dependent. However, there were some subjects whose highest self-knowledge level could be classified as Patterned. The data reveal that these subjects were more often from the "Coercive" group, thus making the mean for this group significantly higher than the mean for the "Control" group.

The data also reveal that most of the subjects were able to identify the feelings of another person primarily at a Simple or Global level. In other words, subjects tended to describe the feelings of others primarily in terms of external phenomena. When feeling words were used they were either simple words like: want, like, hope, happy, and sad, or; global words like: shocked, surprised, angry, mad, etc. While most of the subjects had not yet reached the higher stages, there were some who had. Some of the subjects, for example, were able to describe the feelings of others in a more Differentiated and Complex manner. Most of the subjects who were able to describe another's feelings at this level were from the

"Coercive" group, thus making the mean for this group significantly higher for this group than for the "Control" group.

Furthermore, while some subjects derived the feelings of others from their own Self-Perspective, most subjects tended to make sense of another's point of view based on Projection (what the other person says he/she is feeling) or Non-Verbal Cues (such as facial expression, body posture, and tone of voice). And, while most of the subjects were not able to use Mediation (or previous knowledge of a person's subjective states and actions) as a means of considering what a person is experiencing, there were some subjects who could. These subjects were solely from the "Coercive" group, thus making the mean for this group significantly higher than the mean for the "Control" group on this particular construct.

The data for the Subjective Patterns construct reveal that most of the subjects responded using only One Subjective State to describe another person's experience. A couple of the subjects responded using Sequential Subjective States, in which more than one subjective state is represented sequentially in response to a certain dilemma. Thus, while most of the subjects did not respond using more complex descriptions, there were some who did. For example, there were approximately six subjects (all from the "Coercive" group) who were able to describe the subjective experience of another person using Coordinated Subjective States. In this catagory distinct subjective states are represented side by side. It should be noted that none of the subjects was able to describe the Mixed Emotions of another person. However, on the whole, the "Coercive" group tended to respond at more complex levels than did the "Control" group.

While there were some minor differences with respect to how both groups were able to understand and describe relationships (the "Coercive" group mean being slightly higher for RE1 and RE3), these responses were not significantly different. The data for the present study reveal, for example, that most of the subjects tended to describe relationships by

83

either Labeling it (attaching no subjective quality to even one perspective), or describing it in terms of only One Perspective, or Two Uncoordinated Perspectives. In other words, most of the subjects (although not all of the subjects) were not able to coordinate different perspectives or to describe the impact of these different perspectives on the relationship under scrutiny (Semicoordinated Perspectives and Coordinated Perspectives, respectively).

Finally, the results of this study indicate that while the "Coercive" group and the "Control" group did not differ significantly with respect to being able to identify the consequences of a particular interaction to oneself, there were significant differences with respect to how they responded to the effects on the other person involved. In general, there were significantly more subjects from the "Coercive" group who were able to identify either one or multiple consequences to the other person involved, thus making the mean for this group significantly higher than that of the "Control" group on this particular measure.

It may be that development is a moderating variable and may influence the type of coercion that occurs. Physically coercive males are the ones who generally get convicted for their behaviors. Studies concerning the developmental levels of these men indicate that in general they are at lower levels of moral and social/cognitive development (Gondolf, 1987). However, the subjects in the present study tended to be white, middle to upper-middle class, educated males, who admitt only to verbally coercing a woman to engage in intercourse. It is therefore possible that verbally coercive males may possess social reasoning skills which help to facilitate the manipulation of people and situations to suit their own purposes. These males may indeed appear egocentric according to other developmental models (i.e. Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development). Yet, this would not necessarily preclude them from possessing the self-awareness to know what it is they want and the perspective-taking abilities to know just how to get it. These social reasoning abilities have important implications for the design of effective treatment and prevention programs for this population.

Other factors and limitations may also have contributed to results of this study. For example, one of the limitations of the initial <u>CSS</u> questionaire was that it provided no indication as to the currency of the sexually coercive behavior. Thus, it is quite possible that other factors may have intervened over time to facilitate change in the social reasoning abilities of the coercive males. The maturity factor, which occurs over time and across different experiences is one such example.

It is also possible that at the time of the administration of the <u>CSS</u> many (or at least some) of the males in the "Control" group had not yet had the opportunity to engage in a sexual relationship (no less a coercive sexual relationship).

Another factor which may have contributed to the unexpected results of this study is the fact that the original grouping variable was entirely dependent on self-reported data. Many of the subjects may not have been willing to admitt to sexually coercive behaviors. It may be that those males who were at higher levels of social reasoning may also have been a) more able to view their actions as coercive, and b) more willing to admitt to these behaviors.

Finally, it can be inferred from the results of this study that sexually coercive behavior results from more than unsophisticated social reasoning abilities. Kohlberg (1976) supports this inference in his discription of the relationship between meaning organizations and behavior. Talking specifically about about moral reasoning, Kohlberg maintains that there is a necessary but not sufficient connection between an individual's social/cognitive reasoning level and their moral behavior. He suggests that while higher levels of moral reasoning are necessary for moral behavior any number of factors can interfere with a person's ability to live up to his/her stage of moral reasoning in a particular situation (this may also be true for other social reasoning abilities). According to Rest (1986) these factors include the following: a) a recognition that the situation at hand is a moral dilemma (which includes an awareness of possible actions as well as the consequences of each action); b) an

ability to reason morally (or choose between several courses of action); c) a willingness to pursue what one considers morally correct; and d) a possession of the necessary skills to follow through on a particular course of action. In other words, while social reasoning ability has an important influence on behavior, it seems likely that there are other equally important factors which impact on an individuals choice of action. All of these other factors need to be taken into consideration in designing intervention programs.

Implications for Intervention

Presently, there are very few standard approaches to the treatment of male sexual offenders. Whitford (1987) maintains that many of the services provided are determined by the expertise or training of the provider or the limitations of the treatment setting. Some of these include: 1. various behavioral approaches, 2. social skills training, 3. psychodynamic methods, such as individual and group psychotherapy, and 4. organic methods, aimed at reducing sexual drive chemically and/or surgically (Whitford, 1987). Hence, these programs tend to support one mode of intervention over others, rather than integrating these interventions in such a way that they compliment one another. And, rather than focussing on long-term change and development, these programs are best characterized as short-term interventions (Gondolf, 1987). A more holistic treatment model, which emphasizes long-term change and is designed to deal specifically with the issues faced by the sexually coercive male, is greatly needed.

Developmental theory offers an innovative alternative approach to the design of treatment and prevention programs. This theory can be applied to both coercive and potentially coercive males in a manner that integrates the variety of existing interventions. The developmental model provides a more complete picture of the long-term process of change, rather than focussing simply on extinguishing coercive behavior, or the attitudes that

86

lead to such behavior. Whitford (1987) stresses the need for methods which determine whether sexual offenders demonstrate any verbal or nonverbal changes as a result of their treatment. Gondolf (1987) emphasizes the importance of interventions which correspond to the developmental stage of the target population. He suggests, for example, that the ineffectiveness of many programs may be due to the "inappropriateness of the intervention, rather than the design of the intervention itself." In other words, the subjects may be at developmental stages which are insufficient to accomodate the expectations of the intervention. This suggestion may be supported by the results of this study, which found that as a whole the subjects tended to possess less complex reasoning skills than might be required for certain treatment and prevention methods. While some of the subjects (of both groups) were able to respond with more complex conceptualizations, most of the subjects hovered at the lower to middle ranges of self-knowledge, perpective-taking, relationship understanding and understanding the consequences to oneslf and to others. Furthermore, if it is indeed true that verbally coercive males show different patterns of social/cognitive reasoning than do physically coercive males, there are important implications for the treatment and prevention stratagies used for each groups.

Strengths, Limitations and Implications for Future Research

Many developmental theorists (Kitchener, 1982) have suggested that the concepts of self-knowledge, understanding of others, and awareness of relationships follow their own developmental sequences. This is due to the differences in content in each area. However, Kitchener (1982) suggests that there is a similarity in the general principles underlying development across these content areas. These general principles indicate that developmental sequences tend to move from more simple, concrete concepts to abstract concepts and finally

87

to more high level integrated concepts. The standard interview questions designed for this study seem to have elicited material which contains such developmentally related variability (although the more recently established measures are not yet as refined as other developmental measures (i.e. Self-Knowledge)). Three facts suggest that this instrument seems to be a promising approach for measuring the kinds of understandings which are likely to be different in (verbally) sexually coercive males. These are 1. even with blind ratings, significance was established between groups, 2. the measures used in this study correlated highly with Self-Knowledge constructs, and 3. adequate interrater reliability was established within all constructs.

While there are many strengths to this study, I also feel it is worth mentioning some of its limitations. First, before this material can be catagorized as truly developmental in nature, it is recommended that longitudinal research be applied in order to assess change over time within individuals. Only in this way can it be determined that the variability found in this study follows a normal progression within (versus between) individuals. However, the present study was needed to generate the putative stages that can be verified by subsequent longitudinal work.

Furthermore, while the correlational procedures are sufficient ways for establishing the degree of relationship among variables, they cannot and should not be used to establish causal relationships among variables. Therefore, while the results of the present study are consistent with Gondolf's (1987) suggestion that self-awareness is a necessary precondition to the ability to recognize and understand perpsectives other than one's own, these results do not support the notion that a causal link necessarily exists between self-knowledge development and the other developmental measures.

One of the limitations of the initial CSS questionaire was that it provided no indication as to the currency of the sexually coercive behavior. Thus, it is quite possible that

other factors may have intervened over time to facilitate change in the social reasoning abilities of the coercive males. Therefore, it is recommended that future research elicit information concerning the time frame of the behavior. It would also be helpful if this time frame approximated the time of the developmental interview. This would provide a more realistic picture of the true social/cognitive development of the sexually coercive male.

The size and limited age range of the sample group offered another limitation to this study. Since the interview could only be administered to one subject at a time, and was therefore quite time consuming, only a relatively small number of subjects (28) could be chosen to represent the findings of this study. This relatively small sample size and limited demographic variability, however, tends to limit the generalizability of this study.

Furthermore, when one uses a quasiexperimental design it is important to assure as much as possible that the groups were initially equivalent on all variables, except the one being studied ("coerciveness" in this case). However, because of the volunteer nature of this study, there is still the possibility that the two groups were not adequately matched. Therefore, future studies will be needed to replicate this research, with a wider range of types of subjects. Future studies should also collect more demographic information (i.e. SAT scores) to assure more equivalency between the groups.

Further studies should also be conducted to improve the psychometric adequacy of the scoring system (i.e. reliability properties and the ability of the system to discriminate between aggressive and non-aggressive samples).

And finally, it is suggested that future studies be conducted which are related to the prediction of profit from therapeutic interventions. In addition, in order to help adolescents and young adults remediate coercive behavior, prevention-oriented educational experiences, which are designed around the social/cognitive abilities of the target group, should be developed and tested.

APPENDIX A

INTERPERSONAL QUESTIONS

INTERPERSONAL QUESTIONS

THREE FEMALE FRIENDS

1. How does Kat feel when she sees Daisy's boyfriend with another woman? How do you know this?

2. What kind of person is Kat? How do you know this?

3. How might Daisy will feel when she finds out that her boyfriend is with another woman? Explain.

4. If Kat decides not to tell Daisy what she saw, and Daisy finds out that Kat was keeping this from her, how could this affect their friendship? Explain.

5. How would you know if Kat and Daisy were very close friends?

BOYFRIEND AND GIRLFRIEND

1. Describe this relationship.

2. What is Bill feeling about having sexual relations with Jo-Jo? How do you know this?

3. How do you suppose Jo-Jo feels when Bill gets up to go home? Explain.

4. What might Jo-Jo think Bill is feeling? How can you tell?

5. How might this interaction affect their relationship? Explain.

TWO MALE FRIENDS

1. Describe this relationship.

2. How is Conrad feeling? How do you know this?

3. How does Conrad's friend feel when Conrad tells him it's uncomfortable to be with him? How do you know this?

4. Is it possible that Conrad may not want to spend time with his friend yet still likes him? Explain.
5. How might this interaction affect their friendship? Explain.

6. What kinds of things might make a friendship end? Explain.

APPENDIX B

INTRAPERSONAL QUESTIONS

INTRAPERSONAL QUESTIONS

Recall an experience you've had that is similar to the one on the video.

a) Describe as fully as you can the experience you remember (include the events that led up to this experience, what your thoughts and feelings were, what the thoughts and feelings of the other person involved were, and what the outcome of the experience was).

b) What have you learned about yourself from this experience?

c) How could knowing this about yourself be useful to you?

APPENDIX C

CSS QUESTIONAIRE

CSS QUESTIONAIRE

Age   _____

Class   _____

Major   _____

Do you belong to a fraternity?   _____

Do you belong to an athletic team?   _____

Coercive Sexuality Scale (CSS)

The following questionnaire consists of three (3) parts. Please complete all parts.

The following questions address <u>sexual</u> experiences and conflicts between partners. Think back over all the sexual experiences that you have had and try to respond as honestly as you can as to how you have ACTUALLY BEHAVED. Respond to each item by circling the appropriate number which corresponds with the correct frequency. Respond to all items.

<u>Part 1</u>: I have placed my hand on a woman's breast, thigh, or genital area, and/or removed or disarranged a woman's clothing/underclothing...

	0 Never	1 Once	2 Twice	3 Three to Five	4 Six to Ten Times	5 More than Ten Times
1) ...with her clear consent and agreement	0	1	2	3	4	5
2) ...against her wishes, by ignoring her side of things (For example: I went ahead and just did it even though I know she didn't want to; I ignored her protests and statements that she wanted me to stop; etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
3) ...against her wishes, by saying something I normally wouldn't in order to get my way (For example: I said something to spite/hurt her; I persuaded her through continued verbal arguments or by telling her things I did not really mean; I used verbal threats such as "You'll have to walk home," etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
4) ...against her wishes, by using threats of physical force (For example: I threatened to twist her arm, hold her down, etc., if she didn't cooperate; I threatened to hit or slap her; I threatened to throw something at her; etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
5) ...against her wishes, by using a low to moderate degree of physical aggression (For example: I twisted her arm: I held her down; I slapped her: etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
6) ...against her wishes, by using a high degree of physical aggression (For example: I kicked, bit, or hit her with my fist; I hit or tried to hit her with something; I beat her up; I choked her; I threatened to use a weapon or used a weapon)	0	1	2	3	4	5

Please circle your answers to the following questions:
7) With which partner(s) have you used methods 5) and 6) from above?
     0 - I have never used these methods
     1 - only "casual" dating partner(s)
     2 - only "serious" dating partner(s)
     3 - both "casual" and "serious" partner(s)

8) With which partners have you used methods 5) and 6) from above?
     0 - I have never used these methods
     1 - only past dating partner(s)
     2 - only current dating partner(s)
     3 - both past and current partner(s)

Part 2: I have attempted intercourse with a woman, but for some reason intercourse did not occur. I attempted this...

	0 Never	1 Once	2 Twice	3 Three to Five	4 Six to Ten Times	5 More than Ten Times
1) ...with her clear consent and agreement	0	1	2	3	4	5
2) ...against her wishes, by ignoring her side of things (For example: I went ahead and just did it even though I know she didn't want to; I ignored her protests and statements that she wanted me to stop; etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
3) ...against her wishes, by saying something I normally wouldn't in order to get my way (For example: I said something to spite/hurt her; I persuaded her through continued verbal arguments or by telling her things I did not really mean; I used verbal threats such as "You'll have to walk home," etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
4) ...against her wishes, by using threats of physical force (For example: I threatened to twist her arm, hold her down, etc., if she didn't cooperate; I threatened to hit or slap her; I threatened to throw something at her; etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
5) ...against her wishes, by using a low to moderate degree of physical aggression (For example: I twisted her arm: I held her down; I slapped her: etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
6) ...against her wishes, by using a high degree of physical aggression (For example: I kicked, bit, or hit her with my fist; I hit or tried to hit her with something; I beat her up; I choked her; I threatened to use a weapon or used a weapon)	0	1	2	3	4	5

97

Please circle your answers to the following questions:
7) With which partner(s) have you used methods 5) and 6) from above?
    0 - I have never used these methods
    1 - only "casual" dating partner(s)
    2 - only "serious" dating partner(s)
    3 - both "casual" and "serious" partner(s)

8) With which partners have you used methods 5) and 6) from above?
    0 - I have never used these methods
    1 - only past dating partner(s)
    2 - only current dating partner(s)
    3 - both past and current partner(s)

Part 3: I have had sexual (including genital, oral, or anal) intercourse with a woman...

	0 Never	1 Once	2 Twice	3 Three to Five	4 Six to Ten Times	5 More than Ten Times
1) ...with her clear consent and agreement	0	1	2	3	4	5
2) ...against her wishes, by ignoring her side of things (For example: I went ahead and just did it even though I know she didn't want to; I ignored her protests and statements that she wanted me to stop; etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
3) ...against her wishes, by saying something I normally wouldn't in order to get my way (For example: I said something to spite/hurt her; I persuaded her through continued verbal arguments or by telling her things I did not really mean; I used verbal threats such as "You'll have to walk home," etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
4) ...against her wishes, by using threats of physical force (For example: I threatened to twist her arm, hold her down, etc., if she didn't cooperate; I threatened to hit or slap her; I threatened to throw something at her; etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
5) ...against her wishes, by using a low to moderate degree of physical aggression (For example: I twisted her arm: I held her down; I slapped her: etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
6) ...against her wishes, by using a high degree of physical aggression (For example: I kicked, bit, or hit her with my fist; I hit or tried to hit her with something; I beat her up; I choked her; I threatened to use a weapon or used a weapon)	0	1	2	3	4	5

Please circle your answers to the following questions:

7) With which partner(s) have you used methods 5) and 6) from above?
    0 - I have never used these methods
    1 - only "casual" dating partner(s)
    2 - only "serious" dating partner(s)
    3 - both "casual" and "serious" partner(s)

8) With which partners have you used methods 5) and 6) from above?
    0 - I have never used these methods
    1 - only past dating partner(s)
    2 - only current dating partner(s)
    3 - both past and current partner(s)

APPENDIX D

AIV QUESTIONAIRE

Attitudes Toward Interpersonal Violence (AIV)

The following items deal with the behavior of men and women toward eachother in a variety of situations. Please respond to these items by circling the appropriate number corresponding to strongly disagree to strongly agree.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Somewhat	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. A woman will only respect a man who will lay down the law to her.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Many women are so demanding sexually that a man just can't satisfy them.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. A man's got to show a woman who's boss right from the start or he'll end up henpecked.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Women are usually sweet until they've caught a man, but then they let their true self show.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. A lot of men talk big, but when it comes down to it, they can't perform well sexually.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. In a dating relationship, a woman is largely out to take advantage of a man.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Men are out for only one thing.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Most women are sly and manipulating when they are out to attract a man.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. A lot of women seem to get pleasure in putting men down.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. People today should not use "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" as a rule for living. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Many times a woman will pretend she doesn't want to have intercourse because she doesn't want to seem loose, but she's really hoping the man will force her.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Somewhat	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

13. A wife should move out of the house if her husband hits her.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Sometimes the only way a man can get a cold woman turned on is to use force.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. A man is never justified in hitting his wife.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Somewhat	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Think of an experience that you've had that is similar to the one in the video. Describe as fully as you can and in as much detail as possible the experience you remembered. Please include:

* What you did and what the other person(s) involved did
* A description of the relationship between you and the other(s) involved
* What you were thinking and feeling in the situation
* What the other person(s) was thinking and feeling in the situation
* How you would know what another person is thinking and feeling
* What made you respond as you did
* What led up to this experience
* What the results of the experience were for you
* What the results of the experience were for the other person(s) involved

From the experience you just remembered, please describe some of the things you know about yourself now. Please include:

* What ways were your thoughts, feelings or actions typical or atypical of thoughts, feelings or actions you've had in other situations
* What have you tried to do to modify your thoughts or feelings in order to change your way of responding in these situations
* How has your strategy affected your response
* How has your strategy affected the response of others
* How did this interaction affect your relationship with those involved?
* How might things have been different?

APPENDIX F

CSS AND AIV CONSENT FORM

CSS AND AIV CONSENT FORM

We are conducting a study of male college students' attitudes and behavior in the dating relationship. Participants will be administered two questionaires designed to define a continuum of sexual attitudes and behaviors. Some respondents will be chosen to participate in a subsequent interview (those who participate in this interview will receive $10). Subjects chosen will represent a variety of attitudes and behaviors.

We are aware that responses from the questionaires may contain personal and/or sensitive information. Therefore, the following steps will be taken to insure confidentiality and to prevent association of subjects with their responses:

1.   Each questionaire will possess a code. Also, an index card, bearing the same code and requesting the subject's name and phone number, will be attached to the questionaire. Index cards will be separated from the questionaires insuring that subjects' names will not be connected to questionaire responses.
2.   An independent rater will score the forms immediately after administration, and some subjects will be chosen to participate in the subsequent interview based on their scores.
3.   The questionaires will then be immediately destroyed so that no record of admission to specific behaviors will be maintained.
4.   The rater will give the code numbers - of the subjects chosen for the interview - to the interviewer who will then match the code numbers to those on the index cards and participants will be called (by telephone) to set up interview appointments. The interviewer will never be informed of the subjects' responses on the questionaires.

The content of the questionaires will be held in strict confidence, and under no circumstances will any material or information collected by this study be released in any form that could identify participants.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and a subject may withdraw from the study at any time. Should participation in this study cause any concern or distress, the researchers will be available to discuss these concerns and to provide referrals to university and community counseling services.

Please sign below if you understand the conditions of the study and agree to participate.

---   ----------------------------------
Signature   Date

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

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We are conducting a study of male college students' attitudes and behavior in the dating relationship. A couple of weeks ago participants were administered two questionaires designed to define a continuum of sexual attitudes and behaviors. Some respondents have been chosen to participate in a subsequent interview (those who participate in this interview will receive $10). Subjects chosen represent a variety of attitudes and behaviors.

Those people selected for this interview will watch a video segment and respond to several questions related to their attitudes and behavior in the dating relationship.

The interview will take approximately one hour. We will tape record the interview and transcriptions will be made. We are aware that responses from the interview may contain personal and/or sensitive information. Therefore, to insure confidentiality and to prevent association of subjects with their responses all names and identifying information will be deleted from transcripts. Furthermore, tape recordings will be destroyed after transcriptions are completed.

The content of the interview will be held in strict confidence, and under no circumstances will any material or information collected by this study be released in any form that could identify participants.

It should be noted that the interviewer will maintain a list of names and phone numbers of participants so that they can receive follow up information upon completion of the interview.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and a subject may withdraw from the study at any time. Should participation in this study cause any concern or distress, the researchers will be available to discuss these concerns and to provide referrals to university and community counseling services.

Please sign below if you understand the conditions of the study and agree to participate.

--   --------------------------------
Signature   Date

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