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**Examination of empowerment and rape myth acceptance among
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Trankel, Mary A., Ph.D.

University of Montana, 1991

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***EXAMINATION OF EMPOWERMENT AND RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE
AMONG MALE ADOLESCENTS IN A SEX OFFENDER TREATMENT PROGRAM***

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B.A., Carroll College-Helena MT, 1980

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Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

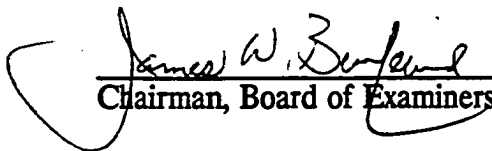
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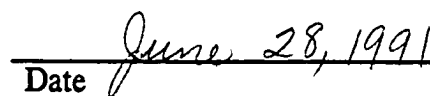
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Several clinicians and researchers have called for serious attempts to intervene with sex offenders at an early age, but treatment programs for youths are still in their infancy and little is known about the effectiveness of such programs. Further research is also needed to clear up the ambiguous picture of the "typical" sex offender.

An evaluation was performed for the Juvenile Sex Offender Program (JSOP) developed by staff at a Montana youth corrections facility. Within a peer group treatment modality, JSOP youths practice the cognitive and social skills necessary to analyze their past behavior patterns, overcome feelings of powerlessness, and develop healthy attitudes regarding sexuality.

This study had two major objectives. One was to develop a profile of characteristics unique to male juvenile sex offenders, in part by comparing sex offenders with a group of male youths adjudicated for crimes of a serious, but non-sexual, nature. Characteristics which most clearly distinguished between the study groups were previous parental abuse and delinquent history. Youths in both groups had experienced a high incidence of physical and sexual abuse, but for youths in the sex offender program, this abuse had been more frequent and severe. Youths in the comparison group had committed a wider range of criminal activities and had more frequently abused alcohol and drugs, while those adjudicated for sexual crimes more frequently evidenced such disturbances as hyperactivity, enuresis and encopresis.

A second major objective was to examine several attitude variables. Youths completed survey forms containing eight different scales, including a newly developed "Empowerment Scale." Length of time in treatment was significantly positively correlated with personal empowerment, self-esteem, and romantic self-image; and was inversely correlated with such negative attitudes as the belief that relationships between the sexes are adversarial, readiness to accept interpersonal violence as a means of problem-solving, sexual conservatism, rigidness of sex-role stereotyping, and acceptance of rape myths. A regression analysis was performed to explore possible antecedents of empowerment and rape myth acceptance among youthful sex offenders.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Several studies have indicated that adolescents are highly over-represented both as sexual assault victims and as offenders (Ageton 1983; Davis and Leitenberg 1987; Groth, Longo and McFadin 1982).¹ Empirical data indicate that between 40 and 50 percent of sex offenses against children are committed by adolescents. Evidence further reveals that an impressive number of adult offenders committed their first sexual assault during adolescence, they engaged in multiple forms of sexual abuse² before or during adolescence, and these acts remained undetected (Knopp 1986, p. 20; Groth, Longo and McFadin 1982). Thus, several writers have called for serious attempts to intervene with sex offenders at an early age (Agee 1980; Longo and Groth 1983; Browne and Finkelhor 1986; Smith, Monastersky and Deisher 1987).

Only in the last ten years have programs been developed to treat the adolescent sex offender, and little is known about the effectiveness of such programs. While a number of studies have focused on adult offenders, very little research has been published on juvenile sexual offenders (Smith, Monastersky and Deisher 1987). Davis and Leitenberg (1987, p. 417) state that:

¹ Between 30% and 50% of sexual assault victims and offenders are adolescents, dependent upon the data source. The U.S. Department of Justice has consistently reported this age group as having either the highest or next to highest incidence of rape (Ageton 1983).

² The most frequently-quoted expert on this topic is Nicholas Groth (1979, p. 98), who defines sexual abuse as "any sexual activity witnessed and/or experienced that is emotionally upsetting or disturbing."

Given the large number of adolescent sex offenders and the even larger number of their victims, most of whom are younger children, this is a subject matter in need of much more empirical study than it has so far received.

It has not been possible to draw sound conclusions about the incidence and etiology of sexual assault committed by youth or adults. One major reason for this is that statistics vary considerably by reporting source. Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) contain nationally gathered statistics from police departments on the number of forcible rapes and attempted rapes reported each year. National Crime Survey (NCS) data, which rely on reports of crimes by victims, delineate about twice as many sexual assaults as the UCR. This suggests that only about half of forcible rapes are reported to police.

Further research is also needed to clear up the ambiguous picture of the "typical" sex offender. A large body of research has focused on identifying the personality characteristics of adult sexual offenders, yet relatively little useful information has been gained. Upon examining the extensive literature on the subject, Levin and Stava (1987) uncovered several inconsistent findings. One problem is that most researchers have attempted to produce profiles of different offenders through use of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, commonly referred to as the MMPI. It was developed by R. Starke Hathaway and J. Charnley McKinley as a psychological testing instrument and included subscales designed to

detect such personality traits as psychopathic deviation, schizophrenia, and hypomania.³

Hathaway and Monachesi (1953; 1956) pioneered use of the MMPI for predicting delinquent behavior. They concluded that scores on the psychopathic deviation scale successfully predicted delinquency (Siegel and Senna 1988, p. 102). However, others have noted that the heterogeneity of MMPI profiles precludes stereotypic generalizations about sex-offender characteristics (Erickson et al 1987),⁴ and that very few sexual offenders fit the MMPI code types (Agee 1980). Levin and Stava (1987) suggest that the many inconsistent findings appearing in the literature may be due to the fact that the MMPI is more appropriate as a measure of psychopathology than of personality. They note further that personality profiles of sexual offenders derived from MMPI scores have not held up in several cross-

³ "Psychopathy" generally refers to personality disorder which is nonpsychotic in nature, whereby the individual lacks manifest anxiety (normal guilt) and exhibits inadequate social adjustment. The diagnostic classification of psychopathy has become controversial in recent years. The DSM-III refers to a general category called "antisocial personality disorder" rather than psychopathy. Further, the DSM-III-R does not even mention psychosis or the psychotic and reserves the term "neurosis" only for a fairly narrow set of disorders, the anxiety disorders (Goode 1990, p. 316). Researchers have referred variously to psychopathy, sociopathy, and antisocial behavior, seeming to use these terms interchangeably. "Schizophrenia" is a general name for a group of psychotic reactions characterized by withdrawal, disturbances in emotional and affective life and, in more extreme cases, the presence of hallucinations, delusions, negativistic behavior, and progressive deterioration. "Hypomania" refers to a mild degree of mania characterized by excitement, energetic behavior, restlessness, and high productivity, where "mania" refers to the more violent, uncontrollable form of this type of behavior. [Source: Chaplin 1975]

⁴ In their attempt to develop appropriate MMPI typologies among 403 convicted sex offenders, Erickson, et. al. (1987) found that approximately 20% of all profiles were within normal range. Further, no psychological characteristic described in these men was peculiar to sex offenders. They concluded that, "The MMPI can be useful for presentence evaluation and for monitoring long-term treatment progress, but the findings reported here do not support descriptions of any MMPI profile as typical of any sort of sex offenders. Attempts to identify individuals as likely sex offenders on the basis of their MMPI profiles are reprehensible, although they are becoming increasingly common as accusations of child sex abuse grow in frequency. This practice represents a serious misuse of the MMPI and is not supportable by the results of this or any other study" (p. 569).

validation studies. Some researchers have gone so far as to suggest that the most striking characteristic of sex offenders is their apparent normality -- since most do not fit into any psychiatric diagnostic category (Abel, Rouleau and Cunningham-Rather 1985).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Approximately six years ago, staff at the Pine Hills youth corrections facility in Montana began to notice that an increasing number of male youths were being committed for sexual offenses. Professionals who work with juvenile sex offenders feel that such youths have personal and social problems of a nature severe enough that most will not outgrow their antisocial behavior without appropriate intervention. Thus, Pine Hills staff decided it would be wise to develop a juvenile sex offender treatment program (which they termed "JSOP").

Clinicians and other experts who had been working with youthful sex offenders suggested that many sexually aggressive youths act out in this manner in order to mitigate the anxiety associated with feeling out of control, fearful, powerless, or helpless. Experts had noted that most youthful offenders continue to struggle with such debilitating feelings *in silence* because it is too painful to share them voluntarily. Furthermore, many youths have not developed the *verbal skills* necessary to accomplish this task (Agee 1980; Ageton 1983). Instead, they lash out in a sexually aggressive fashion in order to gain some measure of control that will compensate for feelings of *powerlessness*.

Sociologist David Finkelhor (1981, p. 3) has noted that *power* seems to be the connecting thread between all forms of family violence and that abuse tends to gravitate toward the relationships with the *greatest power differential* -- those who are most powerful tend to abuse the weakest. Finkelhor describes the connection between power and many different forms of abuse as follows:

Although they are acts of the strong against the weak, they seem to be acts carried out by abusers in part, to compensate for their perceived lack of or loss of power. In the case of spouse abuse of children, this attempt to compensate is often bound up in a sense of powerlessness particularly with regard to the masculine ideals in our society (1981, p. 5) [reprinted in Finkelhor et al. 1983].

From the foregoing discussion it would seem to follow that males who have strong feelings of personal power and feel comfortable with their sex role status within our society will be much less likely to commit sexual assaults than those who feel powerless. If this assumption is true, then appropriate treatment strategies should involve attempts to help the adolescent overcome feelings of powerlessness by teaching effective problem-solving and coping strategies, and helping them develop healthy attitudes with regard to expectations about their male sex role, their sexuality, and their relationships with the opposite sex.⁵

A further assumption implicit in the above analysis is that an increase in youths' sense of empowerment should be inversely related to acceptance of rape myth attitudes. Personal empowerment refers to the degree to which persons feel

⁵ While staff of the Juvenile Sex Offender Program (JSOP) at Pine Hills School in Miles City, Montana do not spell out their program goals in precisely this fashion, the structured activities developed for their 12 program phases (as described in Appendix A) would seem to be geared toward accomplishing these objectives. Pine Hills staff agree that this study design seems consistent with the results they envision for adolescents completing the JSOP program.

competent, and in general believe they can have a positive influence on their own life chances and happiness. Rape myths are public stereotypes or attitudes that define sexual assault as acceptable -- especially by males against females -- or which blame the victim for causing her own assault. As components of a cultural belief system, these attitudes serve to support and condone sexually assaultive behaviors -- especially against women.⁶

The assumption of treatment professionals is that if intervention does not occur to interrupt the cycle of sexual abuse, increasingly aggressive and destructive acts may be expected to occur as the adolescent reaches adulthood, by which time he may no longer be amenable to rehabilitation. Ageton's (1983) longitudinal study provides some empirical evidence in support of this assumption, since the amount of force adolescents used in attempted and completed sexual assaults increased significantly as the offender aged.

THE JUVENILE SEX OFFENDER TREATMENT PROGRAM

In November of 1984, staff at the Pine Hills School in Miles City established the Juvenile Sex Offender Program (JSOP). This pilot project was developed in response to the growing awareness of the need for intensive treatment of juveniles adjudicated as sex offenders in Montana.⁷ The JSOP treatment population at Pine Hills includes

⁶ Appendix B and C contain a complete listing of the Empowerment and Rape Myth scales used to measure these attitudes for this study.

⁷ Staff had noticed an apparent increase in the numbers of youths committed to Pine Hills for sexual offenses. A similar phenomenon has been observed in other states. For example, Driggs and Zoet (1987) note that in July of 1986, 23% of adult male inmates in Minnesota were sex offenders, (continued...)

male youths court-ordered to treatment because they have committed a sexual offense. At the time JSOP was established, the few programs for sexual offenders then available nationwide were geared primarily toward treatment of adults, and even these were in their infancy.⁸

JSOP program philosophy is centered around the assumption that sexual assault/deviance is learned behavior. Treatment therefore includes a combination of reeducation, therapy and resocialization. As part of the treatment process, youths are educated about their own sexuality and that of the opposite sex. In this way, they learn which of their beliefs are accurate and "normal," as opposed to those which are dangerous societal myths -- attitudes which condone sexually assaultive behavior. In addition, youths explore and begin to understand their own feelings, the feelings of their victims, and the environmental circumstances surrounding their particular cycle of abuse so that they can see how it is possible to take personal control of their behavior in the future. In other words, they learn how to *empower themselves* in order to change events in their lives in a positive, more socially adaptive fashion.

JSOP is based upon a structured program consisting of 12 phases which are described in Appendix A. The core of the treatment program revolves around

(...continued)

compared to 6% in 1972. It is not known whether such differences reflect actual increase in sex offenses or better detection and arrest of sex offenders.

⁸ JSOP program founders relied heavily upon the model of the "closed" adolescent treatment program in Colorado as a basis for preparing their own treatment program. This model is based upon the work and research of Vicki Agee, author of Treatment of the Violent Incurable Adolescent, 1980. JSOP staff also incorporated much information from materials produced by PREAP (Prison Research/Education/Action Project) under the editorship of Fay Honey Knopp.

helping the youth understand his own personal assault cycle. Group treatment is structured around a *circular model* which depicts components of the sexual crime.

Each youth examines the following elements surrounding his assaultive behavior:

- his moods and feelings at the time of the assault;
- sexual fantasies which preceded his sexual acting out;
- planning the assault, and the decision to assault;
- selecting the victim;
- *junko-logic* (the group's term for unrealistic self-talk used by the youthful offender to convince himself that his behavior is acceptable). Many of these rationalizations are akin to rape myths;
- the victim's reactions and behaviors;
- the offender's personal payoff for engaging in the behavior; and
- affective reactions (feelings about himself following the assault).

Throughout this process, the youth practices the cognitive and social skills necessary to analyze and understand his past behavior patterns. Part of the program is completed through written assignments, which include a detailed autobiography and a daily journal of sexual fantasies. However, the primary mode of treatment revolves around peer group counseling.⁹ All youths are expected to actively participate in their own treatment process as well as in the progress of their peers.

Peer group sessions are held on a daily basis within regularly scheduled class periods of approximately one hour. Groups are generally held to a size limit of six to eight students. All three staff counselors participate in each of the sessions, acting as discussion facilitators rather than instructors. The group may spend several weeks

⁹ Focused group therapy is one of the most widely used treatment modalities for both juvenile and adult sexual offenders (Knopp 1985; Tarr 1986).

analyzing one individual's assault cycle (pattern of abuse). Each youth explains to his peers, in great detail, the elements of one or more assaults he has committed.

As the offender explains these elements to his peers, they are expected to act as checks on his description of reality. His explanation will be called into question by group members if it doesn't make sense or if previous statements conflict with current ones. For example, another youth may point out that he now states his victim was "a willing participant who enjoyed the sexual experience" (a type of *rape myth*); yet last week he mentioned that the victim "tried to push him away." Or someone may remember that he previously mentioned his goal was to hurt someone the way he had been hurt in the past; yet he now claims his "only payoff" from the assault was the sexual gratification associated with orgasm.

SEXUAL DEVIANCE DEFINED

There are distinctive societal reactions which can be considered "indicators" that certain behaviors are socially unacceptable (Akers 1985). These include interpersonal expressions of disapproval (such as ridicule, withdrawal of affection, possibility of job or status loss), and societal reactions such as the development of laws and establishment of organizations and professionals whose job it is to deter or change the behavior of those considered to be deviant. Using such signs as indicators, the following kinds of sexual behaviors are defined as deviant in American society today¹⁰ (Akers 1985, p. 180):

¹⁰ Appendix D contains a detailed listing of the types of sexual behaviors engaged in by youths in the JSOP sample.

- 1) heterosexual deviations such as prostitution, incest, promiscuity, group orgies, and violent or forcible sexual attack like rape;
- 2) adult homosexual deviation by both males and females;
- 3) excessive autoeroticism and sexual fetishism;
- 4) fetishistic-like behavior such as transvestism (cross-sex dressing) and voyeurism (peeping Tomism);
- 5) publicly visible sexual indecencies and improprieties such as public nudity, exhibitionism, and sexual intimacy in public (notwithstanding media materials);
- 6) pedophilia (child molestation), whether homosexual or heterosexual, violent or nonviolent; and
- 7) a range of "perversions" such as bestiality (human-animal contact), necrophilia (sex with a corpse), and sadomasochism (from sadism, "inflicting pain," and masochism, "receiving pain" for sexual gratification).

These activities are not all perceived as equally deviant. Strongest disapproval is expressed toward acts which inflict pain or employ force on an unwilling victim, as in rape; or when violence is not involved, for sexual activity with an innocent party such as a child or disabled victim (Akers 1985, pp. 180-181). Official sanctions are typically applied to persons who engage in such behaviors. Adjudicated males in the JSOP Program at Pine Hills have been committed for one or more of the following sexual crimes:

45-5-502, M.C.A. *Sexual assault*. Knowingly subjecting another not his spouse to any sexual contact without consent.¹¹

45-5-503, M.C.A. *Sexual intercourse without consent*. Knowingly having sexual intercourse without consent with a person of the opposite sex not his spouse.

45-5-504, M.C.A. *Indecent exposure*. For the purpose of arousing or gratifying sexual desire of himself or of any person other than his spouse, exposing his genitals

¹¹In the Montana Codes Annotated (M.C.A.), "without consent" means: (1) the victim is compelled to submit by force or by threat of imminent death, bodily injury, or kidnapping; or (2) the victim is incapable of consent because he is: (a) mentally defective or incapacitated; (b) physically helpless; or (c) less than 16 years old.

under circumstances in which he knows his conduct is likely to cause affront or alarm.

45-5-505, M.C.A. *Deviate sexual conduct*. Knowingly engaging in deviate sexual relations or causing another to engage in deviate sexual relations, where "deviate sexual relations" means sexual contact or sexual intercourse between two persons of the same sex or any form of sexual intercourse with an animal.

45-5-507, M.C.A. *Incest*. Knowingly marrying, cohabiting with, or having sexual intercourse or sexual contact with an ancestor, a descendant, a brother or sister of the whole or half blood, a stepson or stepdaughter, or a child by adoption.

Members of all societies expect "deviants" to be punished for behavior which does not conform. Furthermore, the public is generally opposed to *soft time* for sex offenders (Avery-Clark 1983); and as Driggs and Zoet (1987, p. 124) point out:

There seems to be a generally increased awareness of sex offenders in the public's mind and throughout the criminal justice system. This has resulted in more reporting, more prosecution, and more incarceration of men and women sex offenders. Unfortunately, this awareness does not always extend to an acceptance of the reality that even sex offenders eventually return to the community.

Staff at the Pine Hills School are very aware of the need to attempt a dual role of treatment and community protection. In addition to accomplishing its treatment objectives, a major goal of the JSOP program is to protect the community from sexual abuse through development of an effective treatment program for the juvenile offender, thus returning to the community a young person who:

- 1) Takes responsibility for recognizing and controlling his internal feelings and external behavior;
- 2) Replaces assaultive/aggressive/inappropriate behaviors and thoughts with socially appropriate ones;
- 3) Can participate in age-appropriate social interactions; and
- 4) Will not offend again. (Staff, JSOP Program Description)

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This research begins to fill gaps in our knowledge about sex offenders in three important ways. First, more extensive data were gathered than that which had previously been generated from studies attempting to develop a profile of sexual offenders. The profile, as represented in national arrest statistics, has been that of a sexual offender population that is predominantly black, lower class, and urban. It is questionable whether such a profile accurately reflects sexual offenders in a rural setting.

Self-report studies have generally failed to confirm significant differences in ethnicity or socioeconomic status (Ageton 1983; Kanin 1967; Smithyman 1978; Polk et al. 1981), although Ageton's (1983) self-report survey of adolescents supported the typical profile regarding ethnicity and socioeconomic status when demographics were analyzed only for offenders whose assaults involved a weapon or physical violence. Montana's ethnic, geographic, and socioeconomic characteristics are unique. To date, no systematic study has reported data on rates of sexual offending within a population which includes Native Americans or persons living in rural areas.

Second, a number of psychosocial variables have been clinically implicated, but never tested, as correlates of sexual assaultiveness (Davis and Leitenberg 1987 p. 425). These include such things as insecurities about masculinity, sexual performance fears, rejection fears, social skills deficits, hostility toward women, fears of adult homosexuality, stereotyped sex role attitudes, and atypical masturbation fantasies. Standardized measures have seldom been used in empirical research focused on

factors contributing to sexual abuse. Nor have any controlled studies tested the common notion that the male adolescent sex offender feels less powerful than other male adolescents, and thus uses sexual aggressiveness as a way to compensate for feelings of masculine inadequacy.

Finally, little has been done to examine whether there are differences between offenders who are aggressive in a sexual context vs. those who engage in non-sexual interpersonal aggression. Yet research using official arrest records has indicated that men who engage in sexual assault also engage in other physically assaultive behaviors (Amir 1967; Wolfgang 1958; MacDonald 1971). Further, JSOP staff have noticed that, while few adolescents who have completed their program are known to have committed another sexual assault, some of them have committed physical acts of aggression. This finding prompted them to add a component to the JSOP treatment phases which is designed to help youths cope with anger in a positive fashion.

It is possible that there are background and/or psychosocial factors common to both groups of offenders -- sexual assaulters and individuals who engage in interpersonal violence of a nonsexual nature. In a recent review of the literature, Davis and Leitenberg (1987) noted that studies using matched comparison groups are almost entirely lacking, and they suggest that categories of offenders need to be separated and compared along a number of different dimensions.

The research reported herein includes data gathered through a cross-sectional analysis designed to compare and contrast two groups of subjects:

1. All youths adjudicated as sex offenders and court-mandated to participate in the Juvenile Sex Offender Treatment Program (JSOP) at Pine Hills in Miles City, Montana;
2. A comparison group of a similar number of youths committed to Pine Hills for crimes of a serious nature, but whose offense history has *not* included a sex offense.

The two study groups were chosen from a population of youths serving a sentence at Pine Hills School during March of 1990. Pine Hills School in Miles City is a state correctional institution for male juveniles who have been adjudicated for a criminal offense or court-ordered to that facility for an evaluation. The School is administratively assigned to the Montana Department of Family Services¹² because only youths are placed there. The campus-like atmosphere of the school houses four minimum-security cottages and one maximum security unit.

SUMMARY:

This study had two major objectives. One was to develop a profile of characteristics unique to male juvenile sex offenders. This was accomplished, in part, by comparing sex offenders with a group of male youths who were adjudicated for crimes of a serious, but non-sexual, nature. Another major objective was to examine levels of personal empowerment and degree of acceptance of rape myth attitudes among adjudicated male youths in both study groups.

Five specific tactics were developed to accomplish the above objectives:

1. Develop a profile of juvenile sex offenders in order to determine how Montana adjudicated male sex offenders differ from the national profile.

¹² whereas the Montana State Prison is administratively assigned to the Department of Institutions.

2. Examine whether acceptance of rape myth attitudes is inversely correlated with sense of personal empowerment among adolescent sexual offenders and non-sexual offenders.
3. Determine whether length of time in JSOP is correlated with sense of personal empowerment and degree of acceptance of rape myth attitudes.
4. Explore possible antecedents of rape myth acceptance and personal empowerment, including ethnicity, age, socioeconomic status, non-sexual offense history, type of sexual offenses committed, victim's gender and age, and past sexual victimization (see Figure 2, page 38).
5. Make cross-sectional comparisons contrasting sexual offenders with nonsexual serious offenders, in order to highlight characteristics unique to sexual offenders.

CHAPTER II JUVENILE SEX OFFENDERS: THEORY AND RESEARCH

This review of the literature contains three distinctive parts. The first section presents the broad theoretical framework which guided the proposed research. This section includes a description of how elements from three different theoretical traditions are interwoven within the treatment assumptions from which the Juvenile Sex Offender Program (JSOP) at Pine Hills School was derived. A second section briefly discusses background and structural factors examined by researchers as they attempted to develop a *profile* of sexual offenders. Finally, research findings are summarized in relation to the two major attitudes examined as dependent variables in this study: degree of *rape myth acceptance* and sense of *personal empowerment*.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As Pearson and Weiner (1985) have noted, "Criminology is an eclectic science, drawing its theories from diverse currents in psychology, sociology, anthropology, and law" (p. 116). Recently, several works have identified linkages between the different theoretical traditions related to the field of criminology. Cloward and Ohlin (1960), for example, integrated elements of strain and subcultural theories in their explanations of delinquency; Burgess and Akers (1966) and Akers (1985) highlighted the connections between social learning principles and differential association; Elliott and associates (1979; 1985) paired social learning theory with concepts from social control and strain theories; Aultman (1979) examined social and interpersonal control

formulations in a path model which included strain theory; and Conger (1976) assessed the combined efficacy of social control and social learning theories. Other integrated approaches have been proposed in Tornberry (1987); and Messner, Krohn, and Liska (1989).

Perhaps the most comprehensive integration has been offered by Pearson and Weiner (1985), who combined elements of both micro and macro level perspectives into one theoretical framework. Their formulation includes the 13 theories¹³ most frequently cited in the five most esteemed criminology journals between 1978 to 1985. The central focus of their theoretical integration was social learning theory, which is a micro level perspective in that it centers on the individual as the unit of analysis, and considers primarily interpersonal factors as explanations for all types of behavior.

The analytical framework which guided the present research followed this contemporary trend toward integrated approaches,¹⁴ by incorporating elements from three different theoretical traditions: 1) social learning theory; 2) social behaviorism; and 3) symbolic interactionism. The combination of these elements is referred to as a "cognitive social learning perspective."¹⁵ Figure 1, page 21, presents a flow diagram

¹³ These 13 theories included: social learning; differential association; negative labelling; social control; deterrence; economic; routine activities; neutralization; relative deprivation; strain; culture conflict; critical/conflict; and generalized strain and normative conflict. The authors note that there were very few citations to symbolic interactionism.

¹⁴ See Gibbons and Krohn 1991 for a discussion of efforts which have recently been made toward integration of delinquency theories.

¹⁵ "Cognition" is a general concept embracing all forms of knowing, or the process by which an individual comes to know and interpret his/her environment. It includes perceiving, imagining, reasoning, remembering, generalizing, and judging. A cognitive theory of learning is any theory which postulates variables of a cognitive nature in order to explain learning and behavior (Theodorson and Theodorson 1969; Chaplin 1975).

demonstrating the elements from the three theories which were combined to formulate this analysis. It should be noted that this, and other figures which follow, are presented as heuristic devices.

Asher (1983) notes that even in situations where certain assumptions may not be met, or data may be unavailable or equation systems unidentified, a causal model approach to theorizing may be valuable because "Thinking causally about a problem and constructing an arrow diagram that reflects causal processes may often facilitate the clearer statement of hypotheses and the generation of additional insights into the topic at hand" (p. 8). Such flow diagrams are presented herein to help focus on the process by which JSOP program staff attempt to produce the desired behavioral changes.

It should also be noted that this was an evaluation study. As such, it was designed around sound research principles but it was not guided by any one particular theoretical tradition within sociology. Rossi and Freeman (1989) point out that "...one of the distinguishing characteristics of program evaluation is that its methods cover the gamut of prevailing research paradigms" (p. 19). According to these experts, the evaluator should translate general program goals into measurable, operational objectives by developing an impact model which specifies the causal,

intervention, and action hypotheses underlying the planning and implementation of a program (Rossi and Freeman, 1989).

This research focused on attitudes of adolescent sex offenders with regard to acceptance of rape myths and personal empowerment, on the assumption that attitudes can be a key link to future behavior change. It is acknowledged that sexually assaultive behavior may be reinforced by biological and environmental factors, but it is also assumed that people can reinforce themselves for their actions (Bandura 1976). People can perform altruistic action, for example, simply because they feel good about themselves for doing so.

Treatment professionals hope that, through the process of peer group treatment, youthful sex offenders will learn to reinforce themselves in ways that are socially acceptable. In any event, JSOP treatment staff cannot hope to have much, if any, effect on factors external to the individual. At best they can hope to achieve long-term behavioral change only through the medium of "attitudes" and other cognitive processes that mediate behavior. The broken line between "attitudes" and "behavior change" in Figure 1, page 21, signifies the tentative nature of the attitude/behavior connection.

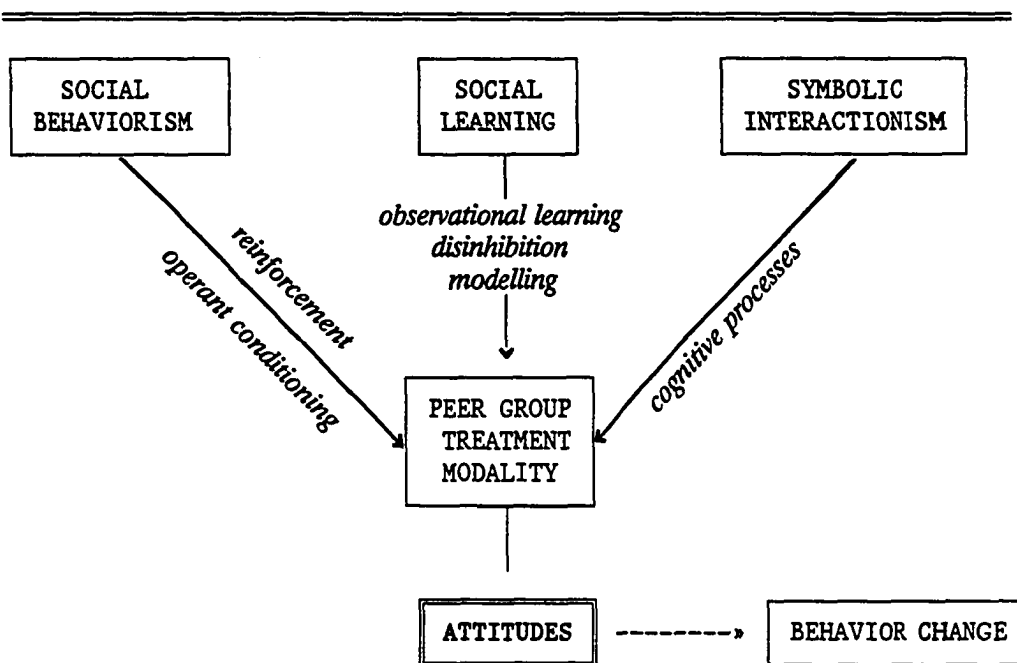
Social Learning Theory. Albert Bandura's (1969, 1977) *social learning theory* combines the principles of symbolic interactionism and social behaviorism. Although Bandura's theory includes a heavy reliance upon the operant learning principles of modern behaviorism, it also includes the cognitive element which is conspicuously absent in many behavioristic formulations. Thus, it remains compatible with

sociological social psychology (Franklin 1982, p. 156). Social learning theory emphasizes that learning can take place as a result of two different processes:

- 1) learning through response consequences; and
- 2) learning through modelling (Franklin 1982, p. 161).

Learning through response consequences refers to development of the operant conditioning procedures discussed above, whereby reinforced (successful) behaviors are selected and ineffectual ones discarded. This selection and discarding of behaviors is thus due to a process of *differential reinforcement* (Akers 1985), which involves a cognitive awareness on the part of the individual that some of their behaviors have positive consequences and others do not. The unique component of this perspective is that responses are not necessarily assumed to be strengthened by their consequences in an *automatic* fashion; rather, a *motivational function* must be considered as well. Since individuals can remember past events, they can also anticipate future consequences of certain responses, thereby constructing *cognitive expectations* about which benefits might be expected to accrue from certain actions. This process serves to convert future consequences into current motivators of behavior, so that much behavior is under the control of these *anticipatory consequences* (Bandura 1977, p. 18).

Figure 1. Integrated Theoretical Model



When we observe the behavior of others, we also take note of the *consequences* of their behavior. In other words, we watch to see what happens to them as a result of behaving the way they do, and we develop a generalized habit of matching the responses of *successful models*:

According to social learning theory, which responses children select to perform from their repertoires depends primarily on the response consequences the children anticipate. Children should prefer to perform behaviors exhibited by same-sex models, because they have more often been rewarded and less often criticized for imitating same-sex models ... (Perry and Bussey 1979, p. 1701).

Perry and Bussey suggest a further reformulation of social learning theory which helps explain gender learning differences, such as why males are generally more aggressive than females:¹⁶

It is suggested that children learn which behaviors are appropriate to each sex by observing differences in the frequencies with which male and female models as groups perform various responses in given situations.

In short, children of both sexes have access to role models from whom they can learn to act in aggressive ways. Yet they both observe that males more frequently engage in such behavior, and are more likely to be rewarded for doing so than females. In contrast, they also learn that females are more likely to be punished for aggressive behavior than are males.

Social Behaviorism. In direct contrast to the symbolic interactionist notion of the actor as a thinking, self-determining individual stands the legacy of psychological behaviorism. Mead's seminal point of interest was actually the behaviorist ideas of John B. Watson (1913; 1919).¹⁷ Mead was quite impressed with Watson's focus on the actor and the actor's behavior, and also regarded as sensible the concern with

¹⁶ Herman (1988) makes the point that the most glaring weakness of psychological or structural explanations are their failure to explain female sexual abuse, since women are two to three times more commonly abused as children, yet females constitute only a small minority of sex offenders.

¹⁷ John B. Watson is considered by many to be the founder of behaviorism (Franklin 1982, pp. 131-132), although Comte's rejection of introspection while advancing objective, observable knowledge is also thought to have contributed to development of this perspective (p. 127). Watson wrote a series of lectures at Columbia University in 1912 [the *Behaviorist's Manifesto*, which were subsequently published in 1913 in the *Psychological Review*, for which he was editor (Franklin 1982)]. Mead referred to Watson as a "radical behaviorist" in order to distinguish his own brand of "social behaviorism" from Watson's thought.

rewards and costs (reinforcers and punishers) as consequences which affect the behavioral learning process. What troubled Mead was that psychological behaviorism did not offer a complete explanation of human behavior (as distinct from animal behavior), because it failed to consider the importance of consciousness (Ritzer 1988, p. 50). It is this lack of a cognitive component that critics point to when they insist that behaviorists view the actor as a passive recipient of life events, responding in an unthinking fashion to the social environment.

Several specific terms are basic to an understanding of behaviorism, the most important of which are *reinforcers* (environmental events which make an action more likely to recur) and *punishers* (responses which act to inhibit the recurrence of an act). Skinner (1966) focused on these *reinforcement contingencies* as the key to understanding behavior, contending that positive reinforcement increases the probability that a response will occur. Those actions which succeed in meeting the organism's goal are reinforced by this success, and the organism is likely to repeat them in the future when confronted with similar circumstances. Likewise, behaviors which do not meet with success fall into disuse.

Skinner departed from many early behaviorists when he suggested that a good deal of human behavior is *not* the product of a simple stimulus-response process, as advocated by the classical conditioning perspective: "...stimuli do not *elicit* operant responses; they simply modify the probability that responses will be emitted" (Skinner 1974, p. 229). The essence of such *operant conditioning* is the assumption that social

behavior is learned and subsequently modified according to the consequences it has for the actor (Baldwin and Baldwin 1986, p. 6).¹⁸

As children grow and develop, parents and other social agents provide them with various rewards when they display socially acceptable behavior and punish them for socially unacceptable actions. Punishments and reinforcements can be either positive (*applied to the individual*) or negative (*taken away from the person*). For example, slapping a child who spits out food is an example of a *positive punisher*, because a consequence has been applied after the behavior in attempt to suppress it. However, one person's reward can be another person's punishment. If the child were to repeat the spitting behavior in the future (perhaps in order to get attention), a behaviorist would say that the slap had actually been an instance of *positive reinforcement* -- a consequence was applied, with the result that the behavior increased in frequency.

A parent can help *shape* their child's skills by reinforcing "successive approximations" of a desired goal behavior. For example, before a child has begun to speak clearly, a parent may reward him or her for expressing any verbalization which

¹⁸ Molm (1981, p. 159) cautions that modern behaviorism should not be confused with Watson's (1913; 1919; 1930) S-R (stimulus-response) behavioral theory, which applies only to *respondent* -- not *operant* conditioning. "Respondents" refer to innate, biologically inherited reflexes that produce automatic responses as a result of some specific stimulus (as when a person pulls back their hand upon touching a hot surface, or blinks an eye when the eyelash senses a puff of air). "Operant" refers to a response defined in terms of its effects on the environment (rather than to the stimulus which produced the response). Operant behavior is also called Type-R behavior, since the emphasis is on response, in contrast to Type-S behavior, which is studied in classical conditioning and in which there is an emphasis on the association between stimulus and response. Early behaviorists believed that all forms of learning consisted of establishing a connection between such antecedent stimuli and subsequent responses. In contrast, modern behaviorists contend that the vast majority of human behaviors are *operants*, not *respondents*; i.e., rather than being "elicited" by a stimulus, human behaviors are seen as "emitted" by the organism.

sounds like a real word, as in giving the child a cookie for sounding out the "k" consonant while reaching for the cookie. Once the child has mastered that task, the parent may *model* the word "cookie" several times, and withhold the reward until the child's utterance comes closer to an approximation of the full word.

Franklin (1982, pp. 153-158) has summarized the assumptions underlying modern behaviorism:

- 1) Human Organisms are Dynamic in Social Interaction. It is no longer assumed that humans sit idly by waiting upon stimuli or emitting random behaviors. "Instead, they act, and in time their actions produce consequences in the social world" (p. 153).
- 2) Operants Produce Stimulus Events. Social actions emitted by humans may act on the environment to produce positive, negative or neutral consequences, which may then result in an increase or decrease in the behavior, or which may have no effect on the future occurrence of social actions.
- 3) Reinforcement Functions to Maintain an Active Repertoire of Behavior. Individuals are able to remember a variety of "successful" behaviors from the past which can be used to produce similar environmental effects.
- 4) Recurrence of an Activity under Similar Circumstances. Individuals can remember and re-use specific behaviors from their repertoire under appropriately similar circumstances. In some sense, this is similar to a "functional" view of behaviors as recurring over time because they have been successful in the past, although it is not clear that all modern behaviorists subscribe to a "survival of the organism" model.
- 5) Deprivation. If a person is deprived of certain items, these items tend to be more reinforcing; items which exist in adequate supply are less likely to be reinforcers (satiation effect). The main issue here is that behavior is *purposive*, since people can weigh costs and benefits and decide upon a course of action most desirable for them.¹⁹

¹⁹ Skinner remained one of the few modern exceptions to this assumption, since he refused to consider such abstract forces as biological needs and drives to be causal variables in human motivation.

- 6) Modelling and Learning. This assumption is especially significant for sociologically oriented behaviorists, many of whom have long argued that much of what we learn can occur through vicarious experiences. Albert Bandura (1977), for example, states that observing others' outcomes helps one define the nature and effectiveness of reinforcers without actually experiencing them ourselves through trial and error.

Symbolic Interactionism. Social psychology has always been central in the sociological thought of such theorists as Emile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, Max Weber and Gabriel Tarde, who took the individual into account in attempting to understand patterns and forms of social interaction (Franklin 1982, p. 9). In spite of all our attention to social structures and other sociocultural systems, no sociologist ever escapes the need to address the social person on a more individual level:

Strictly defined, the discipline gets no closer to people than the scattered bits of them called roles, which are assembled into groups. But the study of groups inevitably sets the mind to wondering about the mysterious beings out of whom groups are made...One cannot do sociology without lapsing now and then into social psychology, the study of the person as involved in groups. (Westhues 1982, p. 117).

The primary impetus for symbolic interactionism as a broad theoretical perspective was the social behaviorism of George Herbert Mead (1934). To a lesser extent, the perspective also encompasses such concepts as Charles Horton Cooley's (1902) "looking-glass self"; W. I. and Dorothy S. Thomas' (1928; Thomas 1931) concept "definition of the situation"; and Simmel's (1907; 1908) interest in action and interaction.

The essence of symbolic interactionism is that individuals have a "mind" or consciousness which allows them to be creative actors within their social environments. The mind is considered to be a *social process* rather than a static set of traits.

Human beings develop a "mind" through the socialization process, during which they acquire a consciousness by virtue of communicating symbolically with others. Although born into a world of pre-existing rules and norms, humans can participate in changing social norms if they are able to convince others that such changes should be made. It is this ability to engage in a conversation of symbolic gestures that sets people apart from animals.

To symbolic interactionists, the human infant is seen as devoid of a "mind" and a "self" (Franklin 1982, p. 85). The self can emerge only through social interaction with persons capable of symbolic communication (especially language). The mind also allows individuals to consciously relate to themselves as *social objects* - the "self" is reflexive, meaning that an individual can adopt the position of others and thus view the self from the standpoint of others:²⁰

In doing this the person is not only capable of experiencing an overt act he or she directs toward others, but also the *intent* of that act. If I shout vulgar words at a person, I can experience the rage which I intend to evoke in the other person (Franklin 1982, pp. 83-84).

Mead distinguished between two components of the self: the *I* and the *me* (concepts first introduced by William James [1890, pp. 135-176]). The "I" refers to impulsive or self-centered tendencies of individuals, while the "me" represents the self-image of behavior after it has been emitted (Turner 1986, p. 317) -- that is, after

²⁰ Two frequently cited experts on self-esteem, Rosenberg (1979) and Rogers (1951), have in common a similar conception of the "self" as it relates to the individual's feelings of self-worth (or "self-concept"). Rogers assumes that "The self-structure is an organized configuration of perceptions of the self which are admissible to awareness" (1951, p. 501). Rosenberg, whose self-esteem scale has been widely used in research, defines the self as: "the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object" (1979, p. 7).

imagining how others perceive oneself following a particular action. Applying the principles of symbolic interactionism to an understanding of sexual deviance, one might assume that persons who engage in such acts would evaluate themselves negatively. However, as will be demonstrated below, American culture provides a number of ready justifications for aggressive sexual behavior (rape myths) which men can use to excuse their actions (see discussion of "Rape Myth Acceptance" which begins on page 45).

Comparison of Symbolic Interactionism and Social Behaviorism. It was rare to find sociologists using behaviorism in their theoretical formulations and research investigations prior to the 1970s, perhaps because behaviorist principles make social psychology seem *psychologized*:

This may not be a meaningful problem for psychological social psychologists but it is a sensitive issue for social psychologists whose parent discipline is sociology, where the major social psychological perspective has been and remains symbolic interactionism (Franklin 1982, p. 170).

However, the 1970s have proven to be very important for development of behavioral theory and research in what has been called sociological social psychology (Franklin 1982). Behaviorism has undergone numerous modifications over the past twenty years, but the perspective is still commonly misunderstood by its critics, who generally conceive of behaviorism as concerned primarily with classical conditioning in the Pavlovian tradition (Franklin 1982; Hamblin and Kunkel 1977; and Molm 1981).

Skinner believed that the "mind" and "consciousness" are mystical concepts which distract the sociologist from the only concrete entities of study: behavior and the consequences that make that behavior more or less likely to occur.²¹ However, Molm (1981) contends that many modern behaviorists differ with Skinner on this point, agreeing with symbolic interactionists that individuals do not necessarily behave the same way because their "definitions of the situation" may differ (Molm 1981, p. 161).

According to Ritzer (1988a, p. 172), symbolic interactionism can be uniquely distinguished from modern social behaviorism by its focus on three important concepts:

- 1) interactions between the actor and the world;
- 2) a view of both the actor and the world as dynamic processes (capable of change); and
- 3) the great importance attributed to the actor's ability to interpret the social world.

In summary, it is suggested here that acceptance of the notion that human behavior is affected by reinforcers and punishers does not necessarily mean we have to think of human beings as passive reactors to the environment. As Johnson (1986, p. 152) points out, the child who has learned to say the word "cookie" has not only

²¹ While Skinner did concede that mental processes (or "private events") can mediate behavior, he saw these internal states as dependent variables only; he was not willing to consider them as intervening variables that *cause* behavior. "To those who would define drives, motivations, desires and other concepts thought to be responsible for human behavior in terms of internal processes, Skinner offers a challenge of defining them operationally and in terms of observable events" (Franklin 1982, p. 136). In contrast, Mead felt that the unit of study should be "the act," which includes such covert aspects of the event as attention, perception, imagination, reasoning, emotion, in addition to the overt behavior (Meltzer 1978, p. 23).

emitted a new behavior, he or she has learned how to symbolically manipulate the environment to obtain a desired reward.

Summary and Conclusions:

Recently sociologists, and especially criminologists, have placed considerable emphasis on developing integrated theory by combining key theoretical concepts. Akers (1985); Elliott, Ageton and Canter (1979); Conger (1976); and Pearson and Weiner (1985) are notable recent examples. Given this emphasis, it is surprising that so few sociologists pay any attention to social learning theory.²² It seems unlikely that this neglect is due to the psychological components of social learning theory, since those same writers do discuss psychological behaviorism, pointing heavily to its failure to address the cognitive concerns of symbolic interactionists.

Bandura (1977, p. 13) offers a concise summary of how his principles of learning incorporate the concerns of symbolic interactionists:

... The capacity to use symbols provides humans with a powerful means of dealing with their environment. Through verbal and imagined symbols people process and preserve experiences in representational forms that serve as guides for future behavior. The capability for intentional action is rooted in symbolic activity. Images of desirable futures foster courses of action designed to lead toward more distant goals. Through the medium of symbols people can solve problems without having to enact all the various alternative solutions; and they can foresee the probable consequences of different actions and alter their behavior accordingly. ... A theory of human behavior therefore cannot afford to neglect symbolic activities.

²² Neither Ritzer (1988a; 1988b) nor Turner (1986) even mention Bandura or his social learning theory perspective. Yet Pearson and Weiner (1985) note that most recent integrative theoretical frameworks rely on social learning theory as their main component or foundation. In contrast, while symbolic interactionism has enjoyed a long and respected tradition within sociology, there were very few citations to actual use of that theory within the criminology journals they surveyed from 1978 to 1985.

Stephan and Stephan (1985, pp. 37-43) present an excellent summary of the factors which affect individual behavior from a combined behavioral and interactionist approach. They note that regulation of behavior can take one of three forms:

1. Reinforcement control -- or what we think of as rewards and punishers, but especially effective is self-reinforcement.
2. Stimulus control -- or classical conditioning. Stimuli can acquire significance through association with reinforcers and punishers. It is our prior conditioning that often gives meaning to stimuli in the current situation, regardless of the reinforcers or punishers actually present.
3. Cognitive control -- our capacity to think, plan, and imagine our behavior and its consequences, i.e., "anticipation" of reinforcements and punishments. Before acting, humans are capable of considering alternative courses of action, weighing these possibilities, and making choices (usually based upon which course of action is expected to yield the largest payoff for us).

Stephan and Stephan (1985) note that all three types of control may be present in a given situation, but are unlikely to exert equal effects on behavior. In familiar situations, *stimulus control* generally reigns, which is why sexual offenders could be expected to continue their behavior patterns unless intervention occurs. *Reinforcement control* is likely to come into play at any time as we constantly modify our behavior in accordance with the rewards and punishments received in new situations. It is usually only in unfamiliar situations that we tend to employ *cognitive control* by consciously using past experiences to help us decide upon the best course of action in the present.

The theoretical approach used herein focuses heavily on *social learning theory*, which productively extends the principles of social behaviorism. It is assumed that the majority of human behavior originates through direct learning experiences, observing the actions of others (modelling), or by accident. It is further assumed that

behaviors which are rewarding (reinforced) will become habitual or repeated in the future under similar circumstances. This integrated theoretical approach also adopts the principles of symbolic interactionism by including the important premise that humans *can be active creators* of their environment.

However, it is also acknowledged that most of the time people are not aware of why they do the things they do. Rather, humans tend to consciously analyze their past or present actions only when some crisis occurs -- their "taken-for-granted" assumptions about the world become disrupted, or the rewards they received for a certain behavior in the past do not accrue in the present. Such a crisis may cause individuals to reanalyze, and sometimes redefine, their perceptions of reality.

It is only when and if such cognitive activity occurs that people attempt to change or control their behaviors or the environment. Since human beings can make conscious choices, they frequently may choose *not* to exercise the option of cognitive control. Instead, they may behave in an habitual fashion because it takes too much energy to constantly construct and reconstruct their views of the world.

Furthermore, it makes logical sense that people will continue to rely on methods which have produced successful goal achievement, especially if the consequences of those behaviors have been rewarding to them. Proceeding from similar assumptions, the JSOP treatment staff assume that adolescent sex offenders will change their assaultive behavior only if they realize that such actions will not be rewarded or successful in the future; or they are convinced that it is in their own best interests to change sexually assaultive behavior.

In summary, the cognitive social learning perspective used to focus this research pulls from social behaviorism the concepts of reinforcement and operant conditioning; from symbolic interactionism the notion of the individual as a cognitive actor capable of changing elements of his or her social environment; and from social learning theory the concepts of observational learning, disinhibition and modelling as means by which behaviors (both normative and "deviant") are acquired and maintained (refer to Figure 1, page 21). All of these concepts are included in some form within the peer group treatment model used in the Juvenile Sex Offender Program at Pine Hills.

THEORETICAL APPLICATIONS IN THE TREATMENT OF SEXUAL OFFENDERS

The theoretical concepts just described are reflected in the JSOP treatment approach through the following implicit assumptions:

1. Many adolescent sexual offenders have themselves been physically or sexually abused as children; thus the *significant others* in their lives have modelled such behavior as appropriate, and they may be unaware that there is any other way to behave or to problem-solve.
2. Sexual behavior is inherently rewarding. Many adolescents may obtain additional reinforcing consequences from sexual assaultiveness if the reward for such behavior includes increased feelings of power through control of others, or satisfaction gained from hurting others the way they themselves have been hurt in the past.
3. Reinforcements for sexual abuse are functioning at the unconscious level; most adolescent sex offenders are not aware of why they behave this way (what their personal *payoff* is for engaging in this behavior). They also lack the cognitive and verbal skills necessary to deal with uncomfortable feelings such as powerlessness and anger in any fashion than by physical "acting out."

4. Previous lack of punishing consequences may have also reinforced the sexually assaultive behavior. Even though they have been caught and are being punished in the present, fear of punishment may not be adequate to forestall future sexual aggressiveness because the positive reinforcing effects are more immediate, and conditioning will continue to override cognitive activity until appropriate intervention occurs.
5. Treatment intervention involves bringing these reinforcers to the conscious level of the offender through structured cognitive and verbal activities. In this manner, youths learn that they can and must take control of their behavior in a socially responsible fashion; and they are actively involved in developing and practicing new problem-solving skills.
6. A delicate balance must be maintained between helping the youth develop *normal guilt and shame*, while at the same time acknowledging that he is a worthwhile individual. Self-esteem must be preserved, and youths must be taught how to meet their ego strength needs in ways that are not destructive to others.
7. These treatment goals are accomplished through the dual objectives of:
 - a. Removing former reinforcers for sexual aggressiveness. This is accomplished in part by demonstrating that previously used excuses and justifications do not legitimize his behavior; they are simply dangerous societal myths (untruths) about the acceptability of sexual aggressiveness. Further, the youth is encouraged to empathize with and care about the victim's feelings so that he will perceive sexual aggressiveness as unacceptable to *himself*, as well as to society (he will internalize these values and beliefs.)
 - b. Replacing former reinforcers with more appropriate ones, by empowering youths to feel good about themselves through the process of learning to deal constructively with feelings of anger and powerlessness. Participating in the group process will also help him realize that it can be more rewarding to help others (his peers) than to hurt them.

RESEARCH ON BACKGROUND FACTORS

As mentioned earlier, several researchers have attempted to develop a profile of the sex offender by focusing on background variables thought to be causally related to sexual assaultiveness. A recent review of the literature by Davis and

Leitenberg (1987, p. 425) highlighted the following consistent findings with regard to characteristics of sexual offenders and victims of sexual aggression:

- 1) Adolescents account for a large share of the sexual offenses committed in this country;
- 2) In nearly two-thirds of these offenses, younger children are the victims, with the vast majority being acquaintances or relatives of the offender;
- 3) Females are the primary victims of sexual abuse overall, but this is less true in the case of child sexual abuse and nonphysical contact offenses;
- 4) Virtually all adolescent sex offenders are male; girls account for less than five percent (5%) of the cases;
- 5) Black male adolescents are overrepresented as sex offenders (relative to their numbers in the general population); this is suspected to be an artifact of bias in reporting, arrest and conviction rates;
- 6) Adolescent sex offenders more frequently have a history of being physically and/or sexually abused than do other groups of male adolescents;
- 7) Concurrent and past signs of behavioral and school disturbances are common among adolescent sex offenders, but no more so than in other delinquent youth who have never committed a sexual offense;
- 8) Contrary to the notion that sexual offenses stem from a lack of sexual experience, adolescent sex offenders claim to have had more sexual experiences, including consenting ones, than do comparison groups of adolescents.

Figure 2, page 38, provides a pictorial summary of the variables which will be included in the present analysis. The two dependent variables under study include degree of *rape myth acceptance* and sense of *personal empowerment*. These are positioned at the far right side of the model, with all variables to the left hypothesized to have some causal effect on these dependent variables (as indicated by the direction of arrows). Since it is possible that rape myth acceptance and empowerment are interrelated, a dual-pointed arrow connects these variables in the model. The major categories or clusters of independent variables include, in order of time sequence (causal priority): background variables, offender experience characteristics,

offense characteristics, length of time in JSOP treatment, offender personality characteristics, and offender attitudes.

It should be reiterated that this research was exploratory, since so little reliable information is available with respect to the characteristics and personality attributes of youthful sex offenders. Furthermore, empowerment is a relatively new concept, and neither the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale nor the Empowerment Scale had yet been administered to a juvenile sex offender population.

Figure 2 is presented as a heuristic device only, and the independent variables entered therein were considered tentative with respect to their potential effect on the dependent variables of interest. A step-wise regression analysis was performed in order to let the computer select the variables of importance from the possibilities listed in Figure 2.

Background Variables

Since the entire population of youths at Pine Hills are male, it was not possible to examine gender as a demographic variable in this study. Data were collected on *ethnicity*, *age of offender* (at time of most recent commitment to Pine Hills), and *socioeconomic status* of offenders' parents. Previous studies had highlighted these variables as significantly related to sexual offending.

To aid in development of an offender profile, data were gathered on several additional variables related to the youths' family environments. These included: religious preference, parents' occupation and education level, number of siblings, types of disabilities and institutional commitments of family members, types of out-of-

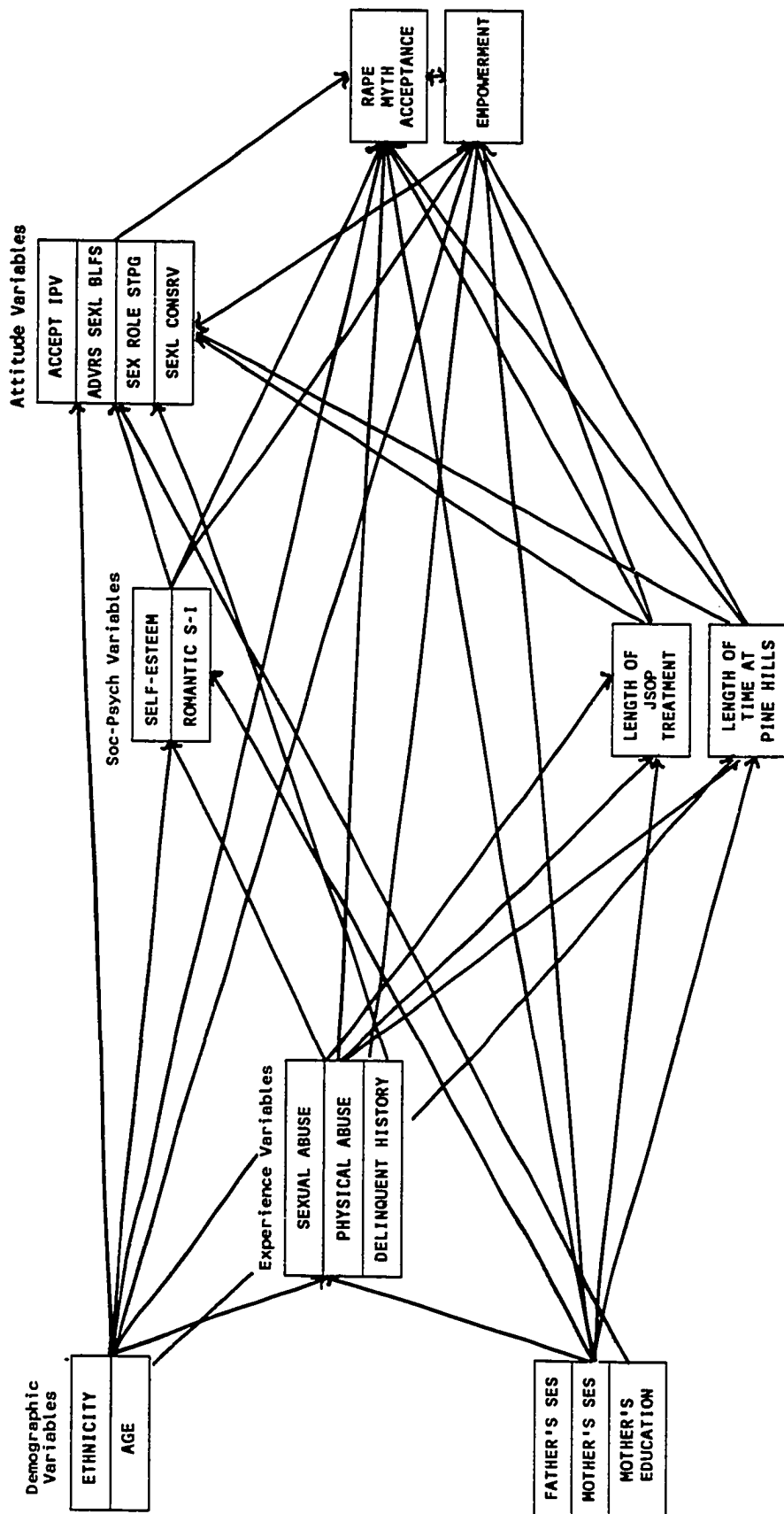
home placements of the youths, incidence of parental divorce, and age of youth at parents' separation.

Offender Characteristics

Proceeding from such social learning approaches, one might assume that deviant sexual behavior is learned through direct exposure to sexual experiences in one's own environment. According to Herman (1988, p. 698), "there is strong reason to believe that adolescence is a critical period in the development of sexually assaultive behavior." Several studies have shown, for example, that many adult sex offenders were themselves sexually abused or otherwise victimized in early childhood (Agee 1980; Ageton 1983; Groth 1979; Brecher 1978).

Researchers have discovered that the primary emotional effects of child sexual abuse include feelings of guilt, fear, depression, anger, and hostility (Browne and Finkelhor 1986; Tharinger et al. 1988). Long-term effects include a lack of basic trust, low self-esteem, pervasive feelings of helplessness and depression, and self-destructive forms of behavior (Vevier and Tharinger 1988). Early and persistent behavioral effects of child sexual abuse include persistent, inappropriate sexual behavior with self, peers, younger children, or toys; regressive behaviors; sleep problems; inadequate peer relations; overly compliant or acting-out behavior; pseudo-mature behavior; school problems; and suicidal ideation or suicide attempts (Browne and Finkelhor 1986).

Figure 2. Theoretical Antecedents of Empowerment and Rape Myth Acceptance.



However, while many offenders seem to have an abuse history, apparently the majority do not. Self-reported incidence of childhood victimization hovers between 25 and 40 percent (Herman 1988, p. 705; Knopp 1986). There is a possibility, however, that much of this type of abuse is either consciously denied or unconsciously repressed. JSOP staff and other treatment professionals have noted that many adolescents continue to deny a history of sexual victimization until well into the therapy process (Agee 1980). If this is the case, it is quite possible the statistics reflecting this phenomenon are highly underreported. Thus, detailed information was obtained about the youths' educational experiences, non-sexual offense histories, and attempted interventions by the criminal justice system.

To examine possible effects of such learning experiences, data were gathered for both groups of youths on incidence of physical and sexual abuse in their backgrounds.

Offense Characteristics

Researchers have found evidence that distinctive differences exist between sex offenders by type of offense committed. It appears that one group of offenders is prone to violence, and thus engages in rape, while another group lacks the violent component and tends toward pedophilia²³ (Henn et al. 1976; Vera et al. 1980). Groth (1979) identified a dual typology of child molesters distinguished as follows (Groth, Hobson and Gary 1982, pp. 133-135):

²³ sexual activity with a young child, or a person several years younger than the offender in the case of an adolescent.

- 1) the Fixated Child Molester, whose sociosexual maturation has been arrested due to unresolved formative issues that undermined his personality functioning. From the onset of adolescence, children have been his primary or exclusive object of sexual interest and contact. Sexual contact with age mates is usually situational in nature and initiated by the other individual involved. This type of offender never replaces his preference for and chronic sexual involvement with children.
- 2) the Regressed Child Molester, whose pedophilic behavior is a temporary or permanent departure from his more characteristic attraction to age mates. Such an offender did not exhibit predominant sexual interest in younger persons during his formative years, but has experienced adulthood role responsibilities as overwhelming. Pedophilic behavior is typically activated by some precipitating stress and may wax and wane in response to the amount of stress the offender experiences in coping with adult life demands.

Groth (1979) suggested that rape is less an expression of sexual desire than the use of sexuality to express *anger* or to gain *power*. Groth, Burgess and Holmstrom (1977) propose a typology of rapists, distinguished according to the two motives which commonly underlie this behavior:

1. Power Rape.²⁴ In this type of assault, the offender seeks power and control over his victim through intimidation by means of a weapon, physical force, or threat of bodily harm, with the aim to effect sexual intercourse as evidence of conquest. This type of offender often shows little skills in negotiating interpersonal relationships and feels inadequate in both sexual and nonsexual areas of his life. Offenses become repetitive and compulsive, but there is usually no conscious intent on the part of this offender to hurt or degrade his victim; rather, the aim is to have complete control. The power assault category can be further subdivided on the basis of major goal of the offense:
 - a) the power-assertive rapist regards rape as an expression of his virility, mastery and dominance. He feels entitled to "take it" or sees sexual domination as a way of keeping "his" women in line. The rape is a reflection of inadequacy he experiences in both his sexual and nonsexual identities.

²⁴ Overall, power rapes outnumbered anger rapes in the Groth et al. (1977) sample by 65% and 35% respectively. The "anger-retaliation" assault was the most frequent type of offense in the offender sample, while this type ranked third in the victim sample.

- b) the power-reassurance rapist commits the offense in an effort to resolve disturbing doubts about his sexual adequacy and masculinity by placing a woman in a helpless, controlled position in which she cannot refuse or reject him. His fantasies might include approaching a victim with a weapon and having her say, "You don't need a gun. You're just what I've been waiting for," and then *she* rapes *him*. Victims often report that the offender asked questions during the rape such as, "How does it feel? Am I as good as your boyfriend?"
2. Anger Rape. In this type of sexual assault, the offender expresses anger, rage, contempt, and hatred for his victim by beating her, sexually assaulting her, and forcing her to perform or submit to additional degrading acts. He often uses more force than would be necessary simply to subdue his victim. His relationships to important women in his life are fraught with conflict, irritation, and irrational jealousy, and he is often physically assaultive toward them. This category of rapist can also be subdivided with respect to intent of the offense:
- a) the anger-retaliation rapist commits rape as an expression of hostility and rage towards women. His motive is revenge, and the rape experience one of conscious anger or sadistic excitement. His intent is to hurt and degrade his victim.
- b) the anger-excitation rapist finds pleasure, thrills, and excitation in the suffering of his victim. He is sadistic and his aim is to punish, hurt and torture his victim.

Issues of power were examined in this study by gathering data on JSOP subjects regarding: type of sexual offense committed, sex of victim, difference in age between the youthful sex offender and his first sexual victim, and use of force/threats in commission of sexual offenses.

PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Self-esteem and romantic self-image were the major personality variables included in this study. Since the concept of empowerment is relatively new, it is not known to what extent it might overlap with other personality constructs such as self-

esteem, personal efficacy, and locus of control.²⁵ Robinson and Shaver (1969) have indicated that it would be helpful to have more evidence regarding the relationship between such variables. Although they feel there are conceptual similarities between these personality constructs, it remains to be seen whether there is a corresponding similarity in measurement instruments (Robinson and Shaver 1969 p. 144).

It has long been known that self-esteem, or ego-strength, is an important independent variable with both direct and indirect effects on psychological well-being and personal coping efficacy. Self-esteem has been empirically related to social disturbances and group dissatisfaction (McClosky and Schaar 1965); persuasibility (Wylie 1961; Gordon and Gergen 1968); and apathy about personal life circumstances due to feeling incapable of controlling one's personal future (Robinson and Shaver 1969; Robinson et al. 1974). Mirowsky and Ross (1983) have demonstrated that actual or perceived powerlessness can lead to a belief that important outcomes in one's life are controlled by external forces and other persons, rather than by one's own choice and effort. Lack of power is extremely painful, and can lead to psychological distress (Horwitz 1982).

The definition of self-esteem most frequently cited in the literature is that offered by Coopersmith (1967 pp. 4-5):

By self-esteem we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an

²⁵ Some items included in the "Empowerment Scale" developed by Clark et al. (1989) are similar to concepts measured by Rotter's (1966) "Internal vs. External Control" scale. This scale is a forced-choice questionnaire (the respondent must choose between a statement that reflects internal control vs. one which reflects an external control orientation). Thus, it is a dichotomous measure and does not reflect degree of acceptance of such attitudes.

attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy. In short, self-esteem is a personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself. It is a subjective experience which the individual conveys to others by verbal report and other overt expressive behavior.

Robinson and Shaver (1969) note that three features of this definition have methodological implications. Self-esteem is considered to be a relatively enduring characteristic of a person.²⁶ Further, self-esteem results from one's own attitudes, predispositions, or evaluations of the self as an "object". A person's self-concept is fairly stable when measured along a large number of generalized self-characteristics and abilities.

The new term *empowerment* extends our concept of self-esteem by including such constructs as locus of control, ego-strength, and personal competence. In essence, measurement of empowerment attempts to tap a sense of personal effectiveness in anticipating and controlling one's self, one's future, and one's physical and social environments (Robinson and Shaver 1979, p. 64). *Personal efficacy* can be seen as a feeling of mastery over one's self and the environment which contributes to overall feelings of personal effectiveness (Campbell et al. 1960, p. 517). This is very similar to Rotter's (1966) *locus of control* scale, which has successfully predicted behavior in a variety of situations, including risk-taking, occupational and educational goal-setting, and participation in social and political action (Robinson and Shaver 1969, p. 148).

²⁶ Coopersmith (1967 p. 10) has demonstrated this stability in preadolescent children over a period of three years.

Offender Attitudes. The attitudes and support of peers are often considered important determinants of behavior among adolescents. Ageton (1983) found in a study of sexual assaults by male teenagers of age-similar females that 40 percent of the male youths' friends knew about the assault, and among those who knew, their reaction was overwhelmingly one of support.

As long as members of a society behave in accordance with the expectations of others, their behaviors are non-problematic. When they deviate from social norms, others may attempt to sanction their behavior by applying physical punishment, denying privilege or status, or defining them as deviant. Since no one wants to think of themselves as "bad" (unless being "bad" can somehow be construed as a positive characteristic²⁷), individuals may attempt to avoid these negative reactions by engaging in cognitive activities designed to help them explain their behavior so that it seems justified. Saunders and Awad (1988 p. 573) have noted, for example, that many sexual offenders do not think their behavior has been harmful to their victims, and some of these offenders have been reinforced in this view by their parents.

Clinicians Becker and Abel (1985) have suggested that offenders' accounts of their actions typically reflect certain "cognitive distortions" which allow them to perceive their actions as having positive consequences not only for themselves, but for the victim as well. Scully and Marolla (1984, p. 530) found that convicted rapists tended to offer one of three types of justifications or excuses for their offense: 1)

²⁷ Agee (1980, p. 6) indicates that many adolescent offenders have received so much negative attention that they have developed what we would think of as a negative self-image; but she points out that this can actually be reinforcing: "If you cannot do things right, there is some satisfaction in doing a thorough job of doing things wrong."

appeals to *forces outside their control* which compelled them to rape, 2) presenting their behavior as situationally appropriate; or 3) using a number of common rape stereotypes to make their victims appear culpable. Sykes and Matza (1957) have outlined *techniques of neutralization* -- explanations that offenders give, using socially approved vocabularies that serve to justify their actions after the fact. Freeman-Longo (1985) refers to this process as a *deviant thinking pattern*, and suggests it is these types of "thinking errors" which Yochelson and Samenow (1976) refer to in their description of the *criminal personality*.

In a similar vein, but from a clinical perspective, Saunders and Awad (1988 p. 573) note that such beliefs can serve as "defense mechanisms" which help sexual offenders avoid negative consequences of their actions in three ways:

- 1) repression -- inability to remember internal phenomena such as wishes, thoughts, feelings, or fantasies;
- 2) denial -- failure to acknowledge some aspect of external reality that would be apparent to others (such as perceiving that the victim actually encouraged the abuse); and
- 3) disavowal -- a defense against the "meaning" of external reality, rather than a distortion of perception.

This study included scales designed to tap several of the dimensions described above. These were: sexual conservatism, sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal violence. Burt (1980) has demonstrated that acceptance of rape myths can be predicted from these attitude variables.

Defining Rape Myth Acceptance. Studies have shown that virtually everyone in American society ranks aggressive crimes against persons as serious breaches of acceptable social conduct, and there is amazing cross-cultural agreement that such

acts constitute serious crime (Akers 1985). However, it is not difficult for American males to find ready excuses for sexual assaultiveness, since pervasive norms exist which promote such behaviors in our culture. Perhaps this is why so few sexual offenders have been found to have psychological disorders.

It follows that sexual assaulters are also aware of the widespread acceptance of such beliefs. Cooley's (1902) concept of the *looking-glass self* implies that we judge ourselves on the basis of how we believe others are judging us. It seems likely that a person could maintain a healthy self-evaluation if they are successful at convincing themselves and others that their behavior was acceptable.

The point has been made by many scholars that dominant American cultural attitudes are actually supportive of rape myths. Cultural stereotypes glorify and eroticize the image of males as aggressive and dominant, and females as passive and submissive (Brownmiller 1975; Griffin 1971; Malamuth 1981; and Sanday 1981). There is an overwhelming amount of evidence which supports such a sociocultural analysis of sexual assault (Herman 1988, p. 696). Cross-cultural studies have demonstrated a correlation between high prevalence of sexual assault and societies where only a male creator/deity is worshipped (as opposed to a couple or a female creator/deity); warfare is glorified; women hold little political or economic power; and care of children is considered an inferior occupation (Sanday 1981).

Several empirical findings support the idea that American culture is conducive to acceptance of sexual assault by males (Burt 1980; Malamuth 1983; Donnerstein 1980). Malamuth, Haber and Feshbach (1980) discovered that more than half of the

male college students in their sample admitted they would be likely to rape if assured of not being punished. Researchers have also documented the fact that rape myths appear in the belief systems of lay people and professionals who interact with rape victims and assailants (Barber 1974; Field 1978; Kalven and Zeisel 1966).

The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale was developed by Burt (1980) to test the assumption that acceptance of rape myths can be predicted by acceptance of certain societal-based attitudes regarding sex role socialization and sexual aggressiveness. In order to explore the antecedents of rape myth acceptance, Burt operationalized and tested some of the tenets in the writings of Brownmiller (1975), Clark and Lewis (1977), and Griffin (1971), who suggested that certain American cultural beliefs serve to maintain a pervasive ideology that supports or excuses sexual assault.

Burt (1980) tested her scale on a random sample of 598 households in Minnesota during 1977. All respondents were 18 years of age or older. Results confirmed her expectations in that the higher the respondent's score on sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal violence, the greater their acceptance of rape myth attitudes.²⁸ Burt concluded that many Americans do indeed believe many rape myths,²⁹ and that these rape attitudes are

²⁸ Of the variables in the attitude cluster, only sexual conservatism failed to affect rape myth acceptance significantly.

²⁹ For example, over half of all sampled individuals agreed with such statements as: "A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on the first date implies she is willing to have sex" and that 50% or more of rapes are reported as rape only because the woman was trying to get back at a man she was angry with or was trying to cover up an illegitimate pregnancy.

strongly connected to other deeply held and pervasive attitudes such as sex role stereotyping, distrust of the opposite sex, and acceptance of interpersonal violence.

Burt (1980 p. 219) also hypothesized that self-esteem would have an important effect on acceptance of rape myth attitudes:

If much victim rejection occurs because people engage in defensive attribution, then people who feel stronger and more confident in themselves might be expected to rely less on this mechanism than people whose personal self-doubts already supply them with as much sense of vulnerability as they can handle. One would then expect to see less victim rejection -- and less rape myth acceptance with its heavy component of victim blame -- the more confident and satisfied the respondents felt with themselves.

Thus, Burt seems to be implying that even non-rapists, if they have low self-esteem, have a vested interest in perpetuating rape myths even though they do not have to do so in order to excuse or justify their own behavior. One of the most important reasons to identify and attempt to change acceptance of rape myths is the net effect of such attitudes. Burt and Albin (1981) discovered that subjects who scored higher on acceptance of rape myth attitudes were less likely to define a given description as rape, and thus were less likely to convict since:

In order to differentiate between a rape and "just sex," one must be convinced that the victim did not consent to the sexual acts performed...in the public's mind a victim's reputation or character enters this judgment, because women with certain reputations or identities (e.g., divorcees, minority women, women out alone at night) are stereotypically assumed *to consent more readily, to more men, in more situations* (pp. 213-214).

POWER and EMPOWERMENT

Power. Few concepts are as central to sociology as that of power (Westhues 1982). For discussions of power, most sociologists take as a point of departure the classic definition offered by Max Weber (1947) --power as the probability of realizing one's own goals even against the opposition of others. Power has also been defined as the possibility of imposing one's will upon others in spite of their resistance (Wrong 1980) -- or the ability to make others do something whether they want to or not (Coleman and Cressey 1984, p. 10).

Most sociological discussions of power have centered around societal power structures or the structure of power positions within groups, focusing on such phenomena as the degree to which power is evenly distributed (democracy vs. totalitarianism), or the structure of power. Examples include identifying:

- which person(s) within a given group or social class have the most power (Marx 1867/1967; Durkheim 1893/trans 1949; Dahrendorf 1959);
- how power holders come to have access to and maintain this scarce resource (e.g., Mills' [1956] discussion of the *power elite*);
- how power holders maintain their authority and prestige among those who do not have power (e.g., Weber's [1947] classical discussion of *authority* as "legitimate power"; and Thorstein Veblen's [1934] thesis that honor and power coincide at the top with those who hold society's pecuniary strength); Simmel's [1955 trans.] discussion of superordinate-subordinate systems in organizations;
- at the interpersonal level, ways in which leaders emerge within groups (Homans 1950; Whyte 1951 and 1959); ways in which groups pressure their members to conform (Roy 1952; Seashore 1954; and Asch 1951); and how leadership emerges within groups (Bales 1951 and 1953; Bales and Slater 1955; and Bales and Strodtbeck 1951).

Part of an individual's personal power (or lack of it) is derived from membership within a *social class* -- defined as a category of people with similar shares of the

things that are valued in a society, and who have common "life chances" for success. These "life chances" are generally conceived of as economic assets (wealth), although Weber (1947) pointed out that some members of a society can also achieve status based upon the social prestige allotted to their position within the stratification system without having much access to economic resources.

Sociologists generally conceive of social class as an important independent variable that can affect attitudes and behavior, and *socioeconomic status* has frequently been used as an operational measure of social class. Those with the highest status in society are presumed to have access to the most power, and thus are able to exert more control on the functioning of society and in their interpersonal relationships. Those low in status must generally conform to the expectations of others, or suffer from application of negative societal labels when they do not meet these expectations. In an examination of power as a structural variable, Kanter (1977) has shown that powerless jobs cause individuals to behave in powerless ways, setting into motion a self-perpetuating cycle of power dynamics which better explains differences in behaviors of men and women in the workplace than gender socialization theory.

The classic sociological discussion of power at the interpersonal level centers around Emerson's (1962) theory of *power-dependence relations*. Emerson suggested that a recurrent flaw in conceptions of social power is the implicit treatment of power as though it were an attribute of a person or group, since "...to say that 'X has power'

is vacant unless we specify 'over whom'" (p. 32).³⁰ It is precisely on this point where a clarification can be made between *social power* and *personal empowerment*. It is admitted here that an understanding of this complex concept must include examination of power within an interpersonal or relational framework, yet it is also suggested that empowerment can indeed be considered as an attribute of a person or group.

Emerson (1962 p. 32) explained social power as follows:

Social relations commonly entail *ties of mutual dependence* between the parties. ... By virtue of mutual dependency, it is more or less imperative to each party that he be able to control or influence the other's conduct. ... Thus, it would appear that power to control or influence the other resides in control over the things he values. ... In short, *power resides implicitly in the other's dependency*.

Emerson further refined his definition of social power by specifying the directional relationships involved:

Dependence. The dependence of actor A upon actor B is (1) directly proportional to A's *motivational investment* in goals mediated by B, and (2) inversely proportional to the *availability* of those goals to A outside of the A-B relation.

Furthermore, Emerson assumes that if the independence of one party provides the basis for the power of the other, an adequate definition of power must include a component he calls *potential influence*:

Power. The power of actor A over actor B is the amount of resistance on the part of B which can be potentially overcome by A.

³⁰ While theorists in the interpersonal communications field do not seem to place a heavy emphasis on the "control" aspect of power, they still tend to view it as a "relational concept" (Goldhaber 1986).

If A chooses to exercise a power advantage over B, B will be forced to achieve one value at the expense of another. An example of this would be a wife who accepts her husband's decision to stay in Montana rather than relocate to a larger city where she can obtain a professional job. She thus chooses to maintain the marriage at the expense of foregoing career opportunities of her own. According to Emerson, B can adjust to A's power advantage in one of two ways:

- 1) cost reduction -- a process that involves changing one's values in order to reduce the psychic costs incurred in meeting the demands of the powerful other; or
- 2) balancing operations designed to restore a state of balance within the relationship or to otherwise overcome the power advantage. These balancing operations can take one of two forms:
 - a) reducing motivational investment in the goals mediated by B; or
 - b) cultivation of alternative social relations (or alternative means of goal achievement).

For example, the wife may redefine her values by deciding that she does not want a career after all; or that she is performing a greater service to society by remaining at home where her children and husband need her, or by throwing herself into volunteer activities and in support of her husband's career. Through such cognitive redefinition of the situation, she can give up her own goals without feeling bad about herself (that is, reduce her frustration). She achieves this by maintaining a sense of self-esteem and personal worth through convincing herself that this decision was really the result of her own personal preference -- not an act of deference to a power holder.³¹

³¹ Hochschild (1989) and Milner (1989) have found support for this notion in their studies of full-time housewives who change career goals in order to maintain the smooth functioning of their families.

Alternatively, the wife could decide that pursuing her career is important, and she is willing to do so even if this means losing the relationship with her husband (thus reducing her emotional investment in the goal mediated by the husband); or deciding that her career is a sufficient substitute for marriage, or she prefers to seek out a relationship with a man more supportive of her needs (thus developing alternative sources for achievement of her goals). Such a decision would result in a definite shift in the power balance within the relationship, since her husband would be forced to decide whether to adopt a different value (agreeing they should live in a place where both can meet their professional goals) or deciding that his alternative goal (staying in Montana) is more important than maintaining the relationship with his wife.

Emerson (1962 p. 35) agreed that his theory does not predict which of these choices will be made by the person who is at a power disadvantage. It is suggested here that *empowerment* is the linking concept which can help predict such choices. If personal power (as opposed to social power) is conceived of as an attribute of actors,³² it can be predicted that actors low in sense of empowerment will be more likely to respond to a power disadvantage by engaging in cost reduction activities (trying to accept the inevitable). Conversely, actors high in empowerment will be more likely to engage in cultivation of alternative sources for achieving important goals in their lives rather than giving up these goals.

³² where an actor can mean either an individual or a group.

In addition to looking at power or empowerment as an attribute of the actor, we can look at the concept of empowerment as a *process* of increasing one's feelings of power. Interventionists have proceeded from the assumption that powerless individuals can overcome structural obstacles by learning to act assertively and aggressively in order to gain the information, resources, and support needed to reposition themselves within the cycle of power. Research has indicated support for the assumption that power can be increased at both the group and individual level.

Another central theme of definitions of power at both the macro and micro levels and across all disciplines has been the view of power as a "win-lose" or "zero sum" commodity. In other words, when one person or group gains power, it is assumed there must be a corresponding decrease in power for some other person or group (win-lose). Neither is it possible to generate more power, since it is assumed there is only one finite pool of this scarce resource (zero sum).

Power over others is only one facet of the power issue. We also need to recognize interpersonal power as a *sense of control over one's own life* -- in other words, a sense of autonomy (Doyle 1985, p. 157). Theorists in a wide variety of disciplines are now beginning to perceive that power can be an individual commodity; and furthermore, that both persons and groups can actually increase the supply of power available to them without depleting some finite source of power.

Empowerment. Theorists and practitioners have recently begun articulating a new concept called *empowerment* to describe power as both a psychological trait (personal *empowerment*) and as a process (of *empowering* individuals or groups).

Several writers have called for research and theory which promote a synthesis of the structuralist and socialization approaches to empowerment (Mainiero 1986; Riger and Galligan 1980; Thompson 1981; and Fairhurst 1986). A necessary first step toward accomplishing this goal is development of an appropriate definition of empowerment, as well as an effective means of measuring the concept. Both of these are lacking at the present time.

The notion of empowerment has been applied at many levels of analysis and has appeared with increasing frequency over the past decade. Solomon (1976) popularized the term in the mid-1970's in an application of social work interventions within the Black culture (Hegar and Hunzeker 1988). Since then the concept has been applied in a variety of settings: to social work interventions with the poor, ethnic minorities and children (Gray, Hartman and Saalberg 1985; Hegar and Hunzeker 1988; Hegar 1989; Sue 1981; Perry 1980; and Clark et al. 1989); in a social program developed for alcohol abuse prevention among Hispanic youth (Galan 1988); in feminist theory (Miller 1976; Gilligan 1982); and to the practice of a relatively new field called Organization Development (Murrell 1985). In 1986 the American Psychological Association sponsored a mini-convention on empowerment as part of its annual meeting. Groups discussed at that time as targets for empowerment were ethnic minorities, the elderly, workers, physically and emotionally disabled persons, children, women, the homeless, violent families, and peace activists (Swift and Levin 1987).

There have been two foci of interest to scholars and researchers promoting the concept of empowerment (Swift and Levin 1987):

1. Development of a state of mind (feeling powerful, competent, worthy of esteem, etc.); and
2. Modification of structural conditions in order to allocate power. Levin (1975), for example, has proposed an analytic scheme of class consciousness that posits three developmental stages:
 - a) cognitive awareness of one's self-interests, and one's relative position within the social system's distribution of power;
 - b) affective feelings (emotional reaction) toward that cognitive awareness vis a vis one's relationship to others; and
 - c) an inclination toward purposeful action intended to change the social distribution of power so as to improve one's social condition and advance one's self-interests toward greater parity.

Defining Empowerment. The definition of empowerment is still evolving, and the concept is still not clearly understood even by those who have begun applying it to their research and practice (Vanderslice 1984). Rappaport (1981; 1983-84), whose seminal work is central to the empowerment literature, notes that:

Empowerment is easy to define in its absence: powerlessness, real or imagined; learned helplessness; alienation; loss of a sense of control over one's own life. It is more difficult to define positively only because it takes on a different form in different people and contexts (Rappaport 1983-84, p. 3).

According to Murrell (1985), to empower is to create power, and empowerment is possible in all social settings because of our redefined basic assumption that power can be created and shared. Furthermore, while two-person empowerment is still assumed to be an interactive process, it can involve both parties increasing in power since each is giving something to, as well as creating, power for themselves and for each other. As Rappaport (1985) describes it:

Anyone who has experienced joining a group to look for help and discovers that he or she helps others as well knows something of what it feels like to begin a journey toward what I call empowerment. They know what it is like to gain psychological control over one's self, and to extend a positive influence to others, and ultimately to reach out to influence the larger community (p. 15).

This process is implicitly understood by the many treatment professionals who advocate peer group therapy as the most effective means of change for sexual offenders³³ (Agee 1980; Avery-Clark 1983; Tarr 1986).

Vanderslice (1984) thinks of empowerment as a *process* through which people become more able to influence those who affect their lives and the lives of persons they care about. Pinderhughes (1983) defines power³⁴ as "the capacity to influence the forces which affect one's life space for one's own benefit. Westhues (1982, p. 98) provides a very insightful definition:

...power is best understood initially as the foremost reward a society can give. It is the opportunity to hold a little of the present social order in one's own human hands and decide what to do with it, the opportunity to change in some degree the society itself. Just as the basic achievement of a society is the structure it imposes on human life, so the basic reward it offers is the action of deciding how that structure shall change. ...Power can be thought of as something attached to roles, a paycheck that comes with performing them, a chance to define or redefine the content of the role itself, of other roles, and of events in general.

³³ Conservation of valuable staff time is also a side benefit, but it is not the primary reason for peer group counseling. There are three counselors for the total population at Pine Hills, and these staff members are also responsible for developing and facilitating other group treatment sessions in addition to the sex offender program (e.g., aggression and anger focus groups). All three staff sit in on each group session.

³⁴ while some authors still use the term "power", their definitions of the concept are more in line with the concept of empowerment discussed here than in the preceding discussion of the classical definitions of power.

A portion of a person's power also accrues by virtue of the role they are playing within the structure of society. Certain roles are vested with authority (legitimate power), and persons filling those roles may make legitimate use of that power. However, it is suggested here that the authority associated with a given role is a necessary, but not sufficient condition to insure one's successful use of power. For example, a policewoman has just as much authority as her male counterpart, yet she may be unable to effectively use her vested power unless she believes in her right to exercise it. Inability to exercise power may result if her informal role as a *female* overrides others' perceptions of her as a person playing the formal role of *officer vested with authority*.

Even though the formal role is the more powerful of the two, gender roles are more pervasive in their effects because they operate in all areas of our lives. Individuals play many roles in the course of their lives, many of which are overlapping. No matter what role a person plays at a given moment, gender role expectations are also operating to affect one's own behavior as well as to inform them with regard to how they might expect others to react. Consider the following excerpts from a field study of police officers:

Male Officer: We're standing right behind her when she's saying all this, and so we don't know how much of our presence is affecting the situation. We think it's affecting it quite highly, but we really don't know that. We don't talk to the guy afterwards and say, "Hey. Would you have kicked her ass if we weren't standing there?" ... You have to realize usually on those calls there's other officers around. And the reason that the person will agree to do anything is mainly because there's other [male] officers there...if it was just her I don't believe a lot of them would do it [what the female cop ordered him to do] (Trankel 1989, p. 5).

Female Officer: [patrolling by herself at night]: I stopped a car with five or six guys in it, and they all started baling out. I yelled at them, "Get your butts back in that car!" And I'm thinking to myself, "You're just a little woman voice," but they all got back in the car. And I thought, "Oh, it worked!" (Trankel 1989, p. 11)

If the female officer did not have a strong sense of personal empowerment, it is likely that her lack of self-confidence would be portrayed to others through body language. By the same token, persons without legitimate power but who have a strong sense of personal power may be able to define a situation to their advantage, making it possible to successfully invoke a claim to power which has no socially-legitimate base. That humans have such latitude and power to define their roles and perform innovative behaviors within the confines of those roles is the essence of the micro orientation known as symbolic interactionism.

In order for persons to feel powerful, they must believe they have some control or influence over the circumstances of their lives and of the roles they choose to play. Lefcourt (1976) calls this type of personal orientation an *internal locus of control*. In contrast, persons with an *external locus of control* feel they have no power to influence the events of their lives, and instead feel they are at the mercy of fate, chance, or powerful others. In short, Lefcourt (1982, p. 35) notes that:

With the locus of control construct, we are dealing with a person as he views himself in conjunction with the things that befall him, and the meaning that he makes of those interactions between his self and his experiences.

This description of locus of control is clearly related to the ideas inherent in symbolic interactionism, and creates a picture of actors as "free agents" -- makers of their own fates. In contrast, therapists are referring to the concept embodied in an

external locus of control orientation when they speak of such constructs as low ego strength or self-esteem, inferiority feelings, hopelessness, and lack of a "can-do" attitude (Lefcourt 1982).

Much of the work on locus of control is credited to Rotter's (1966) development of a scale to measure the locus of control concept. Other researchers have also modified the scale by including a Likert-type scale (Phares 1957, 1962) and developing a larger version of the scale (James 1957), referred to as the James-Phares scale (Lefcourt 1982, pp. 40-41). Researchers have demonstrated that persons with an external locus of control lack the very cognitive processes that would enable them to examine and evaluate choices and decisions. Such persons may even fail to see that they have choices available to them, and thus may yield easily to external pressures. Externals have also been shown to have less ability to delay gratification in the pursuit of long-term goals, and are less apt to exert themselves or to persist over lengthy periods of time in pursuit of distant goals (Lefcourt 1982).

Summary of Power and Empowerment. The concept of empowerment challenges two of our classic assumptions about power:

1. *That it must be a win-lose commodity which operates in a unilinear, hierarchical fashion, since one person or group can gain power only at the expense of another, and there is a limited supply of this resource.* As Swift and Levin (1987) note, "There is nothing in the definition of empowerment that requires that increasing the power of one person or group means decreasing the power of another person or group" (p. 75).
2. *That power cannot be an individual attribute; it can only be possessed by a few persons who have access to this scarce resource and thus are able to assert control over others who have less of this commodity.* Rather, power can be conceptualized as an expanding commodity (Swift and Levin (1987, p. 75).

EMPOWERMENT APPLIED IN THE TREATMENT SETTING

People who seek counseling are often emotionally disheartened, presenting themselves as unwilling victims of their circumstances who lack the power to solve their problems (Dilley 1983). One of the most significant interventions a counselor can make with a client is to confront him or her with the language, behaviors and beliefs which are self-limiting. The counseling objective is to interrupt these speech patterns and invite the individual to substitute language that demonstrates choice and responsibility.³⁵ Such a strategy assists clients in learning how to empower themselves by choosing language that expresses personal control.

Roberds-Baxter (1983) offers an insightful example of the concept of empowerment using an analogy to the movie *Star Wars*. Obi Wan-Kenobi gives Luke Skywalker a sword that seems to have magical powers. However, as long as Luke believes the sword is controlled by some unknown source (Rotter's [1966] *external locus of control*), the sword is useless to him. Only when he is able to trust his own feelings and believe in himself (*internal locus of control*) is he able to use the sword effectively.

Treatment practitioners and scholars of different theoretical perspectives and with different world views are increasingly adopting the empowerment construct. According to Swift and Levin (1987, p. 77), this is one reason for the lack of a coherent definition, since "Defining empowerment requires attention to both the

³⁵ For example, a counselor might say, "It isn't true that you can't control your temper, you simply choose not to. You can choose to control your anger."

theoretical world view that underlies the concept and the real world activities that constitute its practice."

For example, Derald W. Sue's (1981) description of empowerment as *allowing* people to reach their potential implies that some party has the power to give or withhold power from another. In contrast, Rappaport's (1985) discussion of empowerment as a self-transformational process implies that one is not dependent upon outsiders for development of power. Sue's assumption would indicate that social agencies and professionals must solve problems for those who are powerless, whereas Rappaport's approach assumes that powerless people can learn to achieve mastery over their own lives.

Sue has built upon the concept of locus of control by adding a second dimension which he terms *locus of responsibility*. This refers to the source or cause of problems. In addressing the causal dimension, a social system world view would focus on increasing group empowerment through removal of structural obstacles, whereas an interactionist perspective would view the increase of personal empowerment as a joint and interactive product of situational and personal factors (Swift and Levin 1987). Sue proposes that four different world view combinations are possible:

- External locus of control/external locus of responsibility (EC/ER): produces learned helplessness and powerlessness in the face of obstacles, since one assumes his or her problems are controlled by others;
- External locus of control/internal locus of responsibility (EC/IR): describes individuals who are victimized by their society and take the blame for it themselves;
- Internal locus of control/internal locus of responsibility (IC/IR): leads individuals to perceive themselves as "masters of their own fate"; to take credit for success and accept blame for failure.

- Internal locus of control/external locus of responsibility (IC/ER): best describes the pursuit of power by those who do not have it.

Hegar (1989) suggests that Sue's framework involving the concept of locus of control and locus of responsibility be used as a partial operationalization of empowerment-based practice. Sue describes the IC/ER as follows:

Individuals who score high in internal control and system-focus believe in their ability to shape events in their own lives if given a chance. They do not accept the fact that their present state is due to their own inherent weakness. However, they also realistically believe that external barriers of discrimination, prejudice and exploitation block their paths to the successful attainment of goals (Sue 1981).

Research has revealed that locus of control, as assessed by either scalar or behavioral measures, is susceptible to change if the subject encounters meaningful connections between their actions and their perception of the causes of outcomes (Lefcourt 1982). Murrell (1985, pp. 36-37) outlines six strategies for accomplishing the goal of empowering others and ourselves:

1. Educating -- power is created via shared information, knowledge, and the gift of education.
2. Leading -- the act of inspiring, rewarding, directing, and even controlling if the result is an empowered person and the creation of more power than existed previously. This is a less personal, broad focus.
3. Structuring -- creating structural factors which produce empowerment. This can cross a broad range of activities from how you structure your daily activities, to the way our constitution and political systems are organized at the societal level. Managers and leaders, for example, can create structures within organizations which allow people to become powerful rather than feeling alienated.
4. Providing -- resources necessary for people to get their job done or for them to feel and act powerful. These can be quite powerful, and include both tangible as well as intangible forms such as providing support and encouragement.
5. Mentoring -- the close personal relationship that leading usually cannot be, and usually involves a more experienced person sharing their insider knowledge with a neophyte.

6. Actualizing -- the summation of all five of the above into a Gestalt which is under the control of the individual. This is an active process.

At the more individual level, treatment professionals have summarized tactics which can be used by interventionists to help accomplish this objective. Vanderslice (1984) suggests that professionals should help their clients:

- Learn to recognize, value, and develop one's own skills, knowledge and resources which can help them gain access to more resources, and which enable them to interact assertively with people and institutions;
- Broaden their interpersonal networks to overcome feelings of isolation/alienation;
- Develop personal beliefs that one's needs and opinions are legitimate, and that it is legitimate to voice them;
- Perform successful interactions with one's environment to reinforce one's feelings of effectiveness (thus increasing self-confidence).

Currently there is a lack of clear description of therapeutic approaches used to produce such change in locus of control (empowerment) orientation, but conclusions to date are that the more action-oriented therapies seem to produce optimal results (Lefcourt 1982, pp. 166-167). The treatment approach utilized by JSOP staff is a comprehensive, structured program which incorporates all of the elements which have been advocated in the literature with regard to treatment of sex offenders. An annotated description of the Juvenile Sex Offender Program at Pine Hills appears in Appendix A.

Most sex offender treatment programs described in the literature do not profess to be following any specific theoretical perspective. However, the components described and the logic behind these treatment strategies appear to represent an approach which can be most accurately described as *cognitive social learning theory*.

SUMMARY OF THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND RESEARCH

Consistent with the expectations of a cognitive social learning perspective, treatment professionals involved in development and implementation of programs for sex offenders maintain that, to be effective, the treatment approach must address the following factors:

- 1) Learned Behavior. It is assumed that sex offenders learned deviant behavior styles early in life, and these must be changed through a resocialization process. Offenders must be taught the correct facts about sexual functioning and sexuality; identify which of their current attitudes and behavior patterns are maladaptive; and learn more appropriate behaviors for the future.
- 2) Learning Through Response Consequences and Modelling. The assumption is that past behavior patterns were reinforced through a process of operant conditioning, i.e., they have been reinforced for such behaviors in the past -- either through the receipt of rewards or by the absence of punishing consequences for such acts. Since the perceived benefits of sexually abusive behaviors outweigh any expected negative consequences, these acts can be expected to be repeated in the future unless some type of behavioral intervention occurs. Offenders must be taught how to avoid deviant peers, and they must become empowered to the point where they are able to reinforce themselves for more appropriate behaviors.
- 3) Cognitive Controls. Offenders can make conscious choices regarding their behaviors, and thus can be taught to cognitively control their own thoughts and actions. This ability is what makes behavior change possible. However, it is also initially assumed that sex offenders do not currently possess the cognitive abilities necessary to accomplish change. They must be taught the cognitive skills necessary to take active control of their thoughts and actions. In order to accomplish this, staff must see that they are actively involved in their own treatment so they can practice these new skills.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

As described in Chapter I, this study had two major objectives. First, background factors were examined by comparing characteristics of sexual offenders with those of nonsexual offenders. Then, for the sex offender group only, statistical procedures were used to examine whether acceptance of rape myths and sense of personal empowerment were significantly different between youths who had been in the JSOP program the longest, as compared to those who had recently entered the program or were waiting for treatment to start.

The following specific research hypotheses were derived in order to test the effectiveness of JSOP treatment objectives (refer to Figure 1, page 21; and JSOP treatment objectives, page 6):

HYPOTHESIS ONE: Sense of *personal empowerment*, as measured by the "Empowerment Scale" developed by Clark et al., (1989), will be *inversely* related to acceptance of *rape myth attitudes*, as measured by the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale developed by Burt (1980).

HYPOTHESIS TWO: Sense of *personal empowerment* will be *positively* related to length of participation in JSOP treatment;

HYPOTHESIS THREE: Acceptance of *rape myth attitudes* will be *negatively* related to length of participation in JSOP treatment.

The data were examined by means of a step-wise multiple regression analysis to examine potential antecedents of rape myth acceptance and empowerment in the sample of sex offender youths. Chapter IV summarizes pertinent background factors and highlights statistically significant differences observed between juvenile sex

offenders and the comparison group. Chapter V details findings related to the three study hypotheses regarding attitudes on eight different scales.

THE POPULATION

Pine Hills School in Miles City is a state correctional institution for male juveniles who have been adjudicated for a criminal offense or court-ordered to that facility for an evaluation. Pine Hills is administratively assigned to the Montana Department of Family Services³⁶ because only youths are placed there. The campus-like atmosphere of the school houses four minimum-security cottages and one maximum security unit. In March of 1990, the population at Pine Hills consisted of 162 adjudicated male youths. Of this number, 29 (17.9%) were on home leave and four (2.4%) were absent without authority (on "run" status). The remaining 129 (79.7%) were in residence at the school (see Table 1, page 71).

RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING THE COMPARISON GROUP

The sample chosen for this study was based upon the classification system currently in use at Pine Hills. Approximately four months prior to this study, staff instituted a multi-level system for assessment and treatment of all youths committed to that facility. The system is based upon a combined *risk* and *needs* score assigned to each youth on the basis of specific criteria outlined on a "Security Screening Instrument." The first part of this assessment tool rates the youth in terms of the security risk he poses to the community, while the second part of the form rates the

³⁶ whereas the Montana State Prison is administratively assigned to the Department of Institutions.

extent of the youth's personal and treatment needs. To complete the assessment,

Pine Hills staff gather data from numerous sources which include:

- a six-page questionnaire mailed to the youth's parents;
- social history reports provided by the court of adjudication and disposition;
- mental health evaluations completed prior to the youth's commitment;
- a battery of tests administered to the youth by teachers and clinicians at Pine Hills; and
- a personal interview with the youth by staff.

Part A of the "Security Screening Instrument" assigns specific point values to the following six factors, which are then summed to obtain a *risk score*:

- 1) the youth's *instant offense* (the most serious offense which resulted in his current commitment). This figure includes points weighted to account for mitigating or aggravating circumstances of the offense.
- 2) the most recent serious felony or misdemeanor verifiable by adjudication in the youth's social history or probation record.
- 3) number of prior felonies.
- 4) placements resulting from delinquent acts and ordered by the Youth Court.
- 5) age at first reported offense.
- 6) level of drug and/or alcohol abuse as it relates to the commission of delinquent acts.

The range of points on these six factors are categories as follows:

<u>LEVEL OF RISK.</u>	<u>POINT VALUES</u>
LOW Risk.	1 to 12 points
MEDIUM Risk.	13 to 25 points
HIGH Risk.	26 + points

All youths adjudicated for a sex offense fall automatically into the *high risk* category because of the weight factors attached to sex crimes. These point weights are assigned to offenses on the basis of results from a statewide survey designed to tap perceived seriousness of specific crimes. Survey respondents included judges,

probation officers and other officials involved in the juvenile criminal justice system, who were asked to rate each specific offense. Responses were averaged, with the result that sex crimes received the following point values:

<u>SPECIFICS OF CRIME</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>POINTS</u>
sex assault with victim under 16, with injury	Felony	14
sexual intercourse without consent, victim under 16	Felony	14
sexual intercourse without consent	Felony	13
deviate sexual conduct without consent	Felony	13
deviate sexual conduct	Felony	12
sexual assault	Misdemeanor	6

NONSEXUAL OFFENSES WITH SIMILAR WEIGHT FACTORS INCLUDE:

criminal homicide	Felony	15
deliberate homicide	Felony	15
mitigated deliberate homicide	Felony	14
aggravated kidnapping	Felony	14
kidnapping	Felony	14
escape from jail/detention with use of force	Felony	13

Part B of the assessment instrument scores the degree of each youth's needs. This score is determined through use of a structured set of criteria, each of which is assigned a weight value. A youth's need score is based upon such factors as: suicidal tendencies; emotional stability; mental health/psychiatric treatment history; level of adaptive functioning; drug/chemical/alcohol abuse; delinquency history; stability and disorganization of primary and alternative family relationships; employment history; intellectual ability and learning disabilities; problem-solving skills; and the youth's attitudes and prospects for rehabilitation. Points on these factors are summed and categorized as follows:

<u>LEVEL OF NEED.</u>	<u>POINT VALUES</u>
LOW Needs.	0 to 19 points
MEDIUM Needs.	20 to 35 points
HIGH Needs.	36 + points

On the basis of the *total* scores derived from this instrument, youths at Pine Hills School are assigned a "recommended intervention level" of B, C, or D, with Level "B" indicating lowest risk and needs, and Level "D" indicating highest risk/needs. At the time of this study, 27 of the youths at Pine Hills (16.7% of the institution population) had been assigned to Level "D" Status, and all of these were adjudicated sex offenders. As indicated in Table 1, page 71, a larger number of youths at Pine Hills had been assigned to Level C status (30 youths, or 18.5%), while the largest group (44 youths or 27.2%) were on Level B status, and an additional 28 youths (17.3%) were as yet unassessed.³⁷

STUDY SAMPLE

Two groups were selected for evaluation in this study:

JSOP Group: All youths adjudicated to Pine Hills for a sex-related offense and court-ordered to participate in the Juvenile Sex Offender Treatment Program, and youths committed to Pine Hills for a crime not involving a sex offense but who had a documented sex-related offense in their social history (generally "Level D" status youths).³⁸

³⁷ The majority of this latter category had been admitted for a 45-day evaluation rather than to serve a sentence.

³⁸ Note that this group is assumed to be of greater risk than most other youthful offenders because of the built-in level of risk assigned to sexual offenses.

COMPARISON Group: All youths committed to Pine Hills for crimes of a serious nature (as defined by their risk and needs score), but whose offense history did *not* include a sex-related offense (operationalized as "Level C" status youths).

Table 1. Population at Pine Hills School as of March, 1990

STATUS	N Size	Percent
Level B status	(44)	27.2%
Level C status	(30)	18.5%
Level D status	(27)	16.7%
Unassessed	(28)	17.3%
SUB-TOTAL: (on campus)	(129)	79.7%
On Leave	(29)	17.9%
"Run" Status	(4)	2.4%
SUB-TOTAL: (off campus)	(33)	20.3%
TOTAL:	(162)	100.0%

The Juvenile Sex Offender group treatment sessions began in January, 1985. Pine Hills staff had collected an extensive amount of information on youths who were admitted to JSOP over the entire five-year period from the program's inception to the date of this study. Thus, while it was possible to administer survey questionnaires to the small sample of 56 youths described above, a large amount of demographic and background information was available for a total of 165 youths at Pine Hills during the period January 1, 1985 through March 15, 1990 (see Tables 2 and 3).

As indicated in Table 3, one of the youths in residence during this time period had been admitted as far back as 1982. However, the majority of

youths in the entire sample were committed during the years 1985 through 1989. Although the current assessment system had been instituted only recently, staff were able to identify youths in residence during this five-year time period who would have received a "Level C" risk/needs rating under the current assessment system. Youths so identified by staff were included in this study's Comparison group for the years 1985 through 1989.

Table 2. Sample Size

GROUP	DEMOGRAPHIC POPULATION		SURVEY SAMPLE	
	(N)	Percent	(N)	Percent
JSOP	(91)	55.1%	(31)	55.4%
Level C	(74)	44.8%	(25)	44.6%
TOTAL	(165)	100.0%	(56)	100.0%

Totals may not add to 100.0% due to rounding.

As can be seen from Table 2 the proportions of youths selected for the study groups in this manner were nearly identical. Slightly more youths in the JSOP group completed survey questionnaires (55.4%, as compared to 44.6% of the comparison group). Essentially the same proportions of each group (55.1% and 44.8% respectively) were included in the total sample size for development of a demographic profile of each group of offenders.

More sex offenders than Level C youths were admitted during four of the five main years of the study period (1985 through 1989). However, the first quarter of 1990 saw six Level C youths admitted, compared to only one JSOP subject. There

was a statistically significant difference in number of youths committed to Pine Hills during different years in the sample period, as indicated by a Chi-square value of 15.70, $p < .05$.

Table 3. Year of Most Recent Commitment to Pine Hills³⁹

YEAR	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
*1982	(1)	0.61	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.35
*1983	(3)	1.82	(3)	3.30	(0)	0.00
*1984	(8)	4.85	(8)	8.79	(0)	0.00
1985	(34)	20.61	(19)	20.88	(15)	20.27
1986	(31)	18.79	(18)	19.78	(13)	17.57
1987	(13)	7.88	(6)	6.59	(7)	9.46
1988	(27)	16.36	(15)	16.48	(12)	16.22
1989	(41)	24.85	(21)	23.08	(20)	27.03
*1990	(7)	4.24	(1)	1.10	(6)	8.11

$$\chi^2 = 15.70, p < .05$$

$$\text{Cramer's } V = .31$$

Perhaps the most interesting observation related to year of commitment is that eleven JSOP group subjects who were at Pine Hills School during the study period (1985 through 1990) had been committed during 1983 and 1984; whereas just one subject from the comparison group (Level C) had been admitted as early as 1982, but none were carryovers from 1983 or 1984. This difference between groups is not surprising when it is noted that the sex offenders serve a significantly longer sentence on the average than do Level C offenders ($t=2.87, p < .01$). Table 4 reveals that sex

³⁹ * Remember that the period covered by this study was January, 1985 through March 15, 1990. The N-size listed in Table 3 for years 1982 through 1984 includes only those youths in residence at Pine Hills during that time period, but who had been admitted earlier than 1985. Thus it does not reflect the total number of sexual offenders and Level C youths admitted during 1982 through 1984.

offenders in the sample served an average of 908 days,⁴⁰ with a range of 309 to 1,907 days, while Level C subjects served an average of 620 days (range 99 to 1,480 days).

Table 4. Length of Time at Pine Hills School

LENGTH OF TIME	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
less than 3 months	(6)	3.64	(0)	0.00	(6)	8.11
3 to 6 months	(10)	6.06	(2)	2.20	(8)	10.81
6 months to 1 year	(42)	25.45	(19)	20.88	(23)	31.08
1 to 2 years	(52)	31.52	(32)	35.16	(20)	27.03
2 to 3 years	(25)	15.15	(21)	23.08	(4)	5.41
more than 3 years	(30)	18.18	(17)	18.68	(13)	17.57
MEAN (in days)	782.3		908.1		620.2	
S.D.	425.3		398.4		407.4	

t=3.6, p < .001 (for all youths in the study groups)

t=2.87, p < .01 (for youths who have been released from PHS)

As indicated in Appendix F, 22 of Montana's 56 counties had committed JSOP or Level C youths to Pine Hills during the study period. The biggest difference in numbers of youths from each of these categories for individual counties occurred for Silver Bow County, with nine Level C youths but only two sex offenders originating from that county.

Table 5 lists the counties of commitment according to size. About one-fifth of all youths at Pine Hills were from the two smallest category sizes. Thus, 39.12% of all youths in the study were from rural counties with populations less than 50,000. A slightly larger proportion were from the largest urban counties. That is, 42.07%

⁴⁰ The mean and standard deviations for average length of sentence served are based upon Pine Hills youths who have completed their sentences (by deleting those cases where youths are still at Pine Hills).

of subjects were from counties with over 60,000 population (Missoula, Cascade and Yellowstone Counties). A Chi-square of 2.00 ($p > .05$, n.s.) indicates that the differences in proportions of subjects in each group from the various counties was not statistically significant.

Table 5. County of Commitment

COUNTY POPULATION	TOTAL (N=164)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=73)	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
5,000 TO 14,999	(32)	19.51	(18)	19.78	(14)	19.18
15,000 to 44,999	(32)	19.51	(15)	16.48	(17)	23.29
45,000 to 59,999	(31)	18.90	(20)	21.98	(11)	15.07
60,000 to 99,999	(38)	23.17	(21)	23.08	(17)	23.29
over 100,000	(31)	18.90	(17)	18.68	(14)	19.18

$$\chi^2 = 2.00, p < .74, \text{ n.s.}$$

SURVEY SUBSAMPLE

Survey questionnaires were administered to all youths in residence at Pine Hills School on March 15, 1990 who fell into the two categories above. Questionnaires were completed by 31 youths who fit the criteria for inclusion in the JSOP Group (refer to Table 2). Twenty-seven of these were adjudicated sex offenders on "Level D" status. An additional JSOP subject had been previously committed for a sex offense and successfully completed the JSOP program, but was recently recommitted to Pine Hills for a nonsexual offense. Two subjects in the JSOP group were rated as "Level C," but had committed a sexual offense, and were court-ordered to complete the JSOP program. A final JSOP subject had been recently adjudicated for a sex offense but was not yet assessed (no status level assignment).

The comparison group consisted of 25 youths on "Level C" status, none of whom had committed a known sexual offense.⁴¹ Among the subjects in the comparison group who committed the most serious offenses, two were adjudicated for mitigated deliberate homicide,⁴² and a third for voluntary manslaughter. All three of these boys were assessed at "Level C" status on the basis of total point scores on the Security Screening Instrument. Other offenses committed by youths selected for inclusion in the comparison group included robbery, burglary, felony theft, criminal trespass, forgery, assault, aggravated assault, malicious mischief, possession and use of dangerous drugs, probation violation, and delinquency.⁴³ A more complete description of the number and type of offenses committed by each group of youths appears later in this study.

⁴¹ Two Level "C" youths were excluded from the survey analysis because they declined to complete the questionnaire. A third youth was excluded from both phases of the analysis because he was considered too extreme to be a "typical" case. His offenses were relatively minor (similar to youths on Level "B" status); thus, his Level "C" status was the result of high "needs" (extremely self-abusive behaviors) rather than high "risk."

⁴² One of these youths shot and killed both his own parents, as well as the mother of his friend/accomplice. The second boy was charged with the same offense even though he had not done any actual shooting.

⁴³ The term "delinquent" refers to a youth who has committed three or more felonies. Essentially all of the male youths on a regular commitment to Pine Hills School are delinquent in this sense.

CHAPTER IV: BACKGROUND FACTORS

FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

It seemed intuitively sound to expect socioeconomic status (SES) to have an effect on at least one of the dependent variables (empowerment) in the theoretical model depicted in Figure 1, page 21. Some social history reports include exact family income in their report to the courts. However, such specifics were available in very few of the case files of youths in this study.

Two different methods are frequently used to measure the variable "socioeconomic status" (the Duncan Socioeconomic Index, and the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position). It was assumed that each scoring method would provide a different range of SES scores, but it was also expected that there would be little variation in socioeconomic status among or between subjects in the two study groups. Thus, it was not possible to make an a priori assumption about which would be the most appropriate measure for this analysis. Therefore, socioeconomic status was measured both ways:⁴⁴

1. Duncan Socioeconomic Index. This list of scores was derived from survey results of respondents who had been asked to rate the status and prestige of specific occupations. Each occupation thus has its own unique SES score. On this scale, *higher scores indicate higher socioeconomic status*.

⁴⁴ Coding of SES scores is described in detail in Appendix G.

2. Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position. This index was developed to meet the need for an objective, easily applicable procedure to estimate the positions individuals occupy in the status structure of our society (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958). The Hollingshead Index combines status derived from two factors -- occupation + education -- into one overall SES score. Appendix G delineates the scoring procedures used for the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position. On this scale, *higher* scores indicate *lower* socioeconomic status.

Table 6 depicts the distribution of socioeconomic status (SES) of youths' natural parents on these two measures. T-tests indicate that there were no statistically significant differences between the parents of JSOP youths and those of Level C youths on either the Census SES or Hollingshead SES measures.

Parents from both study groups were predominantly from lower socioeconomic classes, regardless of which scoring index was used. On the Duncan SEI, where low scores indicate low socioeconomic status and scores could range from 0 to 96, fathers of JSOP youths had an average SEI score of 15, and Level C fathers averaged slightly lower at SEI 11.92. Mothers of subjects in both groups were about equal in average scores on this Index (16.56 for JSOP mothers and 16.34 for Level C mothers). Mothers averaged slightly higher than fathers on the Duncan Index, a result of the fact that "full-time mothers" were given an SEI score of 7, while fathers (heads of household) who were unemployed received a score of 0.

The pattern is very similar for socioeconomic scores utilizing the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position. On this scale, high scores indicate low socioeconomic status, with a possible range of from 11 to 77. Fathers and mothers of subjects in both groups received almost equal scores: 59.50 and 59.41 for fathers

of JSOP and Level C youths respectively; 61.54 and 60.42 for mothers in each group respectively. Again, mothers scored slightly higher than fathers on average, but on the Hollingshead SES score this was due to the fact that mothers tended to have higher levels of education than fathers.

Table 6. Family Socioeconomic Status

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS	TOTAL (N=164)	JSOP (N=90)	LEVEL C (N=74)	T-Test	p <
* Father's Duncan SEI	(109) 13.64	(61) 15.00	(48) 11.92	t=1.07	.29
* Mother's Duncan SEI	(136) 16.47	(78) 16.56	(58) 16.34	t= .08	.94
** Father's Hollingshead SES	(91) 59.46	(52) 59.50	(39) 59.41	t= .04	.97
** Mother's Hollingshead SES	(118) 61.07	(68) 61.54	(50) 60.42	t= .52	.61

* On the Duncan SEI, low scores indicate low socioeconomic status (maximum score is 96).

** On the Hollingshead Scale, high scores indicate low socioeconomic status (range is from 11 to 77).

PARENTS' OCCUPATION

There were no significant differences between the two study groups for occupational status of either parents or step-parents (see Table 7); nor were differences significant between proportions of each whose *head of household* was unemployed (36.4% of JSOP and 39% of Level C family heads). Furthermore, a full one-quarter of all youths' fathers did not have jobs (26.6% and 27.45% for the JSOP and Level C group fathers respectively).

Appendix H contains complete listings of specific jobs held by youths' mothers and fathers. For purposes of performing meaningful statistical tests of differences between groups, occupations were recoded into categories consistent with those of the *Two-Factor Index of Social Position* (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958). Refer to Appendix G for a description of the coding scheme for this Index.

While differences in fathers' occupations were not statistically significant between groups, it can be seen from Table 7 that slightly more JSOP youths' fathers were employed in the skilled manual trades, while Level C fathers were more likely to be in semi-skilled trades. The large majority of youths' mothers in both groups were housewives not employed outside the home. Of those mothers who were gainfully employed, the large majority were working in unskilled trades.

There were surprisingly few step-parents of youths in either study group when one notes the high incidence of subjects whose parents separated while they were quite young (see Table 10). As indicated in Table 8, nearly three-fourths of JSOP youths had no step-father (73.5%) compared to 70.5% of Level C youths with no step-father. Even higher proportions of each group had no step-mother (90.8% and 76.1% respectively). Subjects in the comparison group were slightly more likely than JSOP subjects to have either a step-father or a step-mother.

Consistent with their higher levels of education (discussed below), step-mothers of youths in each study group were more frequently reported in the clerical/sales category. Step-fathers were just as likely as natural fathers to be employed primarily in the unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled manual fields. However, they were less likely than natural fathers to be unemployed (2.4% and 3.1% for JSOP and Level C step-fathers respectively, compared to over one-fourth of natural fathers in each group who were unemployed).

Table 7. Occupational Status

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		TEST	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	STATISTIC	p <
	TOTAL (N=142)		JSOP = (88)		LEVEL C (N=54)		χ^2	.01 .86
unemployed	(53)	37.32	(32)	36.36	(21)	38.89		
employed	(89)	62.68	(56)	63.64	(33)	61.11		
FATHER	TOTAL (N=115)		JSOP (N=64)		LEVEL C (N=51)			
NO JOB	(31)	26.96	(17)	26.56	(14)	27.45		
unskilled	(14)	12.17	(7)	10.94	(7)	13.73	χ^2	5.33 .62
semi-skilled	(20)	17.39	(9)	14.06	(11)	21.57		
skilled manual	(22)	19.13	(15)	23.44	(7)	13.73		
clerical/sales	(1)	.87	(1)	1.56	(0)	0.00		
mngrl/small busn owner	(3)	2.61	(2)	3.13	(1)	1.96		
semi-professional	(2)	1.74	(2)	3.13	(0)	0.00		
professional	(0)	0.00	(0)	0.00	(0)	0.00		
retd/disabld/deceased	(22)	19.13	(11)	17.19	(11)	21.57		
MOTHER	TOTAL (N=136)		JSOP (N=79)		LEVEL C (N=57)			
housewife/mother	(74)	54.41	(40)	50.63	(34)	59.65	χ^2	5.75 .45
unskilled	(26)	19.12	(17)	21.52	(9)	15.79		
semi-skilled	(5)	3.68	(1)	1.27	(4)	7.02		
skilled manual	(2)	1.47	(1)	1.27	(1)	1.75		
clerical/sales	(15)	11.03	(9)	11.39	(6)	10.53		
mngrl/small busn owner	(5)	3.68	(4)	5.06	(1)	1.75		
semi-professional	(3)	2.21	(2)	2.53	(1)	1.75		
professional	(0)	0.00	(0)	0.00	(0)	0.00		
disabled/deceased	(6)	4.41	(5)	6.33	(1)	1.75		
STEP-FATHER	TOTAL (N=149)		JSOP (N=84)		LEVEL C (N=65)			
no step-father	(110)	73.83	(64)	76.19	(46)	70.77	χ^2	5.18 .77
NO JOB	(4)	2.68	(2)	2.38	(2)	3.08		
unskilled	(10)	6.71	(5)	5.95	(5)	7.69		
semi-skilled	(4)	2.68	(3)	3.57	(1)	1.54		
skilled manual	(11)	7.38	(5)	5.95	(6)	9.23		
clerical/sales	(1)	.67	(1)	1.19	(0)	0.00		
mngrl/small busn owner	(1)	.67	(1)	1.19	(0)	0.00		
semi-professional	(7)	4.70	(2)	2.38	(5)	7.69		
professional	(1)	.67	(1)	1.19	(0)	0.00		
STEP-MOTHER	TOTAL (N=149)		JSOP (N=88)		LEVEL C (N=68)			
no step-mother	(132)	84.62	(78)	88.64	(54)	79.41	χ^2	3.03 .70
unskilled	(6)	4.03	(4)	4.54	(2)	2.94		
housewife/mother	(7)	4.30	(2)	2.27	(5)	7.35		
semi-skilled	(1)	.64	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.47		
skilled manual	(1)	.64	(1)	1.14	(0)	0.00		
clerical/sales	(5)	3.21	(2)	2.27	(3)	4.41		
mngrl/small busn owner	(1)	.64	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.47		
semi-professional	(3)	1.92	(1)	1.14	(2)	2.94		

PARENTS' EDUCATION

The natural parents of youths in this study had distinctively low levels of education, with average years of schooling amounting to less than completion of a high school education (see Table 8). Fathers of JSOP youths had an average of

11.02 years of education, while Level C fathers averaged about two-thirds of one year more (11.68 years). Well over one-third of the parents of JSOP youths had less than a high school education (37.7%), with nearly one-fourth having only eight years of schooling or less (21.3%). In comparison, 17.5% of fathers of Level C youths had eight years or less of education, and an additional 7.5% had completed between 9 and 11 years of schooling.

In the JSOP group, mothers averaged 11.26 years of education, while Level C mothers averaged 11.49 years. Sizeable proportions of mothers in each group had only eight years of education or less (11.6% and 10.2% for JSOP and Level C groups respectively). As with fathers, different proportions had started high school but failed to complete their degrees (29% of JSOP mothers and 14.3% of Level C mothers).

It is interesting to note that both step-fathers and step-mothers had generally achieved a higher level of education than that of the youths' natural parents. Step-fathers of JSOP youths averaged 12.91 years of education, and education level of comparison group step-fathers was even higher (13.23 years). The same pattern of higher education held for step-mothers as well, but JSOP group step-mothers had completed an average of 14.38 years of education, while Level C step-mothers had completed 12.71.

While the difference between groups on level of education of step-mothers was the only statistically significant finding on this variable (see Table 8), the "N" size of step-mothers in this study was so small that it would be premature to draw any conclusions from this finding.

Table 8. Parents' Education

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		TEST STATISTIC	p <
	(N)	X	(N)	X	(N)	X		
FATHER	TOTAL (N=101)		JSOP (N=61)		LEVEL C (N=40)			
8 years or less	(20)	19.80	(13)	21.31	(7)	17.50		
9 to 11 years	(13)	12.87	(10)	16.39	(3)	7.50		
H.S. or G.E.D.	(48)	47.52	(26)	42.62	(22)	55.00		
some college/technic	(14)	13.86	(9)	14.75	(5)	12.56		
college graduate	(6)	5.94	(3)	4.92	(3)	7.50		
MEAN		11.28		11.02		11.68	t	-1.17 .24
S.D.		2.77		3.00		2.36		
MOTHER	TOTAL (N=118)		JSOP (N=69)		LEVEL C (N=49)			
8 years or less	(13)	11.02	(8)	11.59	(5)	10.20		
9 to 11 years	(27)	22.88	(20)	28.99	(7)	14.29		
H.S. or G.E.D.	(53)	44.92	(26)	37.68	(27)	55.10		
some college/technic	(22)	18.64	(13)	18.84	(9)	18.37		
college graduate	(3)	2.54	(2)	2.90	(1)	2.04		
MEAN		11.36		11.26		11.49	t	-.59 .56
S.D.		2.07		2.19		1.92		
STEP-FATHER	TOTAL (N=144)		JSOP (N=83)		LEVEL C (N=61)			
no step-father	(140)	72.22	(61)	73.49	(43)	70.49		
8 years or less	(2)	1.39	(2)	2.41	(0)	0.00		
9 to 11 years	(1)	.69	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.64		
H.S. or G.E.D.	(18)	12.50	(8)	9.64	(10)	16.39		
some college/technic	(13)	9.03	(10)	12.05	(3)	4.92		
college graduate	(6)	4.17	(2)	2.41	(4)	6.56		
MEAN		13.05		12.91		13.23	t	-.42 .68
S.D.		2.40		2.5		2.31		
STEP-MOTHER	TOTAL (N=154)		JSOP (N=79)		LEVEL C (N=67)			
no step-mother	(130)	84.42	(79)	90.80	(51)	76.12		
9 to 11 years	(1)	.65	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.49		
H.S. or G.E.D.	(10)	6.49	(2)	2.30	(8)	11.94		
some college/technic	(8)	5.19	(2)	2.30	(6)	8.96		
college graduate	(5)	3.25	(4)	4.60	(1)	1.49		
MEAN		13.32		14.38		12.71	t	2.45 .02
S.D.		1.70		1.85		1.33		

YOUTHS' SIBLINGS

Youths in both sample groups had an average of almost three full or half siblings (2.9) in the JSOP group and 2.89 in the comparison group. As indicated in Table 9, only a very small proportion in each group was an *only child* (4.4% and

8.1% respectively). The number of step-siblings overall was quite small--an average of .34 in the JSOP group and .47 among Level C youths. There were no significant differences between sex offenders and youths in the comparison group with regard to number of siblings of any type (as indicated by Chi-squares of 2.80 and 1.25, $p > .05$, n.s.). T-tests of means confirmed the absence of a difference between groups on number of full or half siblings ($t = .35$, $p > .05$, n.s.) or step-siblings ($t = -1.11$, $p > .05$, n.s.).

Table 9. Youth's Siblings

SIBLINGS	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)		TEST	
	(N)	\bar{x}	(N)	\bar{x}	(N)	\bar{x}	STATISTIC	p <
FULL OR HALF SIBS								
none	(10)	6.06	(4)	4.40	(6)	8.11		
one	(29)	17.58	(17)	18.68	(12)	16.22		
two	(22)	13.33	(12)	13.19	(10)	13.51		
three	(45)	27.27	(25)	27.47	(20)	27.03		
four	(18)	10.91	(10)	10.99	(8)	10.81		
five or more	(41)	24.85	(23)	25.27	(18)	24.32		
MEAN		2.94		2.98		2.89	t	.35 .73
S.D.		1.58		1.56		1.62		
STEP-SIBLINGS								
none	(127)	76.97	(73)	80.22	(54)	72.97		
one	(10)	6.06	(5)	5.49	(5)	6.76		
two or more	(28)	16.97	(13)	14.29	(15)	20.27		
MEAN		.40		.34		.47	t	-1.11 .27
S.D.		.76		.72		.81		

FAMILY HISTORY EVENTS

A very large number of youths in both study groups were from broken homes (see Table 10). The incidence of parents who had separated was very nearly the same, with 80% of JSOP youths and 84% of Level C youths falling into this category (Chi-square = .24, $p > .05$, n.s.). Further, the age of youths when parents separated was not significantly different for the study groups (Chi-square = 7.07, $p > .05$, n.s.).

In the JSOP sample, nearly half had parents who separated before the subject reached school-age (40.7%), and this was the case for 52.7% of Level C youths.

There were some differences between the two groups on incidence of physical abuse. Over half of Level C youths (52.2%) had no documented physical abuse in their backgrounds, whereas this was true for less than one-third of JSOP youths (30.8%).⁴⁵ It is worthy of note that almost half of the JSOP youths (44%) suffered severe physical abuse,⁴⁶ and an additional one-fourth (25.3%) suffered at least mild abuse. It is also quite apparent that both JSOP and Level C youths suffered physical abuse primarily at the hands of their natural fathers or other male adult. However, while subjects in each group were about equally as likely to be abused by a step-father or other male adult, JSOP youths were twice as likely to be abused by their natural father as were Level C youths (40.2% and 20.3% respectively; $\chi^2 = 5.86$ significant at $p < .02$). A phi of .21 indicates there is a weak association between the amount of physical abuse by natural father among sex offenders vs. non-sex offenders.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Data on this item were gathered by personal interview with JSOP youths by a staff members. For the comparison group, data were taken from notations in case files. Thus, incidence of this variable may be under-reported for Level C youths.

⁴⁶ Incidence of sexual abuse is covered in a later section (see Table 24).

⁴⁷ Lutz (1983, p. 156) provides the following guidelines for verbal interpretation of measures of association such as the "phi" statistic:

- .01 to .25 = weak association
- .26 to .55 = moderate association
- .56 to .75 = strong association
- .76 to .99 = very strong association

Another important negative life event in the histories of these youths is the extent to which they were neglected and/or abandoned by one or both natural parents (refer to Table 10). About half of youths in each study group were *neglected* (55% of JSOP youths and 47.8% of Level C youths). Just over one-fourth (26.1%) of JSOP subjects and over one-third (36.8%) of comparison group subjects were abandoned by their natural father. While neither of these two variables (neglect and abandonment by father) was significantly different by subject group, non-sex offenders were significantly more likely to be abandoned by their mothers than were the JSOP youths (20.6% vs. 6.8% respectively, Chi-square = 5.33, $p < .02$). The phi of .20 indicates this is only a weak relationship.

Table 10. Family History Events

EVENT	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		TEST STATISTIC	p <	meas of assoc
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%			
FROM BROKEN HOME	(131)	81.88	(72)	80.00	(59)	84.29	χ^2	.24	.62
	TOTAL (N=160)		JSOP (N=90)		LEVEL C (N=70)				
AGE AT SEPARATION									
infant	(14)	8.48	(4)	4.40	(10)	13.51			
one year old	(20)	12.12	(12)	13.19	(8)	10.81			
pre-school (2-5)	(42)	25.45	(21)	23.08	(21)	28.38	χ^2	7.07	.13
pre-teen (6-12)	(83)	50.30	(49)	53.85	(34)	45.95			
teenage	(6)	3.64	(5)	5.49	(1)	1.35			
	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)				
PHYSICALLY ABUSED									
none documented	(63)	39.87	(28)	30.77	(35)	52.24			
mild abuse	(32)	20.25	(23)	25.27	(9)	13.43	χ^2	8.03	.02
severe abuse	(63)	39.87	(40)	43.96	(23)	34.33			
	TOTAL (N=158)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=67)				
ABUSED BY									
father	(48)	31.79	(35)	40.23	(13)	20.31	χ^2	5.86	.02
step-father	(27)	17.88	(16)	18.39	(11)	17.19	χ^2	.00	.98
other male	(9)	5.96	(6)	6.90	(3)	4.69	χ^2	.05	.83
mother	(20)	13.25	(11)	12.64	(9)	14.06	χ^2	.00	.99
step-mother	(0)	0.00	(0)	0.00	(0)	0.00	-----	--	--
other female	(2)	1.32	(2)	2.30	(0)	0.00	χ^2	.25	.62
	TOTAL (N=106)		JSOP (N=70)		LEVEL C (N=36)				
YOUTH NEGLECTED	(82)	51.90	(50)	54.95	(32)	47.76	χ^2	.54	.46
ABANDONED BY FATHER	(48)	30.77	(23)	26.14	(25)	36.76	χ^2	1.57	.21
ABANDONED BY MOTHER	(20)	12.82	(6)	6.82	(14)	20.59	χ^2	5.33	.02
	TOTAL (N=156)		JSOP (N=88)		LEVEL C (N=68)				

As indicated by chi-square tests shown in Table 10, neither Indian nor Caucasian mothers or fathers were any more likely to abandon their children ($\chi^2=.04$, $p < .83$ for difference between ethnicity of mothers and abandonment; $\chi^2=.13$, $p < .72$ for fathers).

FAMILY DISABILITIES

Table 11 summarizes the types of disabilities documented for different family members of youths in this study. This discussion will center upon those areas where there were statistically significant differences between the sample groups. JSOP youths were far more likely to have fathers who abused alcohol or drugs than were Level C youths (58.4% compared to 36.4%). Likewise, subjects who were sex offenders were much more likely to have a mother or a sibling who had a mental disability - generally meaning a psychological disorder of some kind. The incidence of JSOP youths whose mothers were mentally disabled was 21.1% (compared to 7.5% among comparison group mothers), and the incidence of JSOP youths whose siblings were mentally disabled was 11.1% (compared to 1.5% for the comparison group). Phi statistics ranging from .19 to .22 indicate these are only weak associations between study group and incidence of mental instability.

Overall, total number of family members with *disabilities*⁴⁸ was significantly different between groups. As indicated in Table 11, the average number of family disabilities among JSOP subjects was 1.77, compared to 1.31 among Level C subjects.

⁴⁸ Types of family disabilities counted were alcohol or drug (substance) abuse; mental disabilities; and physical disabilities. Each of these types could be attributed to a youth's father, mother, or sibling(s). Total sum of "family disabilities" could thus range from 0 to a maximum of 9.

This is significantly different at $t=2.41$, $p < .05$, which is also confirmed by a Chi-square of 18.52, $p < .001$. The measure of association (Cramer's $V=.33$) indicates there is a moderate association between total number of family disabilities and study group.

Table 11 also lists the incidence of fathers, mothers, and siblings who were committed to correctional, mental, or other institutions. The most frequent type of family institutionalization was that of father or sibling in a correctional facility. Within the JSOP group, 21.35% of fathers and 12.4% of siblings had been incarcerated. For the comparison group, incidence of fathers in correctional facilities was 11.8%, while 8.8% of siblings had been incarcerated. Differences between group was not statistically significant for any of these variables.

RELIGION

As depicted in Table 12, there were no significant differences between youths in each study group for religious preference (Chi-square = 6.38, $p < .27$). About one-fifth of JSOP youths (16.5%) had no religious preference, and this was the case for a little over one-fourth of Level C youths (27%). Of those who had a preference, the most common religious choice was *Catholic* (for 19.8% of JSOP youths and 27% of the comparison group); followed by the *Baptist* (14.3% and 10.8% respectively) and *Protestant/Christian* faiths (9.9% and 10.8% respectively).

Table 11. Summary of Family Disabilities

	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		TEST		meas of assoc
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	STATISTIC	p <	
FAMILY DISABILITIES									
father physical	(34)	21.94	(23)	25.84	(11)	16.67	χ^2	1.37	.24
father mental	(9)	5.81	(8)	8.99	(1)	1.52	χ^2	2.62	.11
father alcohol/drug abuse	(76)	49.03	(52)	58.43	(24)	36.36	χ^2	6.53	.01 phi .22
mother physical	(13)	8.28	(9)	10.00	(4)	5.97	χ^2	.38	.54
mother mental	(24)	15.29	(19)	21.11	(5)	7.46	χ^2	4.52	.03 phi .19
mother alcohol/drug abuse	(54)	34.39	(28)	31.11	(26)	38.81	χ^2	.70	.40
sibling physical	(4)	2.55	(4)	4.44	(0)	0.00	χ^2	1.53	.22
sibling mental	(11)	7.01	(10)	11.11	(1)	1.49	χ^2	4.08	.04 phi .19
sibling alcohol/drug abuse	(6)	3.82	(5)	5.56	(1)	1.49	χ^2	.80	.37
TOTAL Family Disabilities									
none	(39)	23.64	(13)	14.29	(26)	35.14			
one	(46)	27.88	(27)	29.67	(19)	25.68			
two	(41)	24.85	(24)	26.37	(17)	22.97	χ^2	18.52	.001 v .33
three	(26)	15.76	(22)	24.18	(4)	5.41			
four or more	(13)	7.88	(5)	5.49	(8)	10.81			
MEAN		1.56		1.77		1.31	t	2.41	.02
S.D.		1.23		1.14		1.30			
FAMILY MEMBER INSTITUTION									
father correctional	(27)	17.20	(19)	21.35	(8)	11.76	χ^2	1.86	.17
father mental facility	(3)	1.91	(2)	2.25	(1)	1.47	χ^2	.06	.81
father in other facility	(5)	3.18	(5)	5.62	(0)	0.00	χ^2	2.33	.13
mother correctional	(7)	4.46	(5)	5.62	(2)	2.94	χ^2	.17	.68
mother mental facility	(5)	3.18	(4)	4.49	(1)	1.47	χ^2	.37	.54
mother in other facility	(6)	3.82	(4)	4.49	(2)	2.94	χ^2	.01	.93
sibling correctional	(17)	10.83	(11)	12.36	(6)	8.82	χ^2	.20	.65
sibling mental facility	(2)	1.27	(2)	2.25	(0)	0.00	χ^2	.28	.60
sibling other facility	(4)	2.55	(3)	3.37	(1)	1.47	χ^2	.06	.81
TOTAL Family Commitments									
none	(102)	61.82	(52)	57.14	(50)	67.57			
one	(40)	24.24	(25)	27.47	(15)	20.27	χ^2	3.09	.38
two	(11)	6.67	(8)	8.79	(3)	4.05			
three or more	(12)	7.27	(6)	6.59	(6)	8.11			
MEAN		.59		.65		.53	t	.86	.39
S.D.		.90		.90		.91			

Table 12. Youth's Religion

RELIGION	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
no preference	(35)	21.21	(15)	16.48	(20)	27.03
Catholic	(38)	23.03	(18)	19.78	(20)	27.03
Baptist	(21)	12.73	(13)	14.29	(8)	10.81
Protestant/Christian	(17)	10.30	(9)	9.89	(8)	10.81
Lutheran	(15)	9.09	(10)	10.99	(5)	6.76
Other	(39)	23.64	(26)	28.57	(13)	17.57

$$\chi^2 = 6.38, p < .27.$$

ETHNICITY

Data were gathered on the ethnicity of youths in this study, as well as on their parents and step-parents.⁴⁹ As indicated in Table 13, the great majority of all youths and their parents were either Caucasian or Native American. Since several youths had one parent of each ethnicity, a category was developed for this mixed parentage. Well over three-fourths of all parents of JSOP subjects were Caucasian (81.1% of JSOP fathers and 84.4% of JSOP mothers). In comparison, less than three-fourths of Level C fathers were Caucasian (71.8%) and just over half of Level C mothers were Caucasian (63.4%).

Overall, less than one-fourth of all natural fathers were Indian (13.3% of JSOP fathers and 21.1% of Level C fathers). The difference between proportions of fathers in each racial category by study group was non-significant (Chi-square = 3.14, $p > .05$, n.s.). However, the difference for ethnicity among mothers in the two groups was significant (Chi-square = 11.61, $p < .01$). Among JSOP mothers, over four-fifths were Caucasian (84.4%) compared to 15.6% Native American; whereas not quite two-thirds of Level C mothers were Caucasian (63.4%) compared to almost one-third Indian (32.4%). Thus, the mothers of non-sex offenders were significantly more likely to be Native American than were mothers of sex offenders. A Cramer's

⁴⁹ Data on parents and step-parents of youths from both study groups were taken from the questionnaire sent by Pine Hills staff to the youths' parents. For youths whose natural parents were separated, staff sent questionnaires to both mother and father whenever they had an address for both parents.

V of .27 indicates there is a moderate association between ethnicity of mothers, when the youth is a sex offender.⁵⁰

Very few other ethnicities were represented among parents of subjects in either group. For JSOP youths, there were two Hispanic and one Oriental among the fathers; while for JSOP mothers there were no additional ethnicities represented. Among Level C parents, four fathers and two mothers were Hispanic. Virtually all step-parents in both study groups were either Native American or Caucasian.

Among the youths themselves, differences in ethnicity were not statistically significant (Chi-square = 5.08, $p > .05$), although when ethnicity was recoded into a dichotomous variable (*Caucasian* or *Native American*),⁵¹ the difference approached significance (Chi-square = 3.46, $p < .06$). As indicated in Table 13, three-fourths of JSOP youths were Caucasian (75.8%), while 19.8% were Native American Indian or of Caucasian/Indian mixed parentage. This compares to under two-thirds of Level C youths who were Caucasian (59.4%), with one-third being Indian or Caucasian/Indian (33.8%). As with the mothers in this sample, sex offender youths were less likely to be Native American than were youths in the comparison group.

⁵⁰ A "p value" of .05 or less for a given X^2 indicates only that there is a "real" difference between two groups because it is not likely that the degree of differences observed between the groups would be due to chance factors alone. When such a statistically significant difference is observed, we then look at measures of association such as "phi" or "Cramer's V" to tell us the strength of the observed association between variables. Lutz (1983 p. 156) provides the following approximate guide for verbal interpretation of strength for association measures ranging from 0 to ± 1 : .01 to .25 = weak association; .26 to .55 = moderate association; .56 to .75 = strong association; .76 to .99 = very strong association.

⁵¹ where Indian/Caucasian were coded as Indian; Hispanic and Oriental coded as Caucasian.

Table 13. Youths' and Their Parents' Ethnicity

ETHNICITY	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)		TEST STATISTIC	p <
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%		
YOUTH								
Caucasian	(113)	68.48	(69)	75.82	(44)	59.46		
Nat. Amn. Indian	(24)	14.55	(10)	10.99	(14)	18.92	χ^2 5.08	.17
Caucasian/Indian	(19)	11.52	(8)	8.79	(11)	14.86		
Cauc/Hispanic	(4)	2.42	(2)	2.20	(2)	2.70		
Hispanic	(1)	0.61	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.35		
Oriental	(1)	0.61	(1)	1.10	(0)	0.00		
Indian/Hispanic	(3)	1.82	(1)	1.10	(2)	2.70		
FATHER								
Caucasian	(124)	77.02	(73)	81.11	(51)	71.83		
Nat. Amn. Indian	(27)	16.77	(12)	13.33	(15)	21.13	χ^2 3.14	.21
Caucasian/Indian	(3)	1.86	(2)	2.22	(1)	1.41		
Hispanic	(6)	3.73	(2)	2.22	(4)	5.63		
Oriental	(1)	0.62	(1)	1.11	(0)	0.00		
MOTHER								
Caucasian	(121)	75.16	(76)	84.44	(45)	63.38		
Nat. Amn. Indian	(37)	22.98	(14)	15.56	(23)	32.39	χ^2 11.61	.01
Caucasian/Indian	(1)	0.62	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.41	V	.27
Hispanic	(2)	1.24	(0)	0.00	(2)	2.82		
STEP-FATHER								
Caucasian	(42)	28.57	(22)	26.83	(20)	30.77		
Nat. Amn. Indian	(1)	0.68	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.54	χ^2 1.46	.48
no step-father	(104)	70.75	(60)	73.17	(44)	67.69		
STEP-MOTHER								
Caucasian	(21)	13.38	(7)	7.95	(14)	20.29		
Nat. Amn. Indian	(4)	2.55	(2)	2.27	(2)	2.90	χ^2 4.75	.09
no step-mother	(132)	84.08	(79)	89.77	(53)	76.81		

For YOUTHS, Chi-square tests were performed on ethnic categories recoded into four groups: Caucasian, Indian, Caucasian/Indian, and "other".

For PARENTS, Chi-square tests were performed on ethnic categories recoded into two groups: Caucasian and Indian.

For STEP-PARENTS, Chi-square tests were performed on ethnic categories recoded into three groups: Caucasian, Indian, and "no step-parent".

GRADE LEVEL

Data were gathered on grade level of youths at their most recent commitment to Pine Hills (see Table 14). On the average, JSOP youths were admitted at a lower average grade level than were Level C youths (8.8 and 9.3 respectively). This difference between groups was statistically significant at $t = -2.69$, $p < .01$. This parallels the finding that JSOP youths were also committed at an earlier age than were youth in the comparison group (see Table 21, page 102).

Table 14. Youths' Grade Level at Most Recent Commitment

GRADE LEVEL	TOTAL (N=158)		JSOP (N=90)		LEVEL C (N=68)	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
4th	(1)	0.63	(1)	1.11	(0)	0.00
6th	(3)	1.90	(3)	3.33	(0)	0.00
7th	(13)	8.23	(9)	10.00	(4)	5.88
8th	(27)	17.09	(19)	21.11	(8)	11.76
9th	(64)	40.51	(32)	35.56	(32)	47.06
10th	(31)	19.62	(19)	21.11	(12)	17.65
11th	(16)	10.13	(7)	7.78	(9)	13.24
12th/G.E.D.	(3)	1.90	(0)	0.00	(3)	4.41
MEAN	9.03		8.8		9.34	
S.D.	1.27		1.3		1.17	

$t = -2.69, p < .01$

GRADES BEHIND IN SCHOOL

Even more telling is the fact that JSOP youths are significantly more likely than Level C youths to be behind in school (see Table 15). Just over one-fourth of JSOP youths (27.5%) were in a grade level appropriate for their age (not behind in school), whereas this was true for well over one-third of Level C youths (37.8%). Both groups had approximately equal percentages of subjects one grade behind in school (42.9% and 41.9% of JSOP and Level C youths respectively). However, JSOP subjects were much more likely to be two or more grades behind in school (29.7%) than were Level C subjects (20.3%).

Overall, the average number of grades behind was 1.06 for the JSOP group and .78 for the comparison group. This difference was statistically significant at $t=2.00, p < .05$. It is striking that approximately two-thirds or more of youths in both groups were behind in school.

Table 15. Number of Grades Behind in School

GRADES BEHIND	TOTAL (N=159)		JSOP (N=90)		LEVEL C (N=69)	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
none	(53)	32.12	(25)	27.47	(28)	37.84
one	(70)	42.42	(39)	42.86	(31)	41.89
two	(32)	19.39	(24)	26.37	(8)	10.81
three or more	(10)	6.06	(3)	3.30	(7)	9.46
MEAN		.94		1.06		.78
S.D.		.86		.88		.82

t 2.00, p < .05

SCHOOL PROBLEMS

Table 16 details the types of school problems evidenced by subjects in this study. A very large proportion of youths in both the JSOP and Level C groups showed evidence of exhibiting behavioral problems within the school system (75.8% and 69.1% respectively). Close to one-third of the JSOP group (35.2%) and nearly one-fourth of the comparison group (22.1%) had a learning disability, although the difference in proportions was not statistically significant (Chi-square = 2.61, $p > .05$, n.s.). Close to one-third of each group showed incidence of emotional disturbance which could affect school achievement (29.7% of the JSOP sample and 30.1% of the comparison group).

It is interesting that only very small proportions of each group consisted of subjects who were mentally retarded (12.1% of JSOP youths and 7.35% of Level C youths). Thus it seems mental impairment is not the principal cause of their lack of achievement in school. This finding is highlighted by the fact that well over two-thirds of youths in each group were either *underachievers* or were *frequently truant*

from school. As indicated in Table 16, 63.7% of JSOP youths were rated as underachievers in their past school experiences⁵², and 16.5% were frequently truant or refused to attend an educational program at all. The reverse pattern of underachievement and truancy occurred within the Level C group, where 35.3% were documented in case files as underachievers and 75% were frequently truant or refused to attend an educational program.

While Chi-squares for the categories of underachiever, truancy, and refusing to attend an educational program were statistically different for the JSOP and Level C subjects, this does not seem intuitively important because all three categories essentially measure the same thing - lack of motivation to achieve in traditional educational settings.⁵³ When all categories of school-related problems were summed for each youth, the mean score was 2.70 for JSOP subjects, and 2.77 for Level C youths. The difference between groups on total number of school-related problems was not statistically significant ($t = -.31, p > .05, n.s.$).

⁵² Some information on demographic variables in this study was gathered from each youthful sex offender at Pine Hills via an interview conducted by a JSOP counselor. While comparable information was generally available in the case files of most Level C youths, it was not consistently documented in a specific place within the files. Thus, differences between groups on this variable should be considered as preliminary findings indicative of the need for further study. True incidence of some variables may be under-reported for Level C youths as an artifact of this data gathering process.

⁵³ "Type of school problem" was another variable for which data on JSOP youths were gathered via an interview by staff with the youth, while comparable data on Level C youths had to be extrapolated from information available in case files.

Table 16. Types of School Problems

TYPE OF SCHOOL PROBLEM	TOTAL (N=159)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=68)		TEST		meas of assoc
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	STATISTIC	p <	
learning disability	(47)	29.56	(32)	35.16	(15)	22.06	χ^2	2.61	.11
behavioral problem	(116)	72.96	(69)	75.82	(47)	69.12	χ^2	.58	.45
emotionally disturbed	(48)	30.19	(27)	29.67	(21)	30.88	χ^2	.00	.99
mentally retarded	(16)	10.06	(11)	12.09	(5)	7.35	χ^2	.51	.47
special education needs	(51)	32.08	(35)	38.46	(16)	23.53	χ^2	3.33	.07
underachiever	(82)	51.57	(58)	63.74	(24)	35.29	χ^2	11.49	.001 phi .28
truancy/infreq attendnc	(53)	33.33	(13)	14.29	(40)	58.82	χ^2	32.76	.001 phi .47
refuses to attend educ	(13)	8.18	(2)	2.20	(11)	16.18	χ^2	8.35	.01 phi .25
TOTAL SCHOOL PROBLEMS									
none	(9)	5.45	(3)	3.30	(6)	8.11			
one	(21)	12.73	(11)	12.09	(10)	13.51			
two	(46)	27.88	(30)	32.97	(16)	21.62	χ^2	8.07	.15
three	(36)	21.82	(19)	20.88	(17)	22.97			
four	(35)	21.21	(22)	24.18	(13)	17.57			
five or more	(18)	10.91	(6)	6.59	(12)	16.22			
MEAN		2.73		2.70		2.77	t	-.31	.76
S.D.		1.37		1.24		1.51			

YOUTH DYSFUNCTIONS

Table 17 lists several types of specific dysfunctions for which staff gathered data on youthful sex offenders (see footnote 50). The type of dysfunction most prevalent within both groups was alcohol abuse: 56.7% of JSOP youths and 83.8% of Level C youths. This was followed closely by drug abuse - 38.55% and 77.9% among JSOP and Level C youths respectively. The differences between groups for incidence of both alcohol and drug abuse was significantly different--with both Chi-squares highly significant at $p < .001$. Level C youths were far more likely than sex offenders to abuse alcohol and drugs. Phi statistics of .29 and .40 indicate these two factors are moderately associated with being in a particular study group.

Incidence of hyperactivity, enuresis (bed-wetting) and encopresis (problems of bowel elimination) were also significantly different, but in the opposite direction. Here JSOP group subjects were much more likely to suffer from these physiological

problems than were the comparison group subjects ($p < .001$ for all three problems). Over one-third of JSOP subjects were prone to hyperactivity (36.3%), compared to 10.1% of Level C youths. Further, almost one-half of JSOP youths were enuretic (46%), compared to only 7.3% of comparison group youths. Approximately one-sixth of youths in the sex offender group were encopretic (16.5%), compared to only 1.45% of Level C youths. Phi measures ranged from a *weak* association between type of study group and incidence of encopresis ($\phi = .25$); to *moderate* associations between study group and frequency of hyperactivity ($\phi = .30$) or enuresis ($\phi = .42$).

Table 17. Summary of Youth Dysfunctions

TYPE OF DYSFUNCTION	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		TEST		p <	meas of assoc
	(N)	\bar{x}	(N)	\bar{x}	(N)	\bar{x}	STATISTIC			
alcohol abuse	(108)	68.35	(51)	56.67	(57)	83.82	χ^2	11.98	.001	phi .29
drug abuse	(85)	56.29	(32)	38.55	(53)	77.94	χ^2	21.98	.001	phi .40
physical disability	(19)	11.88	(13)	14.29	(6)	8.70	χ^2	.70	.40	
mental disability	(29)	18.13	(17)	18.68	(12)	17.39	χ^2	.00	.99	
hyperactive	(40)	25.00	(33)	36.26	(7)	10.14	χ^2	12.92	.001	phi .30
enuresis	(47)	29.37	(42)	46.15	(5)	7.25	χ^2	26.79	.001	phi .42
encopresis	(16)	10.00	(15)	16.48	(1)	1.45	χ^2	8.26	.01	phi .25

YOUTHS' OFFENSE HISTORY

The youths' offense history is one area where several statistically significant differences appeared between the two study groups. In general Level C youths were more likely to commit crimes in a wide range of criminal activities. This was true for all but four types of offenses listed in Table 18. The exceptions were that JSOP youths committed proportionately more robbery, arson, vandalism, and cruelty to animals than did Level C youths.

More Level C youths than JSOP youths committed the crimes of burglary, theft, trespass or criminal mischief, alcohol violations, unauthorized use of motor vehicles, and ungovernability/defiance of parental authority. Measures of association between group and crime were generally stronger between types of crime committed and study group for those crimes most frequently committed by Level C youths than was the case with crimes committed most by JSOP youths.

Several of the case files of subjects in this study contained what appeared to be a complete listing of the numbers and types of crimes committed (and in some cases the disposition of the crimes as well). Unfortunately, this was not the case for most of the youths' files. Thus it was not possible to gather accurate data on total numbers of crimes for which youths had been apprehended in the past.

Therefore, a weighted measure of the youths' offense history was developed for purposes of testing the theoretical model. Each type of crime listed in Table 18 was assigned a weight factor consistent with its score on the *Security Screening Instrument* used by Pine Hills staff (refer to page 67 for a discussion of this instrument). Weights for all *types of crimes* committed were then summed to yield a total score for each youth's *offense history*.

Table 18. Youth's Offense History

TYPE OF OFFENSE	TOTAL (N=161)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=70)		TEST		meas of assoc	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	STATISTIC	p <		
THEFT	(134)	83.23	(68)	74.73	(66)	94.29	χ^2	9.49	.01	phi .26
ASSAULT	(86)	53.42	(46)	50.55	(40)	57.14	χ^2	.45	.50	
RUNAWAY	(83)	51.55	(44)	48.35	(39)	55.71	χ^2	.59	.44	
BURGLARY	(77)	47.83	(32)	35.16	(45)	64.29	χ^2	12.30	.001	phi .29
VANDALISM	(69)	42.86	(46)	50.55	(23)	32.86	χ^2	4.36	.04	phi .18
TRESPASS/CRIM MISCH	(65)	40.37	(24)	26.37	(41)	58.57	χ^2	15.73	.001	phi .33
DRUG-RELATED	(46)	28.57	(22)	24.18	(24)	34.29	χ^2	1.52	.22	
UNGOVERN/DEFIANT	(38)	23.60	(13)	14.29	(25)	35.71	χ^2	8.92	.01	phi .25
UNAUTH USE MOTOR VEH	(34)	21.12	(9)	9.89	(25)	35.71	χ^2	14.33	.001	phi .31
PROB/AFTERCARE VIOL	(33)	20.50	(12)	13.19	(21)	30.00	χ^2	5.87	.02	phi .21
WEAPON	(31)	19.25	(17)	18.68	(14)	20.00	χ^2	.00	.99	
ARSON	(27)	16.77	(21)	23.08	(6)	8.57	χ^2	4.97	.03	phi .19
ALCOHOL VIOL	(25)	15.53	(5)	5.49	(20)	28.57	χ^2	14.35	.001	phi .32
DISORD/RESISTING	(21)	13.04	(6)	6.59	(15)	21.43	χ^2	6.42	.01	phi .22
CRUELTY ANIMALS	(16)	9.94	(14)	15.38	(2)	2.86	χ^2	5.61	.02	phi .21
ESCAPE/ATTEMPT	(14)	8.70	(4)	4.40	(10)	14.29	χ^2	3.71	.05	phi .17
SERIOUS OFFENSE	(12)	7.45	(2)	2.20	(10)	14.29	χ^2	6.72	.01	phi .23
ROBBERY	(9)	5.59	(6)	6.59	(3)	4.29	χ^2	.08	.77	
FORGERY	(5)	3.11	(2)	2.20	(3)	4.29	χ^2	.09	.76	
DANGEROUS CLASSIFIC	(2)	1.24	(1)	1.10	(1)	1.43	χ^2	.28	.60	
FIREARMS VIOL	(1)	0.62	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.43	χ^2	.02	.89	

OUT-OF-HOME PLACEMENTS

As can be seen from Table 19, youths in each study group were subject to a number of different types of *out-of-home placements* over the course of their lives. A slightly larger proportion of Level C youths than JSOP youths were adopted (13.4% compared to 6.6%). In contrast, larger percentages of JSOP youths than Level C youths were placed in foster homes (42.9% compared to 31.3%); and shifted among different relatives (30.8% compared to 25.4%). About equal amounts of youths in each group were given some other type of placement (19.8% and 19.4%). However, there were no statistically significant differences between youths in the two study groups on either types of placement or total *types of placements*.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ It was not possible to gather accurate data on total number of times these youths were placed in out-of-home settings. Thus, the only summary measure which could be made was to count the number of different "types" of placements (such as adoption, foster home, group home, etc.).

Table 19. Out-of-Home Placements

TYPE OF PLACEMENT	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)		TEST	
	(N)	X	(N)	X	(N)	X	STATISTIC	p <
adopted	(15)	9.49	(6)	6.59	(9)	13.43	χ^2 1.38	.24
foster home	(60)	37.97	(39)	42.86	(21)	31.34	χ^2 1.71	.19
with relatives	(45)	28.48	(28)	30.77	(17)	25.37	χ^2 .32	.57
group home	(53)	33.54	(34)	37.36	(19)	28.36	χ^2 1.03	.31
other placement	(31)	19.62	(18)	19.78	(13)	19.40	χ^2 .02	.88
TOTAL PLACEMENTS								
none	(44)	26.67	(24)	26.37	(20)	27.03	χ^2 3.56	.47
one	(50)	30.30	(25)	27.47	(25)	33.78		
two	(34)	20.61	(23)	25.27	(11)	14.86		
three	(14)	8.48	(6)	6.59	(8)	10.81		
four or more	(23)	13.94	(13)	14.29	(10)	13.51		
MEAN	1.53		1.55		1.50		t .23	.81
S.D.	1.34		1.34		1.36			

CRIMINAL JUSTICE INTERVENTIONS

Data were gathered for all subjects on types of criminal justice interventions which had been attempted prior to placing the youths at Pine Hills School (see Table 20). Over half of subjects in each group had been previously placed on probation. This was true for 58.2% of JSOP youths and 56.7% of Level C youths. About one-fourth of each group had also been admitted for either out-patient treatment (29.7% of JSOP subjects and 22.4% of comparison group subjects), or to a state institution (25.3% and 29.9% respectively). The differences between groups were not significant for any of these variables.

Level C youths were more likely to be committed to a psychiatric hospital (or be referred for a mental health evaluation) than were JSOP youths (30% and 16.5% respectively). However, this relationship was not quite statistically significant (Chi-square = 3.26, $p < .07$). Furthermore, the measure of association indicates a fairly weak connection between this type of commitment and study group of subject ($\phi = .16$).

As indicated in Table 20, there was a highly significant difference between groups who were committed to various private facilities for treatment (Chi-square = 12.95, $p < .001$). About half of Level C youths fell into this category (50.75%), whereas less than one-fourth of JSOP youths received such treatment (22%). A phi of .30 indicates a moderate association.

Table 20. Criminal Justice System Intervention

TYPE OF INTERVENTION	TOTAL (N=161)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=70)		TEST		meas of assoc
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	STATISTIC	p <	
PROBATION	(91)	57.59	(53)	58.24	(38)	56.72	χ^2	.00	.98
OUTPATIENT THERAPY	(42)	26.58	(27)	29.67	(15)	22.39	χ^2	.71	.40
STATE INSTITUTION	(43)	27.22	(23)	25.27	(20)	29.85	χ^2	.21	.65
PSYCHIATRIC HOSP/EVAL	(35)	22.15	(15)	16.48	(20)	29.85	χ^2	3.26	.07
PRIVATE FACILITY	(54)	34.16	(20)	21.98	(34)	50.75	χ^2	12.95	.001
OTHER INTERVENTION	(3)	1.90	(3)	3.30	(7)	9.46	χ^2	.83	.36

AGE

Data were gathered on age of subject at the time of their most recent commitment to Pine Hills School. These figures are presented in Table 21. A glance at the percentages reveals that the JSOP subjects in this study were committed to Pine Hills at a younger age than were Level C subjects. Nearly one-third of JSOP youths (31.9%) were committed at age 13 or 14, compared to less than one-fourth (16.2%) of the comparison group in the same age range. The average age at most recent commitment was barely 15 for JSOP youths, and slightly over 15½ (15.6) for Level C subjects. There was a statistically significant difference between study groups in age at most recent commitment ($t=-2.26$, $p < .01$). That is, the lower the youth's age, the more likely he is to be in the sex offender (JSOP) group rather than the comparison (Level C) group.

Table 21. Youth's Age at Commitment

AGE	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)	
	Freq	Percent	(N)	%	(N)	%
13	(13)	7.88	(10)	10.99	(3)	4.05
14	(28)	16.97	(19)	20.88	(9)	12.16
15	(48)	29.09	(27)	29.67	(21)	28.38
16	(43)	26.06	(22)	24.18	(21)	28.38
17	(30)	18.18	(11)	12.09	(19)	25.68
18	(2)	1.21	(1)	1.10	(1)	1.35
19	(1)	0.61	(1)	1.10	(0)	0.00
MEAN	15.36		15.13		15.64	
S.D.	1.25		1.28		1.15	

t -2.62, p < .01

NUMBER OF TIMES COMMITTED TO PINE HILLS

Difference in age at most recent commitment could be influenced by the fact that sex offenders serve a longer sentence. In other words, Level C youths might have been released earlier and returned to Pine Hills for another offense during the time it takes most JSOP youths to serve a first sentence. However, the data in Table 22 discount this notion because the mean number of total commitments to Pine Hills in this sample was 1.72 and 1.78 for the JSOP and Level C groups respectively. A "t" score of -.62 ($p > .05$, n.s.) confirms that the difference between groups was non-significant for this variable. Thus, it appears that sex offenders are, on the average, committed to Pine Hills approximately one-half year younger than Level C youths.

Table 22. Number of Times Committed to Pine Hills School

COMMITMENTS	TOTAL (N=165)		JSOP (N=91)		LEVEL C (N=74)		TEST		
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	STATISTIC	p	
1	(52)	31.52	(28)	30.77	(24)	32.43	χ^2	3.19	.36
2	(104)	63.03	(60)	65.93	(44)	59.46			
3	(7)	4.24	(3)	3.30	(4)	5.41			
4	(2)	1.21	(0)	0.00	(2)	2.70			
MEAN	1.75		1.72		1.78		t	-.62	.53
S.D.	.59		.52		.67				
45-day evals	(109)	66.06	(61)	67.03	(48)	64.86	χ^2	.02	.90
still at PHS	(62)	37.58	(33)	36.26	(29)	39.19	χ^2	.05	.82

LENGTH OF JSOP GROUP TREATMENT

None of the youths in the comparison group (Level C) have received group treatment, although they do receive a varied and unknown amount of individual counseling with an assigned staff member at Pine Hills. In general, JSOP youths also have access to similar types of individual unstructured counseling. The remainder of the discussion in this section refers only to youths in the sex offender treatment program (JSOP).

Table 23 presents figures on the average length of time JSOP youths have spent in group therapy. Total number of hours spent in group treatment has varied greatly over the course of the five-year program span, as indicated by the standard deviation figures in Table 23. JSOP groups originally met for two hours per day, four times per week, but this changed approximately halfway through the program. Youths currently spend one hour per day in therapy, four times per week.

Treatment also varies according to the number of youths in each group and whether or not they cooperatively participate in their own structured treatment versus

refusing to deal with issues relating to their offenses. Of the JSOP youths who are currently in residence at Pine Hills, approximately one-fifth have received little or no treatment to date (9.9% have had no treatment, and 8.8% have been in treatment three months or less). The entire program takes from six months to one year or more, depending upon the progress of the group and the length of time they meet per week. About one-fourth of JSOP group subjects have been in treatment longer than one year, while over one-third (37.4%) of the entire JSOP sample have received from six to 12 months of treatment.

Of the 85 youths who have received the opportunity to participate in treatment, over four-fifths (81.2%) are considered by staff to be "successes" in that they have cooperatively participated in their own treatment process. Sixteen youths (18.8%) are considered "unsuccessful". The 58 JSOP youths who had been released from Pine Hills (thus their treatment program was complete) had spent an average of 365.6 total hours in group treatment. The standard deviation of 220 hours indicates the wide variation in total number of hours spent in group treatment by different JSOP youths.

YOUTH'S SEXUAL ABUSE HISTORY

Among those in the sex offender sample, 22.2% had committed a previous sexual offense which had come to the attention of the criminal justice system. In contrast, the sexual offense for which they were adjudicated was the first such offense for over three-fourths (77.8%) of the JSOP Group. However, only about one-fourth of these youths had been sexually offending for one year or less (25.9%). Almost

half (46.5%) had engaged in similar behaviors for two to four years, and an additional one-fourth (27.6%) had been offending sexually for five years or more.

Table 23. Length of JSOP Group Treatment Measured in Total Hours of Group Treatment

LENGTH OF TREATMENT	JSOP	
	(N)	%
none	(9)	9.89
less than 3 months	(8)	8.79
3 to 6 months	(19)	20.88
6 to 9 months	(18)	19.78
9 months to 1 year	(16)	17.58
more than 1 year	(21)	23.08
N	compl (N=58)	
MEAN	365.6	
S.D.	219.9	
SATISFACTORY COMPL		
no	(16)	18.82
yes	(69)	81.18
not applicable	(0)	0.00

As indicated in Table 24, the victims of sexual abuse by these youths were primarily female (68.2%), with an additional 11.1% of youths offending against both males and females. For about one-fifth of the JSOP youths, sexual victims were male only. Primary targets of sexual offenses were the youths' siblings (38%), followed by a child in the youth's care (13%), a younger peer (11.6%) or a step-sibling (10%). Appendix E contains a complete listing of the types of offenses committed by this group of sex offenders.

Table 24. Youth's Sexual Offense Victims

	N	%
GENDER OF SEXUAL VICTIMS (N=63)		
Male only	(13)	20.63
Female only	(43)	68.25
Male and Female	(7)	11.11
PERSON YOUTH SEXUALLY OFFENDED (N=69)		
Sibling	(27)	38.03
Child in Youth's Care	(9)	13.04
Younger Peer	(8)	11.59
Step-sibling	(7)	10.14
Foster-sibling	(5)	7.25
Cousin	(5)	7.25
Niece	(5)	7.25
Friend	(4)	5.80
Unknown person	(4)	5.80
Babysitter	(3)	4.35
Older Peer	(2)	2.90
Nephew	(2)	2.90
Surrogate Mother	(1)	1.45
Uncle	(1)	1.45
Same Age Peer	(1)	1.45

Table 25 depicts the persons who were the most frequent sexual offenders against the JSOP youths in this study. Older peers (15.7%) were just slightly more likely than fathers (14.4%) to be the perpetrators of sexual offenses against these youths. Almost as frequent as sexual offenders were the youths' siblings or a friend of the family (13.2% for both). Mothers and babysitters followed closely at 9.64% each.

Table 25. Person Youth Was Sexually Offended By

PERPETRATOR OF SEXUAL OFFENSE AGAINST YOUTH (N=69)		
ABUSER	N	%
Older peer	(13)	15.66
Father	(12)	14.46
Sibling	(11)	13.25
Friend of family	(11)	13.25
Mother	(8)	9.64
Babysitter	(8)	9.64
Cousin	(6)	7.23
Aunt/Uncle	(6)	7.23
Surrogate father	(4)	4.82
Stranger	(4)	4.82
Grandparent	(3)	3.61
Step/Foster sibling	(2)	2.41
Same age peer	(1)	1.20
Surrogate mother	(1)	1.20

SUMMARY OF BACKGROUND FACTORS

Table 26 provides a summary of the background factors presented above. The first column of the table details characteristics that were representative of youths from both study groups -- the sex offenders (*JSOP youths*) and the comparison sample (*Level C youths*). The second column describes characteristics unique to the JSOP youths in that they were significantly different from those of Level C youths (at the .05 level or less). The final column presents findings unique to the comparison group.

Socioeconomic status was overwhelmingly low for both groups, whether measured by job status alone (*Duncan SEI*) or by combining job status with educational status (*Hollingshead SES*). Over one-third of all heads of household were unemployed, and over half of mothers were not employed outside the home. Fathers

of JSOP youths were more often employed in the skilled manual trades, while fathers of Level C youths were more likely to be employed in semi-skilled trades. But again, this difference was not statistically significant between study groups. Mothers had slightly higher levels of education than fathers overall, and for those who were employed outside the home, were more likely to have jobs in clerical, managerial, or semi-professional occupations. However, while white-collar occupations generally hold higher status or prestige, the jobs held by mothers were generally not of the type that pay well. Typical examples were nursing, secretarial, and clerk/cashier. Thus, socioeconomic status of mothers was essentially as low as it was for fathers of youths for both study groups.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the high incidence of Level C youths who were committed to a mental health institution (almost one-third, difference between groups n.s.) or other private facility (about half, difference significant at $p < .001$). The possibility surfaces that youths from families with higher socioeconomic status may commit at least some of the same crimes as those for which Pine Hills youths have been adjudicated, yet disposition is being handled in a manner other than commitment to a correctional institution. We might suspect this to be even more true for youths from higher income families who commit sexual crimes. This question cannot be addressed without additional data from community sources, but it is a consideration worthy of attention in future research.

Nearly three-fourths of all youths had been placed out-of-home at least once. Over one-third had been sent to foster-parents and/or group homes, and about one-

fourth had lived with a relative other than their natural parents. There were no significant differences between groups on either *type* or *total number* of such out-of-home placements. Very few youths in either group had been adopted.

For over four-fifths of youths in both groups, parents had divorced or separated, with most youths experiencing parental separation prior to reaching school-age. Yet very few subjects in either group were living with a step-parent near the time of their most recent commitment. While they averaged less than one step-sibling, overall average was three full or half siblings (no significant difference between groups).

Youths in both study groups experienced a high incidence of severe physical abuse, most frequently by their fathers or other male adult. This physical abuse was more frequent and severe for youths in the JSOP group. The same pattern occurred for history of sexual abuse, with JSOP youths experiencing far more frequency and severity than Level C youths. Again, fathers were more frequently the perpetrators of sexual abuse than were mothers.

Subjects in both groups were far more likely to be abandoned by their fathers than by their mothers. For youths abandoned by mothers, this experience was most likely to occur among Level C youths rather than youths in the sex offender group.

Types of family dysfunctions were differentiated between groups, with JSOP youths more likely to have fathers who abused alcohol or drugs; and more likely to have a mother or sibling with a mental disorder than youths in the comparison group.

In addition, there was more incidence of fathers, mothers, and/or siblings in correctional, mental or other types of institutions among JSOP subjects.

Ethnicity of youths and their parents was overwhelmingly Caucasian. The next largest proportion of ethnicity for parents and youths was Native American, with several youths being of mixed Native American/Caucasian ancestry. Most common religious choice for all subjects and their families was Catholic, followed by Baptist, and Protestant/Christian.

Youths in the JSOP sample were committed to Pine Hills an average of one-half year earlier than subjects in the comparison sample (mean age 15 at grade level 8.8, and mean age 15½, grade level 9.3 respectively). While two-thirds or more of both groups were at least one grade behind in school, JSOP youths were more likely than Level C youths to be two or more grades behind in school. Both groups of subjects evidenced a large number of school-related problems, most of which were related to being an *underachiever* or *frequently truant*. Thus, it would seem that the traditional educational system is not effectively meeting the needs of these youths. Further research should be done to explore the effect of school achievement (and lack of it) on the behaviors, attitudes, and motivation of all youths at Pine Hills.

Youths in the different groups appeared to have unique problematic coping mechanisms (reactions to the stress in their living environments). Among JSOP youths there was significantly higher incidence of hyperactivity, enuresis and encopresis. In contrast, Level C youths more frequently abused alcohol and drugs, and they committed a wider range of criminal activities than did JSOP youths.

Overall, the two groups of subjects appear to be more similar than they are different. Characteristics which most clearly distinguish between groups are their experience of parental abuse and their delinquent history.

Table 26. Summary of Background Factors

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTIC	SIMILARITIES		STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES	
	BOTH GROUPS	UNIQUE TO JSOP GROUP	UNIQUE TO LEVEL C GROUP	
FAMILY SES STATUS	Overwhelmingly low for both groups, whether measured by job status alone, or by combining job status with educational status.			
PARENT OCCUPATION	Over one-third of heads of household unemployed. Over half of mothers not employed outside the home. Step-fathers more educated than natural fathers, but just as likely to be in unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled manual trades. Mothers more likely employed in clerical/sales, managerial and semi-professional jobs than unskilled.	Fathers more often employed in skilled manual trades (n.s.).	Fathers more likely in semi-skilled trades (n.s. diff.).	
EDUCATION: of Parents	Distinctively low. For both natural fathers and mothers average educ. less than H.S./G.E.D. Education level quite a bit higher for step-fathers and step-mothers (avg. 1 yr. beyond H.S. for SF & SM).			
SIBLINGS	Very few were an "only child." Average almost 3 "full" or "half" siblings. Average less than one step-sibling.			
FAMILY HISTORY	Physical abuse primarily by natural father or other adult male. About one-half were neglected. Both more likely to be abandoned by father than mother. A very large number from broken homes; most parents splitting prior to youth reaching school age.	More incidence and severity of physical (non-sexual abuse) Almost half had been placed in foster homes (not signif. diff. from comparison group).	More often abandoned by mothers than youths in JSOP group. About one-third had been placed in foster homes (not sig. diff. from JSOP group).	

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTIC	STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES	
	SIMILARITIES	UNIQUE TO LEVEL C GROUP
TYPES OF FAMILY DYSFUNCTIONS	BOTH GROUPS	UNIQUE TO JSOP GROUP More likely to have fathers who abused alcohol or drugs. More likely to have mother or sibling with a mental disorder. Overall, more total family member dysfunctions than Level C. More incidence of father, mother and/or sibling in correctional, mental or other institution.
RELIGION	Most common religious choice for all was Catholic, followed by Baptist or Protestant/Christian. About 50/50 each group actively attending services.	
ETHNICITY: of Parents of Youths	Overwhelming majority Caucasian. Overwhelming majority Caucasian. Several mixed Cauc/Indian ancestry.	Smaller proportion Indian than in the comparison group. Larger proportion Indian than in the JSOP group.
GRADE IN SCHOOL		Avg. grade at commitment 8.8.
GRADES BEHIND	Two thirds or more of each group at least one grade behind.	Avg. grade at commitment 9.3. Less likely to be two or more grades behind.
SCHOOL PROBLEMS	Large majority behavior problems. Lack of ability is not the principle cause of being behind in school. Over two-thirds each group are underachievers and/or frequently truant.	
TYPES OF YOUTH DYSFUNCTIONS		More incidence of hyperactivity, enuresis and encopresis.
YOUTH OFFENSE HISTORY		Much more frequent abuse of alcohol and drugs. Generally committed wider range of criminal activities (signif. more in all but 4 categories).
OUT-OF-HOME PLACEMENTS	No difference on either type or total # of types of placements.	

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTIC	SIMILARITIES		STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES	
	BOTH GROUPS	UNIQUE TO JSOP GROUP	UNIQUE TO LEVEL C GROUP	
CRIMINAL JUSTICE INTERVENTIONS	Over half on probation. About % admitted for out-patient treatment or a state institution.		More often committed to a mental health institution (diff n.s.). About % to other private instit.	
AGE of Youth		Avg. age at commitment 15 years.	Avg. age at commitment 15 1/2 years.	
# TIMES COMMITTED	Average almost 2 times at PHS.			
LENGTH OF SENTENCE		Serve about three-quarters of a year longer than Level C youths.	Serve an average of three-quarters of a year or less.	
LENGTH OF TIME IN GROUP TREATMENT	Both groups have assigned individual counselor and access to private consultation with counselor.	Avg. 366 total hrs. of treatment. Over 80% satisfactorily complete JSOP group treatment.	Receive NO group treatment.	

CHAPTER V: ATTITUDE SCALE FINDINGS

This section presents the second part of the study findings -- the survey results.

Eight different scales were administered to subjects in the sex offender (JSOP) and comparison (Level C) groups who were at Pine Hills School during the week of March 15, 1990. Items from the following scales were randomly distributed throughout the testing instrument, and scored on a six-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*:

1. Rosenberg's (1965) classic Self-Esteem Scale.
2. Romantic Self-Image Scale, developed by Estep, Burt and Milligan (1977).
3. Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale, Burt (1980).
4. Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale, Burt (1980).
5. Sexual Conservatism Scale, Burt (1980).
6. Sex Role Stereotyping Scale, Burt (1980).
7. Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Burt (1980).
8. Empowerment Scale developed by Clark et. al. (1989). This scale was designed to measure the degree to which respondents feel competent, and in general believe they can have a positive influence on their own life chances and happiness.

Findings in this section are presented in the following format. First, results of each of the scales are discussed separately, contrasting findings between the two study groups. However, it should be noted that the one variable missing from analysis in the Level C group is "length of time in treatment," since that group did not receive a comparable peer group treatment program. Therefore, for the JSOP (sex offender) group only, scale items and overall scale scores are correlated with *length of time in JSOP group treatment*. This discussion is followed by two tables which summarize the findings from the eight scales, including inter-correlations

between scales and tests of internal item consistency within scales. Results are then presented which test the three study hypotheses described on page 66. Finally, antecedents of rape myth acceptance and personal empowerment are examined through a multiple regression analysis of variables in the model depicted on page 38.

RESULTS OF EACH SCALE

Tables 27 through 35 present the results of each of the eight scales included in the survey instrument. Each question on the scale is listed in shortened form in the center of the table. The second column of each table contains the "N" size and mean score of each scale item for the entire sample (both groups combined). This is followed by the same information presented separately [in the shaded area of the table] for the JSOP group and the comparison group (Level C youths).

To the right of the shaded areas, "T-score" and "p-value" columns present results of a test of differences between means. This test determined whether the JSOP and Level C group scores were significantly different on individual scale items or overall scale scores. On the far right, each of Tables 28 through 35 also presents Pearson's *product-moment coefficient of correlation* (r) for each scale item and overall scale scores. These correlations were calculated for the JSOP group subjects only, in order to test whether the variable -- *length of time in treatment* (TRTMNT) -- was correlated with scale items or overall scale scores.

Self-Esteem

There were no significant differences between the two study groups on overall level of self-esteem (-1.09 , $p > .05$, n.s.); nor on individual items within the Rosenberg *Self-Esteem* scale (see Table 27). Further, only one scale item was significantly and positively correlated with length of time in treatment, although an additional item approached significance. The longer the time spent in JSOP treatment, the more likely a youth was to agree with the following statement:

- *I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others* [SE1] ($r = .45$, $p < .01$).

Likewise, the longer a youth spent in treatment, the more likely he was to *disagree* with the statement:

- *At times I think I am no good at all* [SE10] ($r = .32$, $p < .09$, n.s.).

In addition, an overall increase in self-esteem as a result of length of time in JSOP treatment approached significance ($r = .34$, $p < .06$, n.s.).

Table 27. Self-Esteem Scale Results

JSOP GROUP ONLY

SCALE ITEM#	TOTAL (N)	MEAN	JSOP (N)	MEAN	LEVEL C (N)	MEAN	"t" SCORE	"p" value	QUESTIONS	CORRELATIONS	
										T	N
SE4	(56)	4.93	(31)	4.84	(25)	5.04	-.80	.43	I'M ABLE TO DO THINGS AS WELL AS OTHERS	.21	.26
SE2	(56)	4.87	(31)	4.81	(25)	4.96	-.68	.50	I HAVE A NUMBER OF GOOD QUALITIES	.19	.30
SE6	(56)	4.61	(31)	4.61	(25)	4.60	-.05	.96	I TAKE A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD MYSELF	.02	.91
SE3	(56)	4.34	(31)	4.32	(25)	4.36	-.09	.93	*ALL IN ALL, I'M A FAILURE	.21	.25
SE1	(55)	4.25	(31)	4.19	(24)	4.33	-.43	.67	I FEEL I'M A PERSON OF WORTH - EQUAL	.45	.01
SE5	(56)	4.20	(31)	4.06	(25)	4.36	-.72	.48	*I DON'T HAVE MUCH TO BE PROUD OF	.13	.48
SE7	(55)	3.93	(30)	3.60	(25)	4.32	-1.67	.10	ON THE WHOLE I AM SATISFIED WITH MYSELF	.15	.42
SE10	(55)	3.56	(30)	3.33	(25)	3.94	-1.40	.17	*AT TIMES I THINK I'M NO GOOD AT ALL	.32	.09
SE8	(56)	3.30	(31)	3.45	(25)	3.12	-.86	.39	*I WISH I HAD MORE RESPECT FOR MYSELF	-.01	.99
SE9	(54)	3.06	(30)	2.90	(24)	3.25	-.98	.33	*I CERTAINLY FEEL USELESS AT TIMES	-.001	1.00
TOTAL	(56)	4.11	(31)	4.02	(25)	4.22	-1.09	.28	FULL SCALE SCORE	.34	.06

HIGHER scores indicate higher self-esteem.

* Starred items were coded in reverse direction from other items in the scale.

Romantic Self-Image

Referring to Table 28, we see that Level C youths had a higher *romantic self-image* than did JSOP youths ($t=-2.34$, $p < .02$). One item on this scale was highly statistically different between groups, and a second approached significance -- with *Level C youths* more likely than JSOP subjects to *agree* with the following statements:

- *I usually feel free to take the initiative when I'm interested in someone* [RSI10] ($t=-3.52$, $p < .001$).
- *I like the way my face looks* [RSI9] ($t=-1.78$, $p < .08$, n.s.).

None of the items on this scale was individually significantly affected by length of time in treatment, although overall romantic self-image *was* positively correlated with length of JSOP treatment ($r=.35$, $p < .05$). Thus, even though self-esteem did not increase appreciably as a result of treatment, JSOP treatment did apparently boost their self-image in terms of romantic desirability.

This scale's results should be considered tentative, since the internal reliability of items from which the composite score was derived was unacceptably low (i.e., far below .70). Refer to the Chronbach's alpha scores reported in Table 35, page 136.

Table 28. Romantic Self-Image Scale Results

SCALE ITEM#	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		"t" SCORE	"p" value	QUESTIONS	CORRELATIONS		
	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN				TRTMT	p <	N
RS12	(54)	4.70	(30)	4.57	(24)	4.87	-.88	.39	I USUALLY ENJOY SEXUAL ACTIVITIES MOST OF THE TIME I'M QUITE CHEERFUL I LIKE THE WAY MY FACE LOOKS MOST OF MY SEXUAL RELAT WERE SATISFYING *SOMETIMES I THINK I'M VERY UGLY *DATING IS MORE TROUBLE THAN IT'S WORTH I USUALLY TAKE INITIATIVE IN MEETING NEW *I WISH I TOOK MORE INITIATIVE W/OPP SEX *I WISH MY DATE MADE IT EASIER TO SAY FEELG *I'M ANXIOUS WHEN MEETING SOMEONE I LIKE	-.22	.23	
RS11	(55)	4.40	(31)	4.35	(24)	4.46	-.31	.76		.35	.05	
RS19	(55)	4.24	(31)	3.93	(24)	4.62	-1.78	.08		.28	.13	
RS16	(54)	4.22	(30)	4.17	(24)	4.29	-.36	.72		.47	.01	
RS13	(55)	4.14	(31)	3.74	(24)	4.67	-2.27	.03		.10	.62	
RS14	(54)	4.03	(30)	3.98	(24)	4.08	-.27	.79		.31	.10	
RS110	(55)	3.84	(31)	3.39	(24)	4.42	-3.52	.001		.16	.44	
RS15	(53)	3.46	(29)	3.67	(24)	3.21	1.28	.21		.29	.13	
RS18	(56)	2.98	(31)	2.74	(25)	3.28	-1.58	.12		.17	.38	
RS17	(55)	2.80	(31)	2.58	(24)	3.08	-1.42	.16		-.20	.26	
TOTAL	(56)	3.85	(31)	3.68	(25)	4.06	-2.34	.02		FULL SCALE SCORE	.35	.05

HIGHER scores indicate higher romantic self-image.

* Starred items were coded in reverse direction from other items in the scale.

Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence

Two items on this scale were significantly different between groups, with JSOP youths scoring *less agreement* than Level C subjects with the following statements (see Table 29):

- *Being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women* [AIV2] (t=-2.92, p < .01).
- *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* [AIV3] (t=-2.86, p < .01).

Agreement with these two items was also significantly and *negatively* correlated with length of time in treatment (r=-.38, p < .03 and r=-.45, p < .01 respectively). Accordingly, the longer a youth spent in treatment, the less accepting he was of the idea that it is proper to use violence as a means of coping with problems in interpersonal relationships.

Table 29. Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale Results

JSOP GROUP ONLY

SCALE ITEM#	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		"T" SCORE	"p" value	QUESTIONS	CORRELATIONS	
	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN				TRTMT	p < N
A1V1	(54)	3.15	(29)	2.86	(25)	3.48	-1.49	.14	*PEOPLE SHOULD NOT USE "EYE FOR EYE"	-.16	.41
A1V3	(54)	2.78	(30)	2.30	(24)	3.37	-2.86	.01	WOMEN ONLY PRETEND NOT TO WANT SEX	-.45	.01
A1V6	(55)	2.71	(30)	2.53	(25)	2.92	-.76	.45	*MAN IS NEVER JUSTIFIED IN HITTING WIFE	-.06	.75
A1V4	(55)	2.69	(31)	2.45	(24)	3.00	-1.59	.42	WIFE SHOULD MOVE OUT IF HUSBAND HITS HER	-.26	.15
A1V2	(56)	2.61	(31)	2.16	(25)	3.16	-2.92	.01	BETING ROUGHED UP SEXUALLY STIMUL F/WOMEN	-.38	.03
A1V5	(53)	2.51	(29)	2.31	(24)	2.75	-1.17	.25	MUST USE FORCE TO TURN A COLD WOMAN ON	-.29	.12
TOTAL	(56)	2.73	(31)	2.42	(25)	3.11	-3.25	.01	FULL SCALE SCORE	-.39	.03

HIGHER scores indicate stronger acceptance of interpersonal violence, especially towards women.
 * Starred items were coded in reverse direction from other items in the scale.

Adversarial Sexual Beliefs

As depicted in Table 30, two items on the *Adversarial Sexual Beliefs* Scale were significantly different between the two study groups (ADV4 and ADV9), while four additional items approached significance (ADV5 through ADV8). JSOP youths were less accepting of adversarial sexual beliefs than Level C youths overall, but this difference was not statistically significant ($t=-2.47$, $p > .05$, n.s.).

These same six items were also *negatively* and significantly correlated with length of time in treatment, meaning that the longer a youth spent in JSOP treatment, the less likely he was to agree with the following items:

- *A man's got to show the woman who's boss right from the start or he'll end up henpecked* [ADV4] ($r=-.55$, $p < .001$).
- *In a dating relationship a woman is largely out to take advantage of a man* [ADV6] ($r=-.50$, $p < .01$).
- *Most women are sly and manipulating when they are out to attract a man* [ADV8] ($r=-.49$, $p < .01$).
- *Women are usually sweet until they've caught a man, but then they let their true self show* [ADV5] ($r=-.39$, $p < .03$).
- *Men are out for only one thing* [ADV7] ($r=-.37$, $p < .04$).
- *A lot of women seem to get pleasure in putting men down* [ADV9] ($r=-.37$, $p < .04$).

Length of time in JSOP treatment was significantly correlated with less overall acceptance of adversarial sexual beliefs ($r=-.58$, $p < .001$).

Table 30. Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale Results

JSDP GROUP ONLY

SCALE ITEM#	TOTAL		JSDP		LEVEL C		"t" SCORE	"p" value	QUESTIONS	CORRELATIONS		
	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN				TRTMT	P <	N
ADV8	(56)	3.71	(31)	3.42	(25)	4.08	-1.71	.09	WOMEN SLY & MANIPULATING TO CATCH A MAN	-.49	.01	31
ADV1	(53)	3.29	(29)	3.33	(24)	3.25	.22	.83	MEN TALK BIG BUT CAN'T PERFORM SEXUALLY	.07	.71	29
ADV5	(56)	3.29	(31)	3.00	(25)	3.64	-1.75	.09	WOMEN SNEET UNTIL THEY'VE CAUGHT A MAN	-.39	.03	31
ADV9	(56)	3.22	(31)	2.82	(25)	3.72	-2.18	.03	WOMEN GET PLEASURE IN PUTTING MEN DOWN	-.37	.04	31
ADV2	(55)	3.01	(31)	2.90	(24)	3.15	-.73	.47	WOMEN RESPECT MAN WHO LAYS DOWN THE LAW	-.27	.14	31
ADV3	(54)	2.82	(30)	2.72	(24)	2.96	-.67	.50	WOMEN SO DEMANDING SEXLY MEN CAN'T SATISFY	-.20	.29	30
ADV6	(54)	2.67	(30)	2.37	(24)	3.04	-1.81	.08	WOMEN OUT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF MEN	-.50	.01	30
ADV4	(56)	2.43	(31)	1.97	(25)	3.00	-2.93	.01	MAN'S GOT TO SHOW THE WOMAN WHO'S BOSS	-.55	.001	31
ADV7	(56)	2.37	(31)	2.10	(25)	2.72	-1.57	.12	MEN ARE ONLY OUT FOR ONE THING	-.37	.04	31
TOTAL	(56)	2.98	(31)	2.72	(25)	3.29	-2.47	.17	FULL SCALE SCORE	-.58	.001	31

HIGHER scores indicate stronger belief that relationships between the sexes are necessarily adversarial in nature. ALL ITEMS coded in the positive direction.

Sexual Conservatism

As indicated in Table 31, the two study groups differed significantly on only one item within the *Sexual Conservatism Scale* -- Item SC5 ($t=-4.10$, $p < .001$). Out of a possible maximum score of six on each item (indicating strong sexual conservatism), the average score on question SC5 was 2.77 for JSOP youths and 4.22 for Level C youths. Since *higher* scores on this scale indicate *stronger sexual conservatism*, sex offenders were less sexually conservative than the comparison group, as indicated by the fact that they were more likely to *agree* with the statement:

- *Masturbation is a normal sexual activity.*

While this was the only individual item statistically different between study groups on this scale, overall scores were significantly different -- with Level C youths scoring higher on overall *sexual conservatism* than JSOP youths ($t=-1.97$, $p < .05$). Apparently this item was responsible for that difference. However, no conclusions are drawn from this finding because of the low alpha level (see Table 35, page 136), which indicates a low internal consistency among Sexual Conservatism scale items.

As indicated in Table 31, four items were significantly affected by length of time in JSOP treatment. These were *negatively* correlated, meaning that the longer a youth spent in JSOP treatment, the *less likely* he was to agree with the following statements:

- *A woman who initiates a sexual encounter will probably have sex with anybody* [SC1] ($r=-.40$, $p < .03$).
- *Having sex during the menstrual period is unpleasant* [SC8] ($r=-.57$, $p < .001$).
- *The primary goal of sexual intercourse should be to have children* [SC9] ($r=-.40$, $p < .03$).
- *A woman shouldn't give in sexually to a man too easily or he'll think she's loose* [SC2]. This item approached significance at $r=-.33$ ($p < .07$, n.s.).

Table 31. Sexual Conservatism Scale Results

JSOP GROUP ONLY

SCALE ITEM#	TOTAL (N)	MEAN	JSOP		LEVEL C		"t" SCORE	"p" value	QUESTIONS	CORRELATIONS	
			(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN				TRTMT	p < N
SC3	(54)	4.28	(30)	4.20	(24)	4.37	-.55	.59	MEN HAVE STRONGER SEX DRIVE THAN WOMEN	.21	.25
SC4	(55)	4.11	(31)	3.93	(24)	4.33	-1.36	.18	NICE WOMEN ARE OFFENDED BY DIRTY JOKES	-.40	.03
SC8	(50)	3.99	(28)	4.27	(22)	3.64	1.36	.18	HAVING SEX DURING MENSTRUAL UNPLEASANT	-.57	.001
SC7	(55)	3.53	(30)	3.43	(25)	3.64	-.54	.59	NO RESPECT FOR WOMAN SEX W/O INVOLVEMENT	-.20	.30
SC5	(53)	3.40	(30)	2.77	(23)	4.22	-4.10	.001	*MASTURBATION A NORMAL SEXUAL ACTIVITY	-.31	.10
SC2	(56)	3.37	(31)	3.26	(25)	3.52	-.68	.50	A WOMAN WHO GIVES IN TOO EASILY IS LOOSE	-.33	.07
SC10	(54)	3.08	(30)	2.98	(24)	3.21	-.55	.59	*WOMEN HAVE SAME SEXUAL NEEDS AS MEN	.04	.85
SC1	(54)	2.85	(30)	2.63	(24)	3.12	-1.25	.22	WOMAN WHO INITIATES SEX WILL WITH ANYONE	-.40	.03
SC9	(56)	2.72	(31)	2.69	(25)	2.76	-.17	.86	PRIMARY GOAL OF SEX TO HAVE CHILDREN	-.40	.03
SC6	(55)	2.61	(31)	2.47	(24)	2.79	-.89	.38	PEOPLE SHOULD NOT HAVE ORAL SEX	-.03	.88
TOTAL	(56)	3.40	(31)	3.26	(25)	3.57	-1.97	.05	FULL SCALE SCORE	-.36	.05

HIGHER scores indicate stronger sexual conservatism.

* Starred items were coded in reverse direction from other items in the scale.

In contrast, the statement *A nice woman will be offended or embarrassed by dirty jokes* [SC4] was *positively* correlated ($r=.40$, $p < .03$), indicating that the longer a youth spent in treatment, the *more likely* he was to agree with the item.

Sex Role Stereotyping

Only one item on the *Sex Role Stereotyping* scale was statistically different between the two groups, although two others items approached significance (see Table 32). JSOP youths were more likely than Level C youths to *disagree* with the following items, thus scoring *lower* on *sex role stereotyping*:

- *It is acceptable for a woman to have a career, but marriage and family should come first* [SRS7] ($r=-2.49$, $p < .02$).
- *A man should fight when the woman he's with is insulted by another man* [SRS1] ($r=-1.89$, $p < .06$, n.s.).
- *There is something wrong with a woman who doesn't want to marry and raise a family* [SRS4] ($r=-1.97$, $p < .06$, n.s.).

Again, the overall scale score was significantly different, with JSOP youths exhibiting less sex role stereotyping than Level C youths ($t=-2.18$, $p < .03$).

Treatment affected only one of the scale items significantly. Those JSOP youths with *fewer hours* of JSOP group treatment were more likely to *agree* with the statement, *A woman should be a virgin when she marries* [SRS3].

Table 32. Sex Role Stereotyping

JSOP GROUP ONLY

SCALE ITEM	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		"T" SCORE	"p" value	SCALE ITEMS	CORRELATIONS		
	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN				TREATMT	p <	N
SRS2	(56)	4.29	(31)	4.06	(25)	4.56	-1.07	.29	*ACCEPTABLE FOR WOMAN TO PAY FOR DATE MAN SHOULD FIGHT WHEN WOMAN INSULTED LOOKS WORSE FOR WOMAN TO BE DRUNK WIFE SHOULD NOT CONTRADICT HUSBAND WOMAN'S FAMILY SHOULD COME BEFORE CAREER WOMAN SHOULD BE VIRGIN WHEN MARRIES WOMAN SHOULD USE FEMININE CHARM NOT ASK *O.K. FOR WOMAN TO GO TO BAR ALONE SOMETHING WRONG WITH WOMAN NO FAMILY	.04	31	
SRS1	(56)	3.98	(31)	3.71	(25)	4.32	-1.89	.06		-.33	.07	31
SRSB	(55)	3.53	(31)	3.35	(24)	3.75	-.90	.37		.08	.66	31
SRS5	(56)	3.07	(31)	2.81	(25)	3.40	-1.62	.11		-.30	.10	31
SRS7	(54)	2.96	(31)	2.52	(23)	3.56	-2.49	.02		.01	.94	31
SRS3	(56)	2.90	(31)	2.95	(25)	2.84	-.32	.75		-.58	.001	31
SRS6	(55)	2.85	(30)	2.60	(25)	3.16	-1.43	.16		-.11	.56	30
SRS9	(55)	2.67	(31)	2.93	(24)	2.33	1.65	.10		-.04	.83	31
SRS4	(55)	2.34	(30)	1.98	(25)	2.76	-1.97	.06		-.24	.21	30
TOTAL	(56)	3.18	(31)	3.00	(25)	3.41	-2.18	.03		FULL SCALE SCORE	-.31	.09

HIGHER scores indicate stronger sex role stereotyping.

* Starred items were coded in reverse direction from other items in the scale.

Rape Myth Acceptance

Level C youths were more likely than JSOP youths to agree with the following rape myth beliefs (see Table 33):

- *A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson [RMA9] ($t=-2.46$, $p < .02$).*
- *One reason that women falsely report a rape is that they frequently have a need to call attention to themselves [RMA3] ($t=-1.87$, $p < .07$, n.s.).*
- *If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her [RMA7] ($t=-1.84$, $p < .07$, n.s.).*
- *A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex [RMA2] (-1.70 , $p < .09$, n.s.).*

Overall, JSOP youths scored significantly lower than the comparison group on level of rape myth acceptance ($t=-2.14$, $p < .04$). Furthermore, the majority of items on the *Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* were *negatively* correlated with length of time in treatment, as was the overall scale score ($r=-.53$, $p < .01$).

Table 33. Rape Myth Acceptance Scale Results

JSOP GROUP ONLY

SCALE ITEM#	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		"t" SCORE	"p" value	QUESTIONS	CORRELATIONS	
	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN				TRITMWT	p < N
RMA1	(55)	4.62	(30)	4.43	(25)	4.84	-.93	.35	ANY FEMALE CAN GET RAPED	-.12	.54
RMA3	(56)	3.71	(31)	3.35	(25)	4.16	-1.87	.07	WOMEN FALSELY REPORT RAPE TO CALL ATTN	-.43	.02
RMA4	(56)	3.50	(31)	3.35	(25)	3.68	-.74	.46	ANY HEALTHY WOMAN CAN RESIST A RAPIST	-.35	.05
RMA5	(56)	2.98	(31)	2.74	(25)	3.28	-1.28	.21	WOMEN BRALESS ARE ASKING FOR TROUBLE	-.40	.03
RMA6	(54)	2.96	(30)	2.90	(24)	3.04	-.37	.71	IN MAJORITY OF RAPES VICTIM PROMISCUOUS	-.11	.56
RMA10	(54)	2.93	(30)	2.65	(24)	3.29	-1.54	.13	WOMEN HAVE UNCONSCIOUS WISH TO BE RAPED	-.34	.07
RMA7	(56)	2.79	(31)	2.45	(25)	3.20	-1.84	.07	IF GIRL LETS GET OUT OF HAND HER FAULT	-.46	.01
RMA2	(56)	2.73	(31)	2.45	(25)	3.08	-1.70	.09	WOMAN GOING TO APT IMPLIES WILLING SEX	-.43	.02
RMA9	(56)	2.55	(31)	2.16	(25)	3.04	-2.46	.02	STUCK-UP WOMEN DESERVE TAUGHT A LESSON	-.34	.06
RMA13	(55)	2.33	(31)	2.39	(24)	2.25	.38	.71	REPORTED RAPES INVENTED TO PROTECT REPUT	-.35	.05
RMA12	(55)	2.20	(31)	2.10	(24)	2.33	-.68	.50	WOMEN REPORT RAPE TO GET BACK AT MAN	-.32	.08
RMA11	(56)	2.05	(31)	1.87	(25)	2.28	-1.08	.28	WOMAN DRUNK AT A PARTY IS FAIR GAME	-.28	.12
RMA8	(55)	1.89	(30)	1.77	(25)	2.04	-.86	.39	WOMEN HITCHHIKING GET WHAT THEY DESERVE	-.48	.01
TOTAL	(56)	2.87	(31)	2.67	(25)	3.12	-2.14	.04	FULL SCALE SCORE	-.53	.01

HIGHER scores indicate stronger acceptance of rape myth attitudes.
ALL ITEMS coded in the positive direction.

Empowerment Scale

Referring to Table 34, we see that there was no significant difference between study groups on level of personal empowerment ($t=.77$, $p > .05$, n.s.). Within the *Empowerment Scale* there were differences between groups on only two items. JSOP youths scored higher on empowerment by virtue of *disagreeing* more strongly than Level C youths with the following two statements:

- *Success is more dependent on luck than real ability* [EMP11] ($t=2.27$, $p < .03$).
- *I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they have only gotten what they deserved* [EMP39] ($t=3.04$, $p < .01$).

There were, however, a number of items in the *Empowerment Scale* which were responsive to treatment. The longer a youth spent in JSOP group treatment, the higher he scored in empowerment via the following statements:

- DISAGREE: *I sometimes feel there is no point making plans, because something usually happens to ruin things* [EMP10] ($r=.50$, $p < .01$).
- AGREE: *I can say exactly what I think* [EMP16] ($r=.47$, $p < .01$).
- AGREE: *I feel strong as a person* [EMP23] ($r=.38$, $p < .04$).
- DISAGREE: *I frequently feel depressed these days* [EMP32] ($r=.36$, $p < .05$).
- AGREE: *My feelings are clear to me* [EMP35] ($r=.56$, $p < .01$).
- DISAGREE: *I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they have only gotten what they deserved* [EMP39] ($r=.42$, $p < .02$).
- AGREE: *I inspire others to work toward their goals* [EMP41] ($r=.44$, $p < .01$).
- AGREE: *I feel I am responsible for my own well-being* [EMP43] ($r=.36$, $p < .05$).

Two of the items on the *Empowerment Scale* affected by length of time in treatment changed in the opposite direction -- lowered empowerment. These were the following:

- AGREE: *In my attempt to better myself, I will probably lose many friends who are important to me* [EMP1] ($r=-.39$, $p < .03$).
- AGREE: *I expect and need others to appreciate me* [EMP44] ($r=-.45$, $p < .01$).

Table 34. Empowerment Scale Results

JSOP GROUP ONLY

SCALE ITEM#	TOTAL		JSOP		LEVEL C		"t" SCORE	"p" value	QUESTIONS	CORRELATIONS	
	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN	(N)	MEAN				TRINIT	p < N
EMP7	(55)	5.29	(31)	5.32	(24)	5.25	-.39	.70	WHEN PERSON ACHIEVES GOAL SET ANOTHER	.02	.91
EMP3	(56)	5.23	(31)	5.32	(25)	5.12	.74	.46	I CAN LEARN FROM ALL LIFE EXPERIENCES	.35	.06
EMP22	(56)	5.21	(31)	5.13	(25)	5.32	-.76	-.45	I HAVE MY OWN RIGHTS AS A PERSON	.15	.43
EMP43	(55)	4.94	(31)	5.03	(24)	4.81	.95	.35	I AM RESPONSIBLE FOR MY OWN WELL-BEING	.36	.05
EMP20	(55)	4.80	(30)	4.63	(25)	5.00	-1.14	.26	IMPORTANT PEOPLE IN MY LIFE ENCOURAGE ME	.15	.43
EMP23	(54)	4.73	(29)	4.67	(25)	4.80	-.62	.53	I FEEL STRONG AS A PERSON	.38	.04
EMP25	(55)	4.73	(30)	4.75	(25)	4.72	.05	.96	REALISTIC CHANGE OF ACCOMPLISHING GOALS	.13	.49
EMP27	(56)	4.67	(31)	4.66	(25)	4.68	-.08	.94	I FEEL I CAN ACHIEVE MY POTENTIAL	.20	.28
EMP52	(54)	4.56	(30)	4.73	(24)	4.33	1.37	.18	AM ABLE TO CHALLENGE MYSELF TO IMPROVE	.29	.12
EMP33	(56)	4.54	(31)	4.77	(25)	4.24	1.49	.14	*LITTLE USE TRYING TO IMPROVE-NOT POSSIBLE	.20	.27
EMP21	(56)	4.46	(31)	4.42	(25)	4.52	-.36	.72	I CAN LIVE ACCORDING TO PERSONAL VALUES	.27	.15
EMP53	(54)	4.43	(30)	4.17	(24)	4.75	-1.87	.07	DO NOT FEEL THREATENED BY MISTAKES MADE	.25	.19
EMP4	(55)	4.38	(31)	4.29	(24)	4.50	-.55	.58	*AM EASILY BEAT IN AN ARGUMENT	.08	.67
EMP47	(54)	4.37	(30)	4.30	(24)	4.46	-.45	.66	I FEEL A SENSE OF KINSHIP WITH WOMEN	.12	.51
EMP2	(54)	4.35	(30)	4.70	(24)	3.92	1.85	.07	MY CONTRIBUTIONS & OPINIONS ARE VALID	.13	.51
EMP1	(56)	4.32	(31)	4.26	(25)	4.40	-.36	.72	*TO BETTER SELF WILL LOSE IMPORT FRIENDS	-.39	.03
EMP41	(56)	4.32	(31)	4.35	(25)	4.28	-.22	.82	I INSPIRE OTHERS TO WORK TOWARD GOALS	.44	.01
EMP11	(54)	4.26	(30)	4.63	(24)	3.79	2.27	.03	*SUCCESS DEPENDENT ON LUCK - NOT ABILITY	.11	.57
EMP34	(54)	4.26	(29)	4.55	(25)	3.92	1.77	.08	I CAN TELL YOU WHAT MY WORK GOALS ARE	.21	.27
EMP35	(54)	4.26	(29)	4.17	(25)	4.36	-.63	.53	MY FEELINGS ARE CLEAR TO ME	.56	.01
EMP26	(56)	4.23	(31)	4.42	(25)	4.00	1.34	.19	I CAN CONFRONT OTHERS WHO DON'T RESPECT	.13	.48
EMP15	(56)	4.23	(31)	4.32	(25)	4.12	-.56	.58	I AM COMFORTABLE WITH BEING DIFFERENT	.24	.19
EMP16	(56)	4.23	(31)	4.00	(25)	4.52	-1.38	.17	I CAN SAY EXACTLY WHAT I THINK	.47	.01
EMP55	(55)	4.21	(31)	4.21	(24)	4.21	.00	.99	I RECOGNIZE THE MANY STRENGTHS IN OTHERS	.19	.31
EMP51	(55)	4.20	(31)	4.19	(24)	4.21	-.04	.97	NOT AFRAID TO DIFFER W/IMPORTANT PERSONS	.20	.28
EMP28	(56)	4.15	(31)	4.08	(25)	4.24	-.53	.60	MORE AWARE OF PERSONAL POWER THAN MOST	.05	.80
EMP42	(56)	4.14	(31)	4.29	(25)	3.96	.92	.36	ENJOY TELLING FRIENDS WHEN I DO WELL	.50	.10
EMP29	(55)	4.05	(30)	3.90	(25)	4.24	-.91	.37	FEELING PERSONAL STRENGTH WAY OF LIFE	.28	.13
EMP46	(53)	4.05	(29)	4.22	(24)	3.83	1.06	.29	CAN RECOGNIZE & RESIST ATTEMPTS T/CONTROL	.05	.79
EMP48	(54)	4.04	(30)	4.17	(24)	3.87	-.83	.41	MOTIVATED TO MAKE THE WORLD BETTER PLACE	.26	.16
EMP37	(56)	4.04	(31)	3.92	(25)	4.20	-.79	.43	I CAN SAY EXACTLY WHAT I FEEL	.16	.39

(continued next page)

SCALE ITEM#	TOTAL (N)	MEAN	JSPQ (N)	MEAN	LEVEL C (N)	MEAN	ITM SCORE	"p" value	(continued from previous page) QUESTIONS	TREATMENT	CORRELATIONS P <	N
EMP38	(54)	4.03	(29)	4.14	(25)	3.90	.60	.55	*NOT MUCH EXPLOITATION/DISCRIM ANY MORE	-.02	.92	29
EMP19	(55)	4.02	(30)	3.90	(25)	4.16	-.67	.50	I FEEL INDEPENDENT AS A PERSON	.19	.32	30
EMP54	(56)	4.00	(31)	3.97	(24)	4.04	-.22	.82	AM ABLE TO EXPRESS MY FEARS	.34	.07	30
EMP13	(55)	3.95	(31)	4.00	(25)	3.88	-.34	.73	I HAVE VALUABLE IDEAS TO SHARE W/OTHERS	.31	.09	31
EMP12	(55)	3.80	(31)	3.95	(24)	3.62	.77	.44	*PEOPLE CHANGE FOR WORST WHEN SUCCESSFUL	.13	.49	31
EMP50	(55)	3.79	(31)	3.75	(24)	3.75	-.00	.99	I HAVE A POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON OTHERS	.23	.22	31
EMP24	(56)	3.73	(31)	3.87	(25)	3.56	.82	.42	*HARD TO STAY COMMITTED TO GOALS I SET	.12	.53	31
EMP8	(56)	3.62	(31)	3.81	(25)	3.40	1.05	.30	*EMBARRASSED WHEN OTHERS COMPLIMENT ME	-.07	.73	31
EMP31	(55)	3.58	(30)	3.67	(25)	3.48	-.45	.66	*NOT REALLY SURE WHAT I WANT OUT OF LIFE	.03	.88	30
EMP30	(55)	3.56	(31)	3.45	(24)	3.71	-.67	.51	*I HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE OVER WHAT HAPPEN	.21	.26	31
EMP18	(56)	3.52	(31)	3.52	(25)	3.52	-.01	.99	*I DON'T HAVE CONTROL OVER LIFE DIRECTION	.12	.52	31
EMP17	(53)	3.45	(29)	3.28	(24)	3.67	-1.11	.29	MY PERSONAL STRENGTH SOURCE FOR OTHERS	.32	.09	29
EMP9	(55)	3.44	(30)	3.28	(25)	3.64	-.92	.36	I FEEL A SENSE OF KINSHIP WITH MEN	-.24	.30	30
EMP36	(53)	3.42	(30)	3.68	(23)	3.09	1.79	.08	*WISHFUL THINKING TO TRY TO AFFECT SOCIET	.27	.14	30
EMP40	(55)	3.28	(30)	3.45	(25)	3.08	-.97	.34	*COSTS OF SUCCESS USUALLY GRTR THN REWARD	.25	.19	30
EMP10	(55)	3.27	(30)	3.03	(25)	3.56	-1.24	.22	*NO POINT MAKING PLANS-SOMETHING HAPPENS	.50	.01	30
EMP6	(55)	3.22	(30)	3.20	(25)	3.24	-.10	.92	I WILL INFLUENCE THE LARGER COMMUNITY	-.29	.13	30
EMP44	(54)	3.13	(30)	2.90	(24)	3.42	-1.45	.15	*EXPECT AND NEED OTHERS TO APPRECIATE ME	-.45	.01	30
EMP32	(54)	3.06	(29)	2.93	(25)	3.20	-.63	.53	*I FREQUENTLY FEEL DEPRESSED THESE DAYS	.36	.05	29
EMP14	(56)	2.93	(31)	3.16	(25)	2.64	1.30	.20	*SO MANY DECISIONS I COULD JUST "BLOW UP"	-.22	.24	31
EMP5	(56)	2.81	(31)	2.76	(25)	2.88	-.32	.75	*PERSON HAS TO LIVE PRETTY MUCH F/TODAY	-.05	.77	31
TOTAL	(56)	4.06	(31)	4.10	(25)	4.01	.77	.45	FULL SCALE SCORE	.43	.02	31

HIGHER scores mean higher personal empowerment./ * Starred items were coded in reverse direction from other items in the scale.

Because of this reversal of findings, it may be that these two questions are too ambiguous with respect to empowerment. It is entirely possible that youths are perceiving the *reality* that they must give up old friends as well as old habits in order to make positive changes in their environments. Therefore, agreement with this question would not necessarily mean lower empowerment for this particular group. These two questions were dropped from the analysis before proceeding with testing of the regression model.

Although there were no differences between youths in the JSOP and Level C groups on total empowerment scores ($t=.77, p > .05, n.s.$), there was a significant increase in level of personal empowerment for the JSOP youths over time. The longer a youth spent in JSOP treatment, the higher was his total score on the *Empowerment Scale* ($r=.43, p < .02$).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ There were only two youths completing the survey who had been judged by staff as "not making satisfactory progress in treatment." Thus, no statistics are reported here on the effect of this variable. However, it is interesting to note that the youths failing to make satisfactory progress in the JSOP program were less likely than other youths in the sex offender program to agree with the following statements:

- I enjoy telling my friends that I have done something especially well [EMP42].
- Part of my motivation in working to achieve my goals is to make the world a better, more positive place in which to live [EMP48].
- I feel able to challenge myself to improve previous performances [EMP52].

SUMMARY OF SCALE FINDINGS

Table 35 presents a summary of all eight scales in the survey instrument. *Level C* youths scored *higher* than JSOP youths on five of the eight scales. These were:

ROMANTIC SELF-IMAGE ($t=-2.34, p < .02$).
SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING ($t=-2.18, p < .03$).
ACCEPTANCE OF INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE ($t=-3.25, p < .01$).
SEXUAL CONSERVATISM ($t=-1.97, p < .05$).
RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE ($t=-2.14, p < .04$).

Thus, comparison group youths held stronger negative beliefs toward women and relationships with the opposite sex than did the sex offender youths. Since there was also a *negative* correlation between these scores and length of time in treatment for JSOP youths, it may be that sex offenders scored in a range similar to that of Level C youths prior to their participation in the JSOP program. Follow-up longitudinal research would be necessary to provide support for or rejection of this possibility, and to determine whether there is a difference between these two offender groups at intake.

There were no statistically significant differences between JSOP and Level C youths on the remaining three scales:

SELF-ESTEEM ($t=-1.09, p > .05, n.s.$).
ADVERSARIAL SEXUAL BELIEFS ($t=-2.47, p > .05, n.s.$).
EMPOWERMENT ($t=.77, p > .05, n.s.$).

Scores on these scales, as well as on the *Romantic Self-Image* Scale, were positively correlated in a socially appropriate direction for JSOP youths on seven out of eight

Table 35. Results from All Eight Scales

JSOP GROUP ONLY

ALL SCALES	TOTAL		JSOP	LEVEL C	"t" SCORE	"p" value	CORRELATIONS	
	*α	MEAN					TRTMT	p < M
SELF-ESTEEM	.74	4.11	.70	.76	-1.09	.28	.34	.06
ROMANTIC SELF-IMAGE	.44	3.85	.50	.14	-2.34	.02	.35	.05
ACCEPT OF INTERPERSONAL VIOL	.54	2.73	.53	.30	-3.25	.01	-.39	.03
ADVERSARIAL SEXUAL BELIEFS	.81	2.98	.78	.82	-2.47	.17	-.58	.001
SEXUAL CONSERVATISM	.44	3.40	.53	.16	-1.97	.05	-.36	.05
SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING	.62	3.18	.66	.45	-2.18	.03	-.31	.09
RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE	.83	2.87	.86	.73	-2.14	.04	-.53	.01
EMPOWERMENT	.86	4.06	.91	.77	.77	.45	.43	.02
KINSHIP WITH WOMEN		4.37	.30		-.45	.66		
KINSHIP WITH MEN		3.44	.30		-.92	.36		
DIFFERENCE for JSOP Group	--	----	(29)	1.67	3.06	.01		
DIFFERENCE for Level C Group	--	----	--	----	2.68	.01		

* α = Chronbach's alpha, a statistical test of internal consistency among items in a scale.

of these scales⁵⁶ with length of time in treatment. The longer a sex offender spent in JSOP group treatment, the *higher* he scored on *empowerment* ($r=.43, p < .02$); *self-esteem* ($r=.34, p < .06, n.s.$); and *romantic self-image* ($r=.35, p < .05$) -- as indicated by *positive* correlations; and the *lower* he scored on the remaining five scales -- as indicated by *negative* correlations:

EMPOWERMENT ($r=.43, p < .02$).
ROMANTIC SELF-IMAGE ($r=.35, p < .05$).
SELF-ESTEEM ($r=.34, p < .06, n.s.$).
SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING ($r=-.31, p < .09, n.s.$).
ADVERSARIAL SEXUAL BELIEFS ($r=-.58, p < .001$).
ACCEPTANCE OF INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE ($r=-.39, p < .03$).
SEXUAL CONSERVATISM ($r=-.36, p < .05$).
RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE ($r=-.53, p < .01$).

An additional statistic appears in Table 35. This is Chronbach's alpha (α), a statistical test of internal consistency among items in a scale. Chronbach's alpha was computed for total scores on each scale (both groups combined); then separately for each scale by each study group. Referring to Table 35, it can be seen that the two scales of most importance to this study⁵⁷ -- *Empowerment* and *Rape Myth Acceptance* -- are those whose internal consistency was highest ($\alpha = .86$ and $\alpha = .83$ respectively). It is interesting to note that the alpha levels were distinctly higher for the JSOP study group than the comparison group, indicating that sex offenders in this study were more heterogenous on their attitudes with regard to empowerment and rape myth acceptance than were Level C youths.

⁵⁶ Two of these were not significant, but approached significance at $p < .10$.

⁵⁷ Scores on these scales are the major dependent variables in the regression model (see page 31).

For the JSOP group, internal reliability of the *Empowerment Scale* was $\alpha=.91$, compared to $\alpha=.77$ for the Level C youths on this scale. The pattern is similar for scores on *Rape Myth Acceptance*, with $\alpha=.86$ and $\alpha=.73$ for JSOP and Level C youths respectively. There are additional striking differences in level of internal consistency between the two study groups on three scales:

Romantic Self-Image (JSOP $\alpha=.50$; Level C $\alpha=.14$).

Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence (JSOP $\alpha=.53$; Level C $\alpha=.30$).

Sexual Conservatism (JSOP $\alpha=.53$; Level C $\alpha=.16$).

Because of the large discrepancy between groups on consistency with which they responded to these three scales, the fact that there were statistically significant differences between groups should be considered tentative. Thus, no conclusions are drawn with regard to the social significance of these findings.

Two items on the *Empowerment Scale* are of particular interest in this study.

These are:

- *I feel a sense of kinship with women.*
- *I feel a sense of kinship with men.*

The first statement listed above was included in the original *Empowerment Scale*, which was designed for administration to a group of primarily female parents receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) who had completed a job training/skills development program. Since the youths in this study are male, it seemed important to add an item to reflect "kinship with men."

The few men in the AFDC group who completed the original questionnaire left the question (regarding kinship with women) blank, presumably because they felt it was not applicable to them. However, both items were incorporated into the scale

for administration to the Pine Hills youths to see whether they would respond in the same fashion. It is striking to note that only one youth in each of the study groups left this question blank. Referring to Table 35, we see that out of a total sample size of $N=31$ for the JSOP group, 30 youths answered the question regarding *kinship with women*. Likewise, 24 out of a possible 25 youths in the comparison group answered this question.

The statement regarding *kinship with men* appeared early in the survey instrument, while the statement regarding women appeared toward the end. The surveys were administered to youths in a group of from six to eight at a time. All subjects were encouraged to ask questions about survey items they did not understand, and several did so, indicating they felt comfortable enough to ask questions rather than guessing. Early in the survey administration it became apparent that these youths did not understand the term *kinship*. Thus, all youths were instructed that the term meant "*a sense of belonging or acceptance by men (women) in general.*"

Note in Table 35, that there were no significant differences between study groups on response to either question ($t=-.45$, $p > .05$, n.s. for the statement referring to *kinship with women*; and $t=-.92$, $p > .05$, n.s. for the statement referring to *kinship with men*). However, there was a striking difference within both study groups in their responses to the two questions, with both JSOP youths and Level C youths feeling a significantly stronger sense of kinship with *women* than with *men* ($t=3.06$, $p < .01$; and $t=2.68$, $p < .01$ respectively).

Table 36. Correlation Matrix for All Eight Scales

RSI	SE		SRS		ADV		AIV		SC		RMA		EMP		Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size
	JSOP	LVLIC	JSOP	LVLIC	JSOP	LVLIC	JSOP	LVLIC	JSOP	LVLIC	JSOP	LVLIC	JSOP	LVLIC	
RSI	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	.35 .12 .08 (.001) (25)	-.22 .05 .23 (.31) (25)	-.20 .04 .33 (.25) (25)	-.06 .00 .76 (.31) (25)	.14 .02 .52 (.25) (25)	-.57 .32 .001 (.31) (25)	-.28 .08 .18 (.25) (25)	-.48 .23 .01 (.31) (25)	-.17 .03 .03 (.25) (25)	-.48 .23 .01 (.31) (25)	-.48 .23 .01 (.31) (25)	-.48 .23 .01 (.31) (25)	-.48 .23 .01 (.31) (25)	Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size
SE	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	-.33 .11 .07 (.31) (25)	-.34 .12 .10 (.25) (25)	-.11 .01 .56 (.31) (25)	-.06 .01 .72 (.25) (25)	-.48 .23 .01 (.31) (25)	-.17 .03 .03 (.25) (25)	-.40 .16 .03 (.31) (25)	-.29 .08 .17 (.25) (25)	-.40 .16 .03 (.31) (25)	-.40 .16 .03 (.31) (25)	-.40 .16 .03 (.31) (25)	-.40 .16 .03 (.31) (25)	Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size
SRS	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size
ADV	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size
AIV	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size
SC	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size
RMA	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size
EMP	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (31)	1.00 1.00 1.00 (.001) (25)	Corr.(r) r-square p-value N size

RSI

SCALE ABBREVIATIONS:
RSI Romanik Self-Image

SE Self-Esteem
SRS Sex-Role Stereotyping
ADV Adversarial Sexual Relationships
AIV Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence
SC Sexual Conservatism
RMA Rape Myth Acceptance
EMP Empowerment

DICTIONARY OF CELL CONTENTS:

ROW 1: The first row of each cell depicts Pearson's "r" (product moment correlation coefficient).
ROW 2: The second row in each cell should be used when directly comparing the strength of association on these variables between the JSOP sex offender group and the Level C sample. Squaring "r" produces a PRE; measure which indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable being explained by the independent variable. Below is an approximate verbal interpretation of PRE measures of association (as provided by Lutz 1983, p. 156):
.01 to .25 = weak association
.26 to .55 = moderate association
.56 to .75 = strong association
.76 to .99 = very strong association
ROW 3: Row 3 of each cell presents the p-value of "r", i.e. the probability that an association the size of the one observed between two variables (scale correlations) might have occurred by chance alone. Measures of the strength of the association are not reported unless the correlation has achieved statistical significance (a "p-value" of .05 or less).
ROW 4: Row 4 indicates the "N" size upon which the calculations were based.

INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN SCALES

Table 36 presents the results of total scale scores intercorrelated for each study group. For ease of comparison, correlation data pertaining to the comparison group (Level C youths) is presented in the shaded areas of Table 36. The discussion below traces findings depicted in a pattern across the rows in Table 36.

With respect to the sex offender youths (JSOP group), the higher their scores on the *Romantic Self-Image Scale* [RSI], the higher their *Self-Esteem* [SE] and sense of personal *Empowerment* [EMP]. This is evidenced by correlations of $r = .56$ and $r = .48$, both of which are statistically significant at $p < .01$. The connection between romantic self-image and self-esteem is perhaps not surprising. However, it is interesting to note that the same relationship was not statistically significant for Level C youths ($r = .35$, $p > .05$, n.s.). The relationship between *self-esteem* and *empowerment* was the same for both groups, with correlations between these two scales even stronger for Level C subjects than for JSOP subjects ($r^2 = .37$ and $r^2 = .23$ respectively).

For JSOP youths only, scores on the *Romantic Self-Image Scale* were negatively correlated with scores on the *Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale* ($r = -.52$, $p < .01$); the *Sexual Conservatism Scale* ($r = -.57$, $p < .001$); and the *Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* ($r = -.48$, $p < .01$). Thus, youths who had a weaker sense of themselves as competent in romantic relationships with the opposite sex tended to hold more aggressive attitudes toward women, and tended to be more sexually conservative. The same pattern held for correlations between scores on the *Self-Esteem Scale*, with one additional scale approaching significance:

SE with ADV: $r = -.42, p < .02$
 SE with SC: $r = -.48, p < .01$
 SE with RMA: $r = -.40, p < .03$
 SE with EMP: $r = .62, p < .001$
 SE with SRS: $r = -.33, p < .07, n.s.$

This finding indicates that the higher a JSOP youth's sense of self-esteem, the lower are his negative attitudes toward women and romantic relationships with the opposite sex. Further, self-esteem was positively correlated with empowerment, meaning the higher a JSOP youth was on one of these scales, the higher he scored on the other. Once again, however, these same relationships were not significant for subjects in the comparison group.

Even though the Empowerment Scale is quite obviously measuring much the same thing as Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale, it must also be tapping an additional dimension not covered by self-esteem alone. Furthermore, sense of personal empowerment would seem to be an attribute which can be changed in a positive direction through a group treatment modality such as that utilized in the JSOP program.

The relationship between *Sex Role Stereotyping* and two of the other scales was similar for both study groups. For JSOP subjects and Level C youths, higher scores on Sex Role Stereotyping were correlated with higher scores on the following scales:

SRS with ADV: $r = .47, p < .01$ for JSOP subjects
 $r = .47, p < .02$ for Level C subjects
 SRS with RMA: $r = .59, p < .001$ for JSOP subjects
 $r = .45, p < .02$ for Level C subjects

For JSOP subjects only, the stronger their acceptance of sex role stereotypes, the stronger was their agreement with use of interpersonal violence in romantic

relationships ($r=.48, p < .01$); the more sexually conservative they are ($r = .65, p < .001$); and the weaker they feel with regard to sense of personal empowerment ($r = -.45, p < .01$).

Within both subject groups, higher scores on *Adversarial Sexual Beliefs* were significantly positively correlated with higher scores on three other scales:

ADV with AIV: $r = .42, p < .02$
 $r = .67, p < .001$
 ADV with SC: $r = .53, p < .01$
 $r = .46, p < .02$
 ADV with RMA: $r = .80, p < .001$
 $r = .87, p < .001$

Scores on *Adversarial Sexual Beliefs* were inversely related to level of *Empowerment*, but this was the case for JSOP subjects only ($r = -.56, p < .001$). However, the same relationship was not quite significant for Level C subjects ($r = -.35, p < .09, n.s.$).

Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence scores were positively associated with *Rape Myth Acceptance* for both the JSOP group ($r=.56, p < .001$) and the comparison group ($r=.72, p < .001$). For JSOP subjects only, *Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence* was positively correlated with *Sexual Conservatism* ($r=.35, p < .05$), and negatively correlated with *Empowerment* ($r=-.47, p < .01$). Not surprisingly, scores on *Sexual Conservatism* were positively correlated with *Rape Myth Acceptance* for both groups ($r=.61, p < .001$; and $r=.42, p < .04$ respectively). *Sexual Conservatism* was also negatively correlated with *Empowerment* for both groups of subjects ($r=-.55, p < .001$ for JSOP subjects; and $r=-.44, p < .03$ for Level C subjects).

Finally, *Rape Myth Acceptance* was inversely correlated with sense of personal *empowerment*. The relationship was statistically significant for JSOP subjects ($r = -.47$, $p < .01$); and marginally significant for the comparison group ($r = -.34$, $p < .10$).

SUMMARY OF SURVEY FINDINGS

In summary, it seems quite apparent that the Juvenile Sex Offender Treatment Program at Pine Hills School is having a very positive effect on youths' attitudes. Length of time in JSOP group treatment has a significant effect on improving juvenile sex offenders' self-esteem, romantic self-image, and sense of personal empowerment. Furthermore, increases in personal empowerment are related to significant decreases in such negative attitudes as acceptance of rape myths, belief that relationships between the sexes are adversarial in nature, readiness to accept interpersonal violence as a means of problem-solving, sexual conservatism, and rigidity of sex-role stereotyping. In short, all three of the research hypotheses were supported:

HYPOTHESIS ONE: Sense of *personal empowerment*, as measured by the "Empowerment Scale" developed by Clark et al., (1989), will be *inversely* related to acceptance of *rape myth attitudes*, as measured by the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt 1980).

As indicated in Table 36, this hypothesis is supported by the correlation $r = -.47$, $p < .01$.

HYPOTHESIS TWO: Sense of *personal empowerment* will be *positively* correlated with length of participation in JSOP.

As indicated in Table 34, length of time in JSOP group treatment was *positively* correlated with *empowerment* ($r = .43$, $p < .02$).

HYPOTHESIS THREE: Acceptance of *rape myth attitudes* will be *negatively correlated* with length of participation in JSOP.

As indicated in Table 33, length of time in JSOP group treatment was *inversely correlated with acceptance of rape myth attitudes* ($r = -.53, p < .01$).

From the evidence presented here, it seems we should not accept at face value the fact that there were no statistically significant differences between JSOP subjects and Level C subjects on self-esteem and personal empowerment. Since there were significant changes on these scales as a result of length of time spent in treatment, it may well be that JSOP youths were significantly lower than Level C youths on these variables prior to beginning the sex offender treatment program. A longitudinal design would be needed to follow up this possibility.

CHAPTER VI: REGRESSION ANALYSIS

For purposes of testing the flow model depicted in Figure 2, page 38, information was gathered from a survey administered to a total of 56 subjects -- 31 from the JSOP Group, and 25 from the comparison group (Level C youths). Because of the small sample sizes and the exploratory nature of the model itself, these findings should be considered preliminary. The following paragraphs describe the variables included in the step-wise regression analysis.

BACKGROUND VARIABLES:

Ethnicity was recoded as a dummy variable, where 0=Caucasian and 1=Indian or Indian/Caucasian. Statistics were as follows: *JSOP Group* (N=31): 27 Caucasian subjects (87.1%) and four Native American subjects (12.9%); *Level C Group* (N=25): 16 Caucasian (64%) and 9 Native American (36%); for *BOTH GROUPS* (N=45): 43 Caucasian (76.8%) and 13 Native American (23.2%).

Age of youth at time of most recent commitment to Pine Hills School. For *JSOP Group* (N=31): Mean 15.2, Median 15.0, SD=1.45, and Range 13 to 19. For *Level C Group* (N=25): Mean 15.4, Median 15.0, SD=1.07, and Range 13 to 17. For *BOTH GROUPS* (N=56): Mean 15.3, Median 15.0, SD=1.29, and Range 13 to 19.

Socioeconomic Status (SES) was coded using Duncan's Socio-Economic Index.⁵⁸ Using the Duncan Index, with a maximum possible score of 96, and higher scores indicating higher socioeconomic status. Separate variables were included in the model for Fathers' SES and Mothers' SES.

⁵⁸ Otis Dudley Duncan (1961) noted that average education and average income of various occupations were highly correlated with prestige scores for those occupations. Taking advantage of this fact, he combined income and education in a regression formula to estimate how much education and income were required to produce the prestige of each occupation on the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) list.

Parents without jobs for pay were coded with a score of "0".⁵⁹ Statistics on these variables were as follows:

- 1) Fathers' SES: *JSOP Group* (N=19), Mean 17.0, Median 8.0, SD=19.2, Range 0 to 49. *Level C Group* (N=19), Mean 10.6, Median 10.0, SD=7.7, Range 0 to 24. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=38), Mean 13.8, Median 9.0, SD=14.8, Range 0 to 49.
- 2) Mothers' SES: *JSOP Group* (N=27), Mean 14.9, Median 8.0, SD=18.9, Range 0 to 61. *Level C Group* (N=24), Mean 13.2, Median 0.0, SD=20.3, Range 0 to 72. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=51), Mean 14.1, Median 7.0, SD=19.4, Range 0 to 72.

Mothers' Education. Since researchers frequently use mother's education as an alternative measure of a woman's socioeconomic status,⁶⁰ this variable was included in the model. *JSOP Group* (N=24), Mean 11.8, Median 12.0, SD=1.43, Range 8 to 14. *Level C Group* (N=22), Mean 11.6, Median 12.0, SD=2.2, Range 5 to 16. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=46), Mean 11.7, Median 12.0, SD=1.8, Range 5 to 16.

EXPERIENCE VARIABLES:

Delinquent History. This was coded as a weighted value. Weight factors were assigned to each type of offense committed by the youths, based upon the values in the risk and needs assessment instrument used by Pine Hills staff.⁶¹ These were then summed for each youth to produce a weighted delinquent history score, as an indication of the extent and seriousness of their *non-sexual* offense history. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 24.4, Median 22.0, SD=17.7, Range 0 to 67. *Level C Group* (N=25), Mean 37.4,

⁵⁹ NOTE: On the Duncan SEI, there is no score value assigned for housewives, or to persons who are retired or not working as a result of a disability. Such cases are frequently assigned a "missing value" score by researchers, and thus eliminated from analysis. Using such a strategy would have resulted in loss of valuable information regarding this sample because of the high incidence of non-working mothers and fathers. In addition, while remaining at home as the primary caretaker is considered a "job" in our society (albeit one with low status), most of the full-time mothers in this sample were receiving public assistance. Thus assigning them a score of zero was in keeping with exploring the possible effect of low income on the dependent variables in this model.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Berryman and Waite (1987). There were too many cases of "missing information" for fathers' education. Thus, it was excluded as a variable in the model.

⁶¹ Refer to the discussion beginning on page 62.

Median 38.0, SD=13.0, Range 15 to 64. **BOTH GROUPS** (N=56), Mean 30.2, Median 27.5, SD=16.9, Range 0 to 67.

Severe Physical Abuse. Youths responding to the survey were asked two questions relating to how often a (1) female or (2) male guardian used physical punishment, like slapping or hitting. They were then asked: *Referring to the last two questions, were you ever taken (or should have been taken) to a doctor or hospital for treatment of injuries received from physical punishment by your parent(s) or guardian(s)?* Responses were coded to produce a dummy variable, with "0" assigned for a response of "never" or "not applicable," and "1" assigned to responses ranging from "once" to "more than 5 times." Statistics were as follows: **JSOP Group** (N=31), 22 (71%) coded zero, 9 (29%) coded one. **Level C Group** (N=24), 21 (84%) coded zero, 3 (12%) coded as one. **BOTH GROUPS** (N=55), 43 (76.8%) coded as zero, 12 (21.4%) coded as one.

Sexual Abuse. Youths responding to the survey were asked: *Thinking about when you were growing up, did anyone ever try to, or force you to, have sexual relations by threatening you, using physical force such as holding you down, or hitting you?*⁶² **JSOP Group** (N=31), 12 (38.7%) not sexually abused, 19 (61.3%) sexually abused. **Level C Group** (N=24), 19 (76.0%) not sexually abused, 5 (20.0%) sexually abused. **BOTH GROUPS** (N=55), 43 (76.8%) not sexually abused, 12 (21.4%) sexually abused.

TIME VARIABLES:

Length of Time at Pine Hills School. This was a ratio variable coded as total number of days at PHS, for all commitments to that institution. **JSOP Group** (N=31), Mean 382.1, Median 345.0, SD=165.6, Range 120 to 926. **Level C Group** (N=25), Mean 392.6, Median 266.0, SD=408.9, Range 15 to 1,892. **BOTH GROUPS** (N=56), Mean 386.8, Median 336.5, SD=296.6, Range 15 to 1,892.

⁶² Respondents were thus coded as sexually abused if an "unsuccessful" attempt was made to take advantage of them sexually. Staff at the Pine Hills JSOP program and other similar programs throughout the country have noted that many male adolescents are reluctant to admit they were sexually abused in order to protect their sense of male machismo. In addition, treatment professionals have found that many male youths who were sexually abused continue to deny this fact until well into the treatment process. Furthermore, it is assumed that even an unsuccessful sexual attack could be very traumatic for the youth. Wording for this question was adapted from the questionnaire used by Strauss, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980) in their national survey.

Length of Time in Treatment. This was a ratio variable coded as number of hours spent in JSOP group treatment. Data were available on this variable for the JSOP group only, since Level C youths do not spend time in structured group treatment. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 142.1, Median 148, SD=116.1, Range 0 to 358.

PERSONALITY VARIABLES:

Self-Esteem was measured using Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale.⁶³ Responses were coded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate higher self-esteem. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 4.0, Median 4.2, SD=.71, Range 2.3 to 5.2. *Level C Group* (N=25), Mean 4.2, Median 4.2, SD=.67, Range 2.7 to 5.7. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=56), Mean 4.1, Median 4.2, SD=.69, Range 2.3 to 5.7. This scale was included in order to examine whether self-esteem is in fact different from sense of personal empowerment.

Romantic Self-Image was measured using the scale developed by Estep, Burt and Milligan (1977). Responses were coded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate higher romantic self-image. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 3.7, Median 3.8, SD=.74, Range 1.1 to 5.5. *Level C Group* (N=25), Mean 4.1, Median 4.2, SD=.44, Range 3 to 5.1. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=56), Mean 3.8, Median 3.9, SD=.65, Range 1.1 to 5.5.

ATTITUDE VARIABLES:

Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (Burt 1980) measures the notion that force and coercion are legitimate ways to gain compliance, and specifically that they are legitimate within intimate and sexual relationships. Responses were coded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate greater acceptance of interpersonal violence. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 2.4, Median 2.3, SD=.93, Range 1.0 to 4.8. *Level C Group* (N=25), Mean 3.1, Median 3.3, SD=.64, Range 1.7 to 4.2. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=56), Mean 2.7, Median 2.7, SD=.87, Range 1.0 to 4.8.

⁶³ Copies of items for all eight scales are included in Appendices B and E.

Sex Role Stereotyping Scale (Burt 1980) measures attitudes about appropriate role behaviors of men and women. Responses were coded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate stronger sex role stereotyping beliefs. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 3.0, Median 3.1, SD=.77, Range 1.0 to 4.2. *Level C Group* (N=25), Mean 3.4, Median 3.2, SD=.58, Range 2.6 to 5.3. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=56), Mean 3.2, Median 3.2, SD=.72, Range 1.0 to 5.3.

Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale (Burt 1980) measures expectation that sexual relationships are fundamentally exploitative, since each party is manipulative, sly, cheating, not to be trusted, and opaque to the other's understanding. Responses were coded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate greater acceptance of adversarial sexual beliefs. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 2.7, Median 2.8, SD=.89, Range 1.0 to 4.6. *Level C Group* (N=25), Mean 3.3, Median 3.4, SD=.82, Range 1.4 to 5.0. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=56), Mean 3.0, Median 3.1, SD=.90, Range 1.0 to 5.0.

Sexual Conservatism Scale (Burt 1980) focuses solely on personal attitudes toward sexual behavior such as restrictions on appropriateness of sexual partners, sexual acts, circumstances under which sex should occur, etc. Responses were coded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate stronger sexually conservative attitudes. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 3.3, Median 3.3, SD=.69, Range 1.9 to 5.1. *Level C Group* (N=25), Mean 3.6, Median 3.5, SD=.46, Range 2.5 to 4.4. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=56), Mean 3.4, Median 3.4, SD=.61, Range 1.9 to 5.1.

MAJOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES:

Empowerment Scale (Clark et. al. 1989) measures the degree to which respondents feel competent, and in general believe they can have a positive influence on their own life chances and happiness. Responses were coded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate stronger sense of personal empowerment. *JSOP Group* (N=31), Mean 4.1, Median 4.1, SD=.50, Range 3.4 to 5.6. *Level C Group* (N=25), Mean 4.0, Median 4.0, SD=.30, Range 3.4 to 4.6. *BOTH GROUPS* (N=56), Mean 4.1, Median 4.0, SD=.42, Range 3.4 to 5.6. This is a 54-item scale, and can be divided up into subscales according to topic categories such as goal achievement, assertiveness, locus of control, and sense of connectedness to other people in the environment, but the only current basis for doing so would be face validity. To date there has not been sufficient testing with the instrument in order to

determine statistically whether or not the scale should be divided into such subscales.

Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt 1980) measures belief in public stereotypes about the acceptability of sexual assault and/or willingness to blame the victim for their own assault. As components of a cultural belief system, such attitudes serve to support and condone sexually assaultive behaviors - especially against women. Responses were coded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Higher scores indicate greater acceptance of rape myth beliefs. ***JSOP Group*** (N=31), Mean 2.7, Median 2.5, SD=.94, Range 1.5 to 5.0. ***Level C Group*** (N=25), Mean 3.12, Median 3.0, SD=.63, Range 1.9 to 4.5. ***BOTH GROUPS*** (N=56), Mean 2.9, Median 2.9, SD=.84, Range 1.5 to 5.0.

The first step in the analysis was to determine whether the distribution of scores for the major dependent variables (*empowerment* and *rape myth acceptance*) met the assumptions necessary for performance of a regression analysis--linearity, normality, and variance constancy. As a result of this analysis, it was determined that the variable *empowerment* better fit the necessary assumptions when transformed into square roots. Thus, the variable used for testing the model was "Square Root of Empowerment Scale Scores" (SQEMP). The distribution of rape myth scale scores better fit the regression assumptions than did scores transformed by square roots or logarithms.

REGRESSION FINDINGS

Empowerment

Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS/PC+), a step-wise method of multiple regression analysis was first used to test the predictive ability of all variables to the left of empowerment in the model (see Figure 3). The step-wise method allows the computer to choose which variables should be included in the model (and in what order) as significant predictors of the dependent variable.⁶⁴ Since empowerment is such a new concept, no apriori assumptions were made as to which variables should be most predictive.

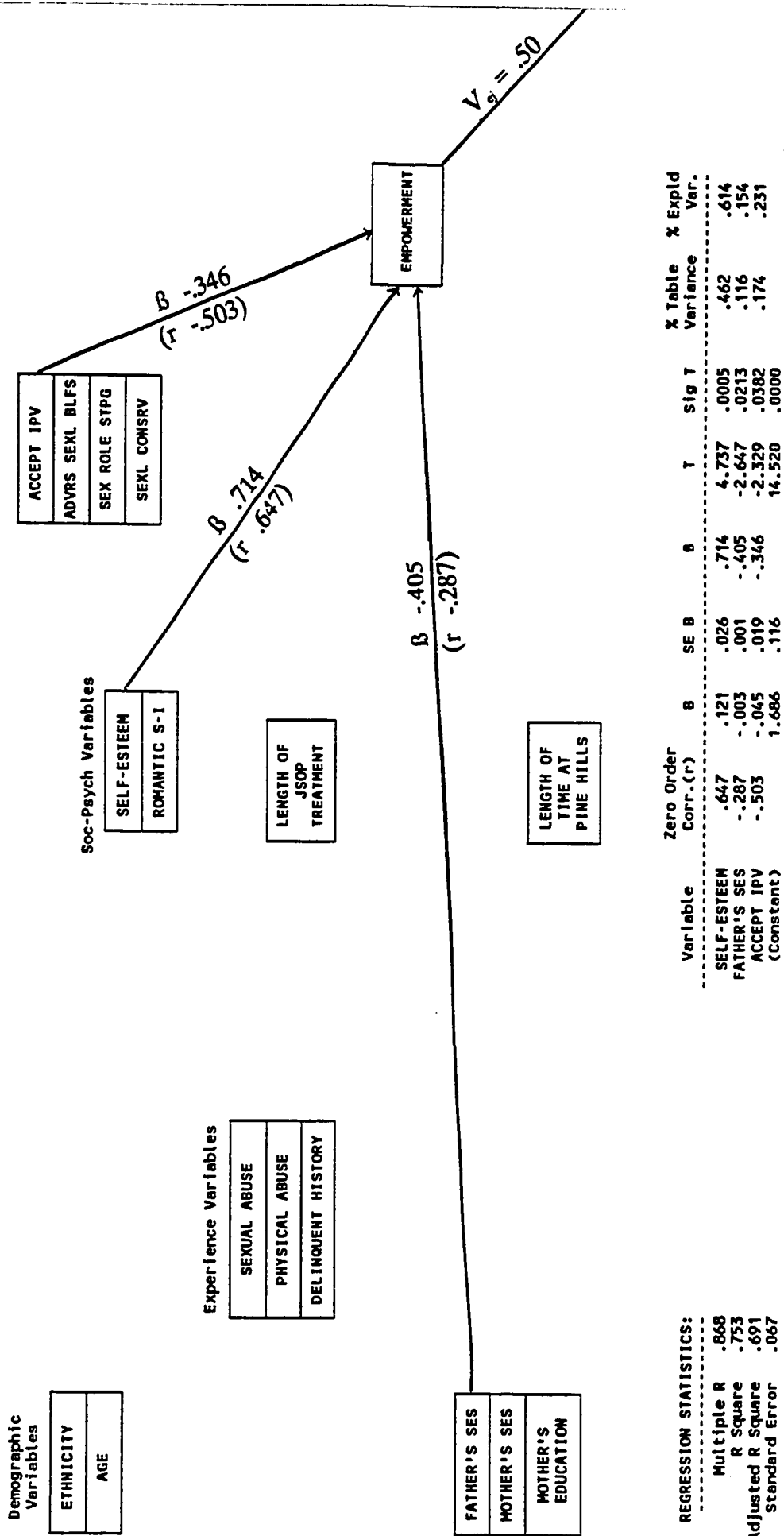
This analysis was performed separately for the JSOP group and the comparison group. For JSOP youths, *self-esteem* was the best predictor of SQEMP⁶⁵ (see Figure 3). By itself, self-esteem explained about 42% of the variability in JSOP youths' SQEMP scores ($R^2 = .419$). Self-esteem accounted for 46% of the *total variance* in SQEMP scores of JSOP youths (% table variance = .462). Of the total 75% of *explained variance*, self-esteem was responsible for almost two-thirds of that predictive power (% explained variance = .614).⁶⁶ This is not surprising, since it makes

⁶⁴ Because the sample was small, a PIN ("p-value for inclusion") of .10 was selected. Most variables identified for inclusion in the model (as a result of the step-wise method) were statistically significant at $p < .05$ or less.

⁶⁵ Preliminary examination of the data indicated that squaring empowerment scores would convert the data to a more normal distribution and thus provide a more accurate test of the predictor variables. This procedure is recommended by statisticians, since the statistical procedures used require assumption that dependent variable scores approximate that of a normal distribution (Norusis 1988). Such conversions do not change the nature of the data, but simply change the scale upon which the variable is analyzed.

⁶⁶ Refer to the last two columns at the bottom right corner of Figure 3.

Figure 3. Theoretical Antecedents of Empowerment - JSOP Group



REGRESSION STATISTICS:

Multiple R .868
 R Square .753
 Adjusted R Square .691
 Standard Error .067

Variable	Zero Order Corr.(r)	B	SE B	β	T	Sig T	% Table Variance	% Expld Var.
SELF-ESTEEM	.647	.121	.026	.714	4.737	.0005	.462	.614
FATHER'S SES	-.287	-.003	.001	-.405	-2.647	.0213	.116	.154
ACCEPT IPV (Constant)	-.503	-.045	.019	-.346	-2.329	.0382	.174	.231
(Constant)		1.686	.116		14.520	.0000		

intuitive sense to assume that high self-esteem is a "necessary" (although it may not be a "sufficient") condition for high sense of personal empowerment.

The variable added to the equation on Step 2 of the regression procedure was *Fathers' Duncan SEI* (Socio-Economic Index). Addition of this variable raised R^2 to .641, indicating that father's SES (socioeconomic status, as measured by the Duncan SEI) increased the predictive accuracy of the model by 22%. The negative sign for this correlation indicates that, for the JSOP sample, the *lower* a youth's father's SES score, the *higher* was the youth's sense of empowerment - a finding opposite that which we might expect. Thus, it would appear that high SES is not a prerequisite for personal empowerment. However, this finding should be considered tentative since, for this particular group of subjects, length of treatment was positive correlated with personal empowerment (which may indicate a possible "treatment" effect).

On the third and final step, *acceptance of interpersonal violence* was added. The negative correlation between these variables is more in line with theoretical expectations. That is, the lower a youth's acceptance of interpersonal violence as a method of problem-solving, the higher was his sense of personal empowerment. All three of the variables in this model were significant at $p < .05$. Together they accounted for three-fourths of the variation in JSOP youths' SQEMP scores ($R^2 = .752$).

No model of empowerment is presented for youths in the comparison group, since none of the predicted antecedents proved to be significant among Level C youths when the step-wise regression procedure was run.

Rape Myth Acceptance

The second major dependent variable in this study was *rape myth acceptance*. When all variables in the model were regressed on rape myth acceptance in a step-wise fashion, only one variable contributed a significant impact with the JSOP sample (see Figure 4). Scores on the *adversarial sexual beliefs* scale accounted for almost two-thirds of the variance in rape myth acceptance scores for that group ($R^2=.646$). Thus, subjects who scored higher on acceptance of the idea that sexual relationships are adversarial in nature also scored higher on acceptance of rape myth attitudes. This is not surprising, since the two scales were highly correlated with each other for both JSOP youths and Level C youths ($r=.804$ and $r=.846$ respectively).

Adversarial sexual beliefs was the only variable of significance in predicting rape myth attitudes among JSOP youths. However, when the same analysis was performed for Level C subjects, a second variable proved to be of additional predictive importance (see Figure 5). For the comparison group, adversarial sexual belief scores alone were able to account for three-fourths of the variance in rape myth attitudes ($R^2=.753$). Addition of the variable, victim of *sexual abuse*, raised R^2 to .81. The positive correlation indicates that those youths who had experienced sexual abuse scored higher on acceptance of rape myth attitudes. This suggests that, as victims themselves, they accepted the premise that victims can be blamed for their own victimization.

Figure 4. Theoretical Antecedents of Rape Myth Acceptance - JSOP Group

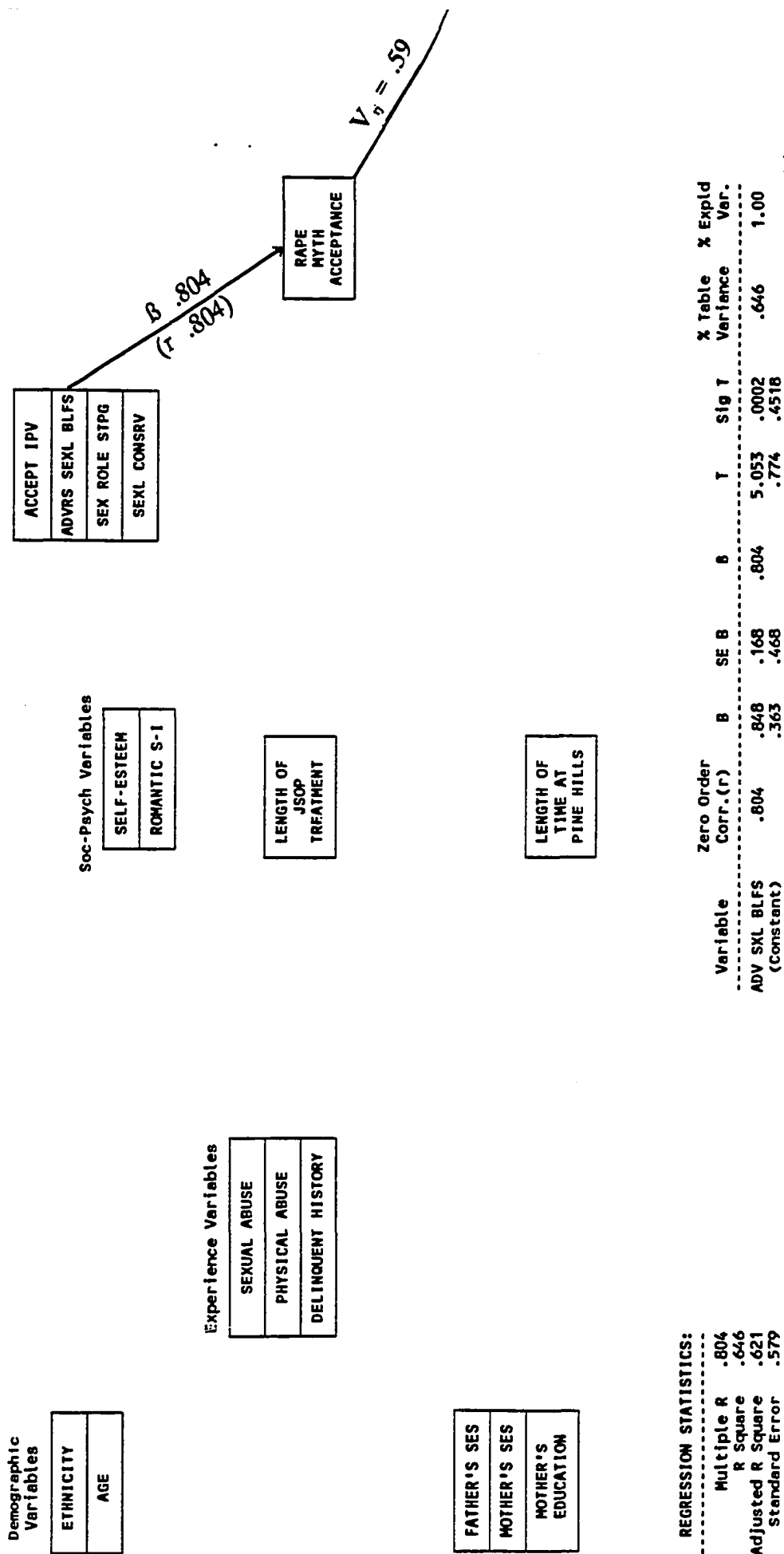
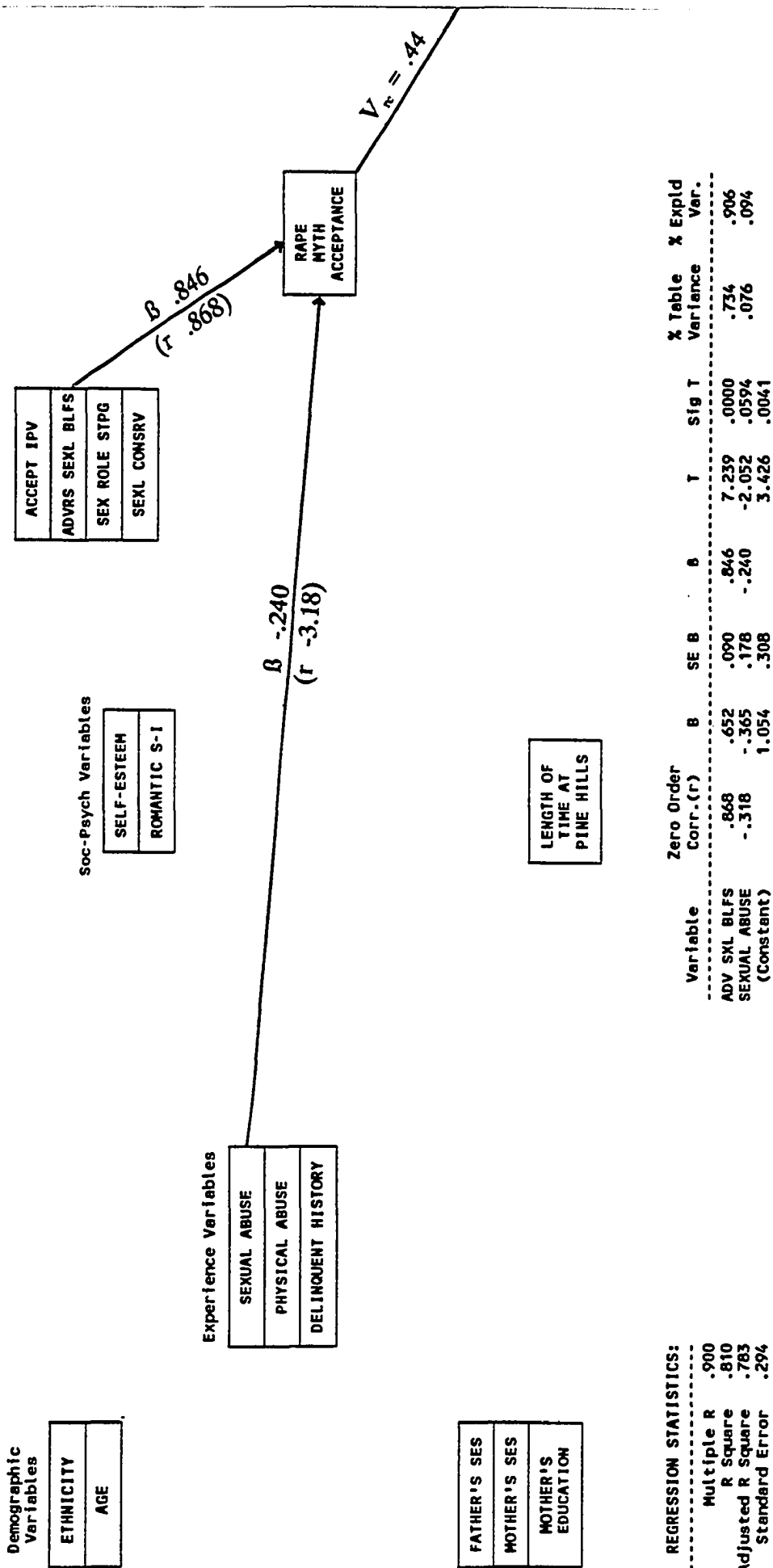


Figure 5. Theoretical Antecedents of Rape Myth Acceptance - Level C Group



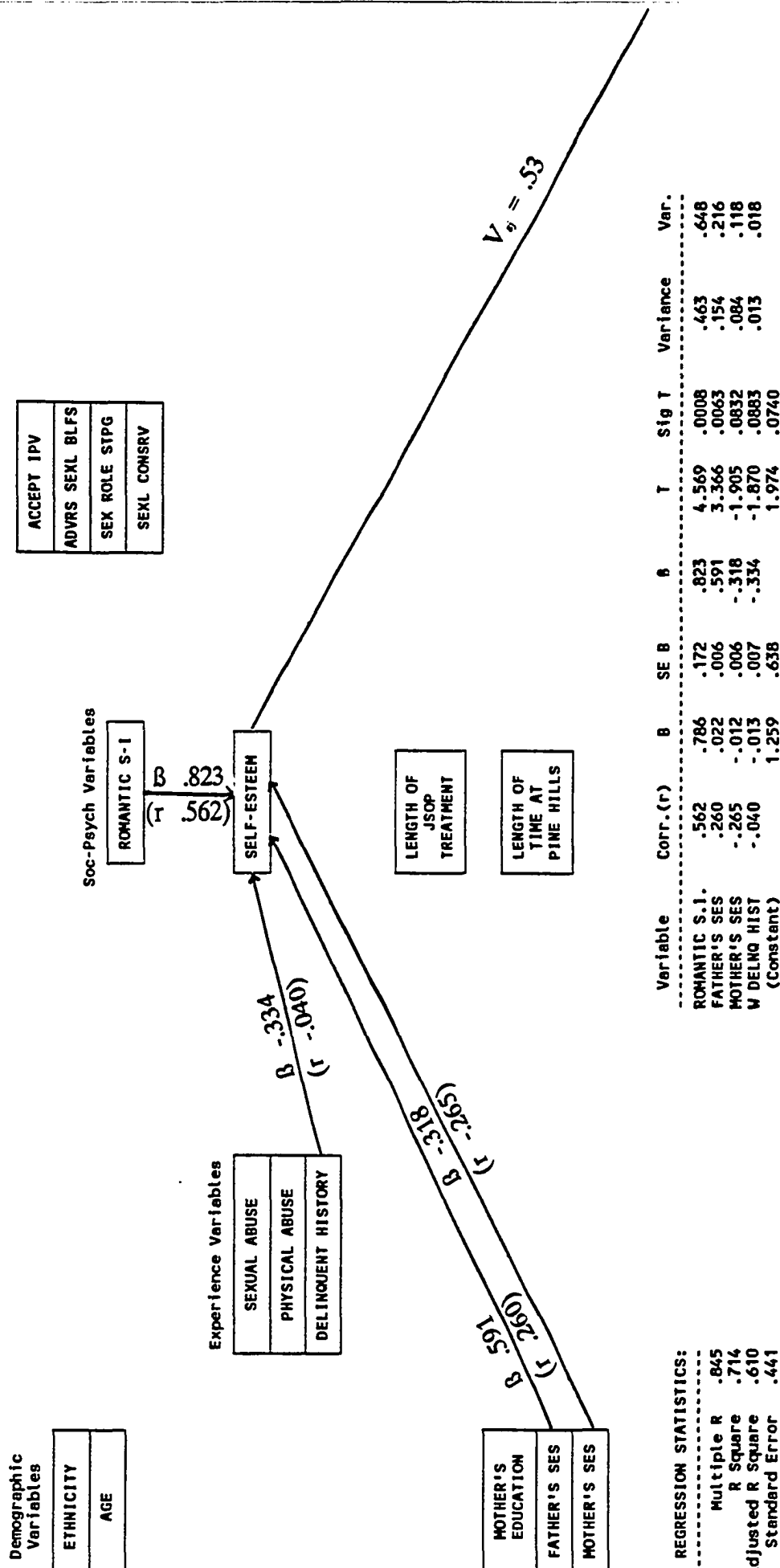
Self-Esteem

Because of its strength as a predictor of empowerment among youths in the JSOP sample, step-wise regressions were run for self-esteem as the dependent variable, using all variables to the left of self-esteem in the model as potential independent variables. As indicated in Figure 6, several of these contributed to the prediction of self-esteem for JSOP youths. These were, in order of importance (as indicated by their order of entry into the step-wise model): 1) *romantic self-image* ($\beta = .823$); 2) *fathers' SES* ($\beta = .591$); 3) *mothers' SES* ($\beta = -.318$); and 4) youths' *weighted delinquent history* score ($\beta = -.334$).

Romantic self-image could be seen as simply another way of measuring self-esteem, and thus it makes intuitive sense that higher romantic self-image was a predictor of higher self-esteem scores. It provided most of the predictive power for the JSOP model, accounting for 46% of the total variance, and 65% of the explained variance in self-esteem scores. It should be noted that *romantic self-image* was not included in the model as a potential predictor for the Level C group because of the low internal reliability of the scale for that sample ($\alpha = .14$). Thus, no overall conclusions are drawn with respect to this variable as an accurate predictor of either self-esteem or empowerment.

Fathers' SES was *positively* correlated with JSOP youths' self-esteem, which is the direction of association which makes intuitive sense. Thus, youths whose fathers had higher scores on SES scored higher on self-esteem. However, mother's SES was

Figure 6. Theoretical Antecedents of Self-Esteem - JSOP Group



negatively correlated with self-esteem, indicating that the lower his mother's SES, the higher a youth's own sense of self-esteem.

Finally, the variable *weighted delinquency score* was negatively correlated with self-esteem. This indicates that youths with the most extensive histories of delinquent behavior were also those with the lowest self-esteem. While this variable did not account for very much of the overall variance, it is indicative of the importance of treatment efforts to improve youths' sense of self-esteem.

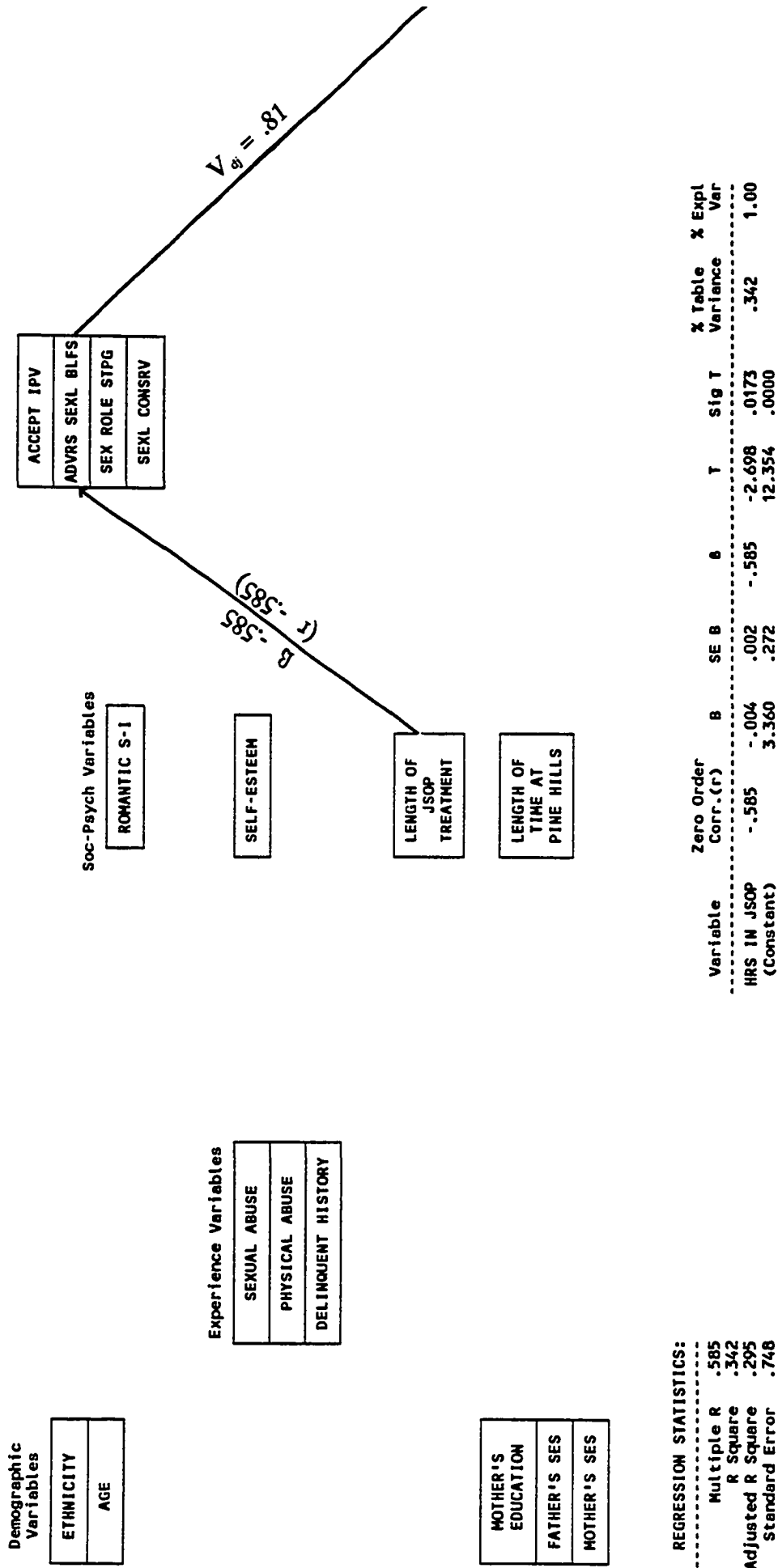
Taken together, the four variables included in the step-wise regression model accounted for nearly three-fourths of the variance in self-esteem scores of JSOP youths ($R^2=.714$). Again, none of the variables proved to be significant when the same model was run for the Level C sample.

Adversarial Sexual Beliefs

Length of time in JSOP treatment was able to explain a little over one-third of the variance in adversarial sexual beliefs (see Figure 7). The negative correlation ($\beta = -.585$) indicates that the longer a youth spent in treatment, the less accepting he was of the idea that sexual relationships must be adversarial in nature. This variable in turn explained a large proportion of the variance in rape myth attitudes, indicating that JSOP treatment had an indirect impact on that major dependent variable through reduction of adversarial sexual beliefs.

For Level C youths, who had not received group treatment, two variables in the model were predictive of adversarial sexual beliefs (see Figure 8). These were *acceptance of interpersonal violence*, which explained 41% of the overall variance; and

Figure 7. Theoretical Antecedents of Adversarial Sexual Beliefs - JSOP Group

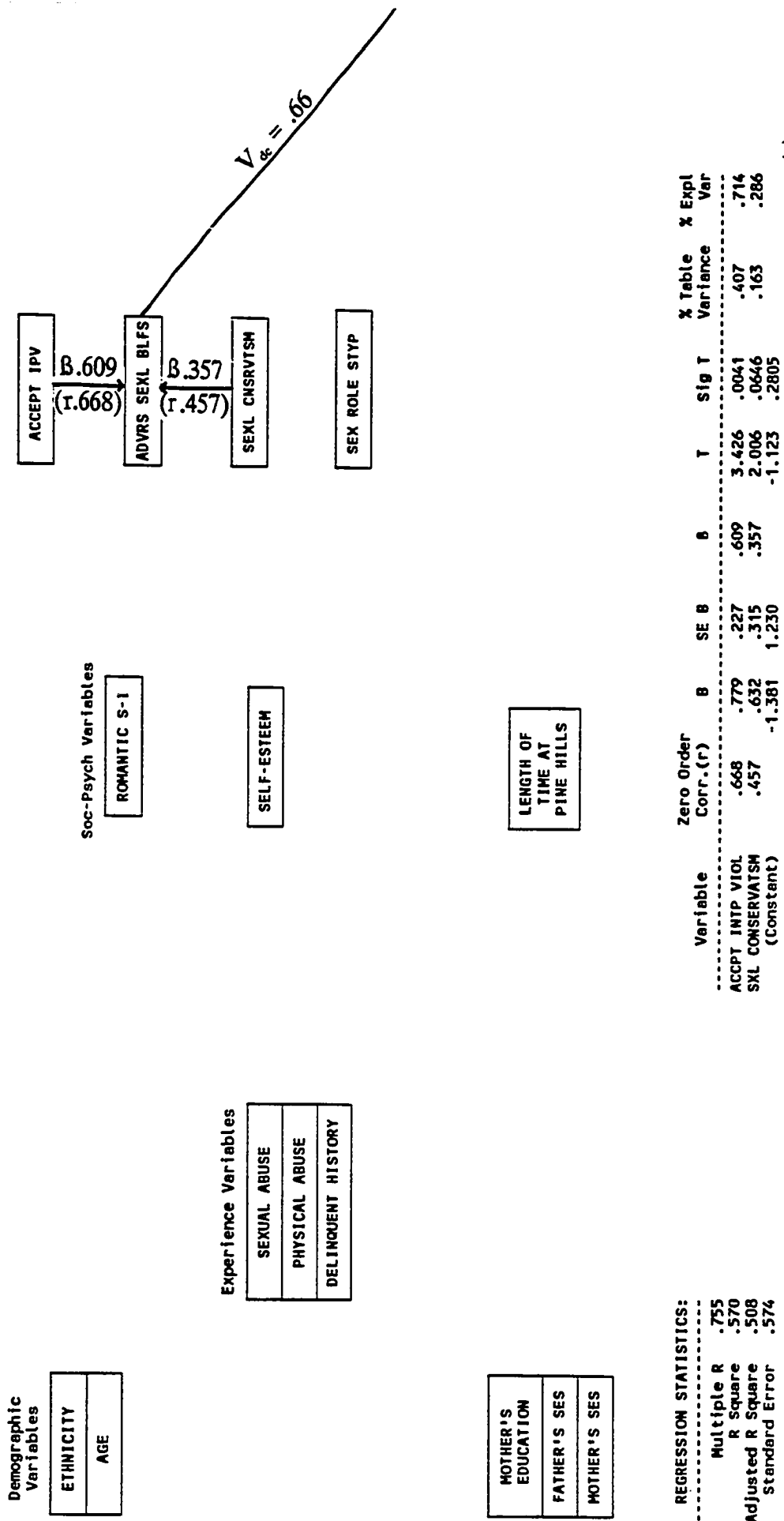


REGRESSION STATISTICS:

Multiple R .585
 R Square .342
 Adjusted R Square .295
 Standard Error .748

Variable	Zero Order Corr.(r)	B	SE B	B	T	Sig T	% Table Variance	% Expl Var
HRS IN JSOP	-.585	-.004	.002	-.585	-2.698	.0173	.342	1.00
(Constant)		3.360	.272		12.354	.0000		

Figure 8. Theoretical Antecedents of Adversarial Sexual Beliefs - Level C Group



sexual conservatism, which contributed nearly half again as much (16% of the overall variance). Both of these variables were positively correlated, indicating that the more sexually conservative a youth and the higher his acceptance of interpersonal violence, the greater was his acceptance of adversarial sexual beliefs. Together, these two variables resulted in a regression equation capable of predicting over half of the variance in adversarial sexual beliefs ($R^2=.57$).

Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence

The final step-wise analysis performed on the two sample groups consisted of regressing all variables on acceptance of interpersonal violence. For JSOP youths, only one variable proved to be statistically significant. *Sex role stereotyping* was able to explain almost one-fourth of the variance in acceptance of interpersonal violence ($R^2=.233$). Since the correlation was positive ($\beta = .483$), stereotypical sex role beliefs were associated with greater acceptance of interpersonal violence as a means of problem-solving among JSOP youths. Referring back to Table 35, we see that sex role stereotyping appears to be more resistant to change than the other attitudes measured in this study. This was one of two scales which did not quite reach significance when correlated with length of time in JSOP treatment ($t= -.31, p < .09$). None of the other variables in the model contributed significant predictive ability (see Figure 9).

For Level C youths, several variables finally produced an impact when the regression model was run on *acceptance of interpersonal violence* as the dependent variable (see Figure 10). The variables with predictive ability in this model were the

Figure 9. Theoretical Antecedents of Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence - JSOP

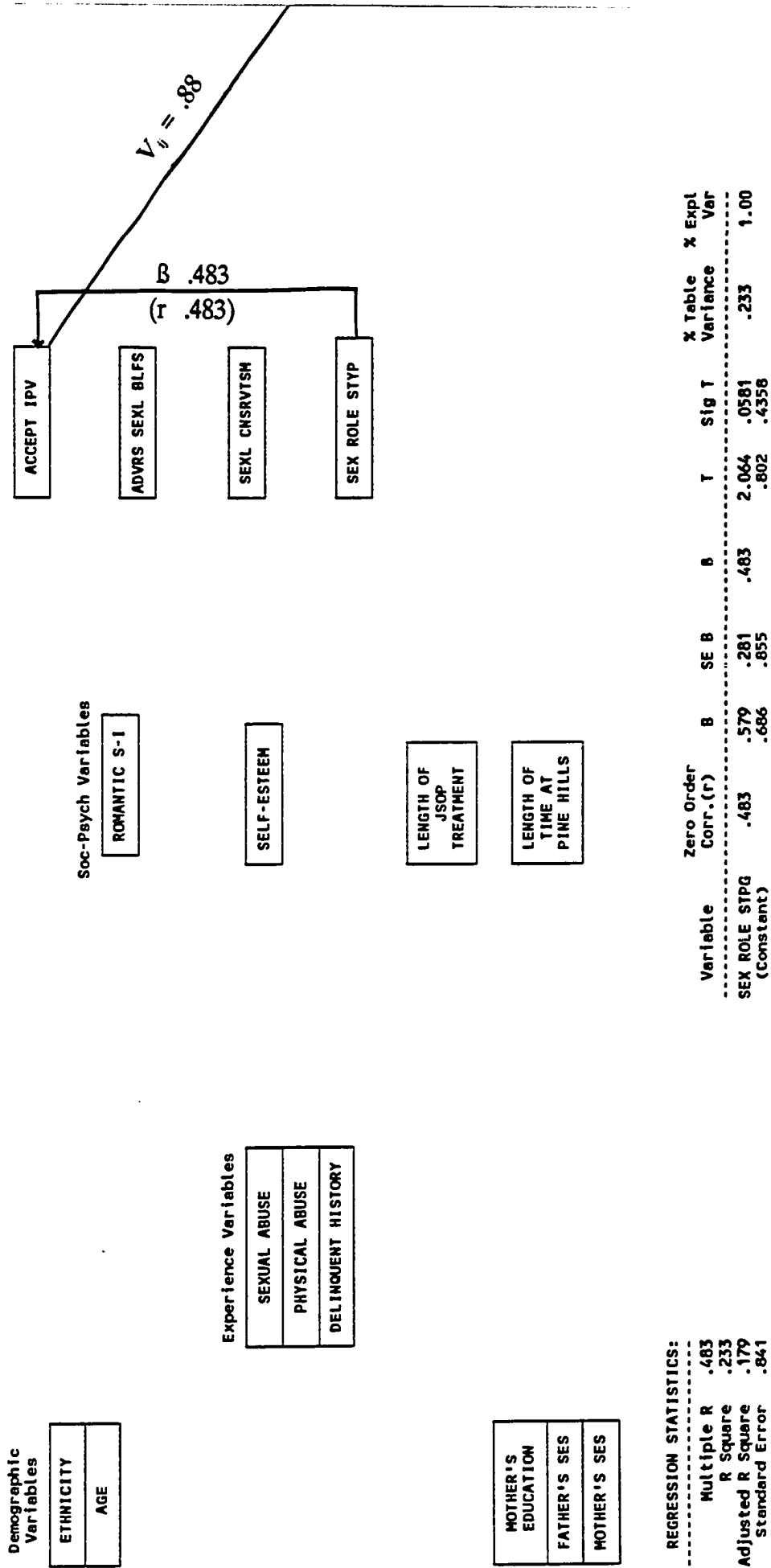
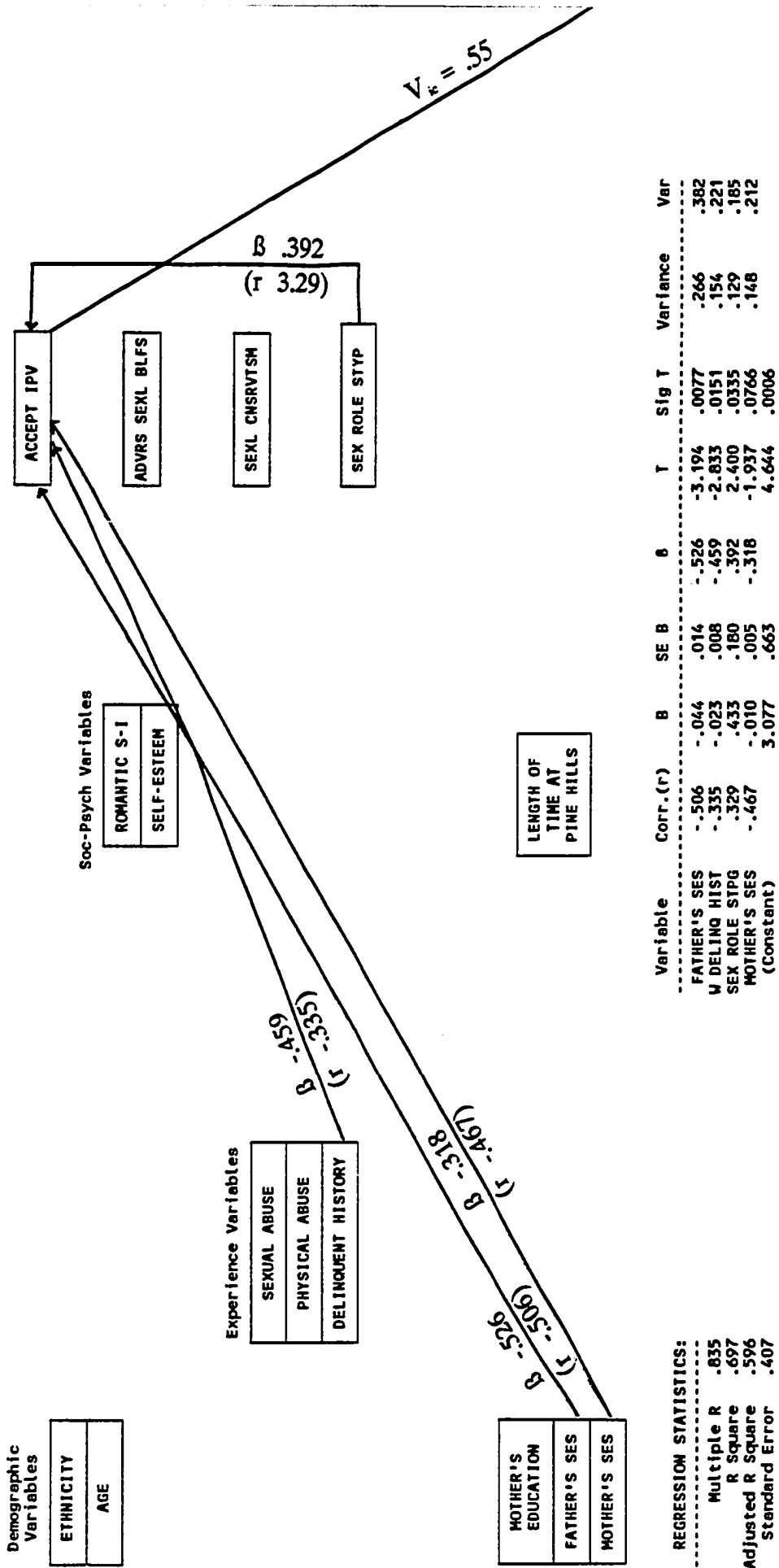


Figure 10. Theoretical Antecedents of Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence - Level C



REGRESSION STATISTICS:

Multiple R	.835
R Square	.697
Adjusted R Square	.596
Standard Error	.407

Variable	Corr.(r)	B	SE B	B	T	Sig T	Variance	Var
FATHER'S SES	-.506	-.044	.014	-.526	-3.194	.0077	.266	.382
M DELINQ HIST	-.335	-.023	.008	-.459	-2.833	.0151	.154	.221
SEX ROLE STYP	.329	.433	.180	.392	2.400	.0335	.129	.185
MOTHER'S SES	-.467	-.010	.005	-.318	-1.937	.0766	.148	.212
(Constant)		3.077	.663		4.644	.0006		

same ones which had produced effects for JSOP youths in earlier regression models. On Step 1, addition of the variable *fathers' SES* produced an R^2 of .25. Since this was a negative correlation, the lower a Level C father's SES, the higher was his acceptance of interpersonal violence. A similar pattern held for inclusion of *mothers' SES* into the regression model. Although this variable was not entered until Step 4, the direction of association for mothers' SES was also negative. Thus, the effect of socioeconomic status was the same for both mothers and fathers of Level C youths, and the direction of that correlation was in line with sociological expectations.

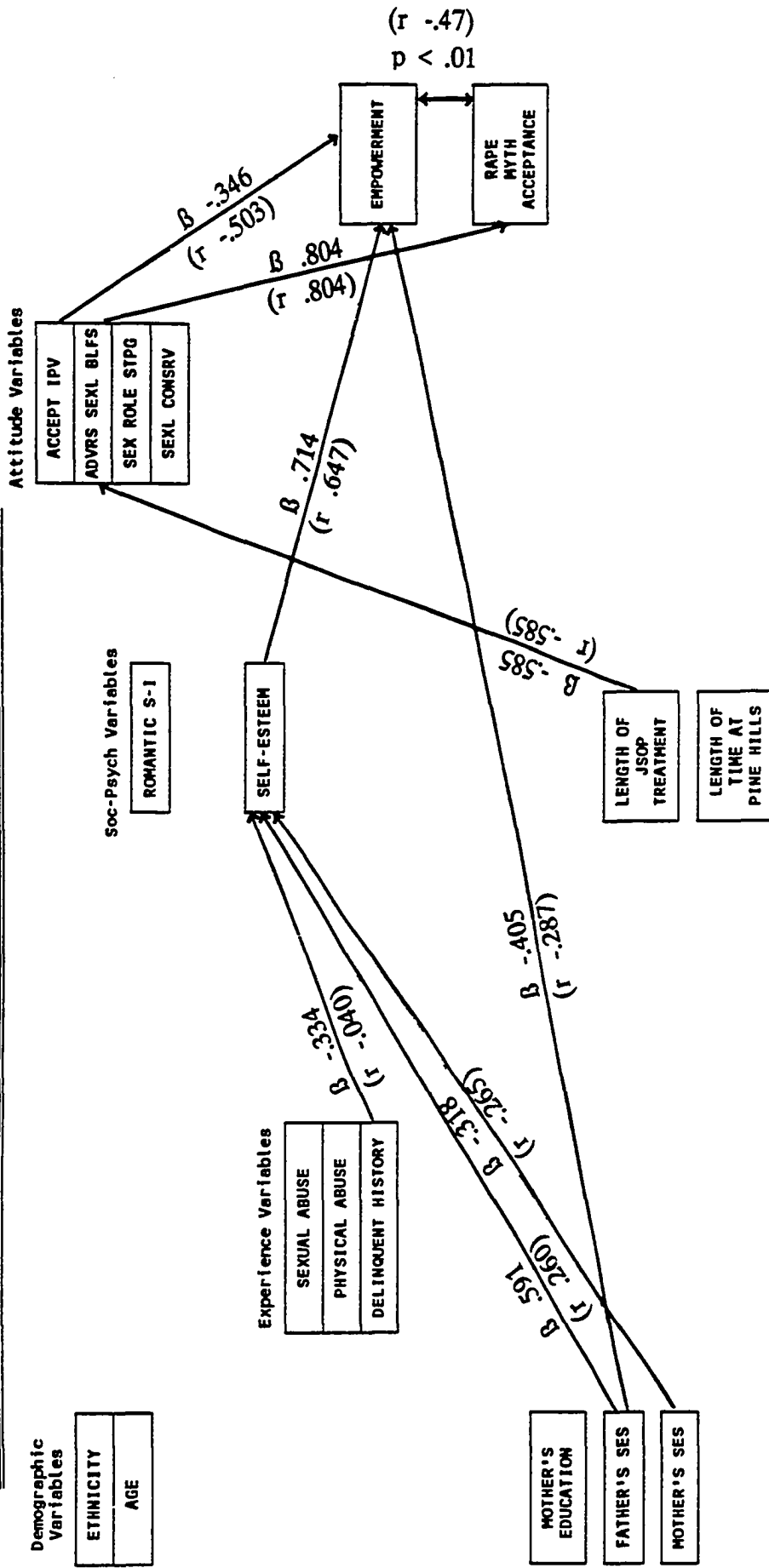
On Step 2, Level C youths' *weighted delinquency history* score was entered into the regression model, producing an R^2 of .602. Again the direction of association was negative, indicating that youths with the most serious and extensive delinquent history (higher scores) were lower on acceptance of interpersonal violence. This is somewhat puzzling, in view of the fact that higher scores on this variable generally indicated that use of physical force was involved in commission of an offense. However, it is noteworthy that Level C youths generally committed more different types of crimes than did JSOP youths, which would result in a higher weighted delinquency score. Further, offenses committed by Level C youths most frequently involved property crimes such as burglary, theft, trespass and criminal mischief, rather than offenses against persons, such as robbery or assault. In contrast, sexual offenses more clearly involve interpersonal aggression.

The third variable added to the regression model depicted in Figure 10 was *sex role stereotyping*, which was positively correlated with acceptance of interpersonal

violence. Thus, in a pattern similar to that of JSOP youths (Figure 9), Level C youths who were more accepting of traditional sex role stereotypes were also more accepting of the use of interpersonal violence. Overall, the regression equation resulting from the four variables added to this model accounted for nearly three-fourths of the variance on attitudes conducive toward acceptance of interpersonal violence ($R^2=.697$).

In short, it appears that much more research would be necessary before sound conclusions could be drawn with respect to causal variables in connection with empowerment and rape myth acceptance for the comparison (Level C) group of subjects. It may be that youths in that sample were more heterogenous in both background factors and attitude variables than were subjects in the sex offender group.

Figure 11. SUMMARY MODEL: Theoretical Antecedents of Empowerment and Rape Myth Acceptance - JSOP Group



DISCUSSION

Figure 11 presents the full model of theoretical antecedents which significantly predicted empowerment, rape myth acceptance, self-esteem, adversarial sexual beliefs, or acceptance of interpersonal violence for the JSOP sample. Proceeding from left to right, we see that socioeconomic status, an attribute long considered by sociologists to be an important independent variable, did influence both self-esteem and empowerment of JSOP youths. However, the direction of these associations makes interpretation of effects problematic.

It makes sense that fathers' SES would be positively correlated with self-esteem, since we would expect fathers with higher SES scores to have higher self-esteem, and to communicate this sense of self to their male offspring. However, the apparent effect of mothers' SES is not as easy to understand, since lower SES scores for a JSOP youth's mother was correlated with higher self-esteem for that youth. One possibility which could explain such a discrepancy is that the correlation between parents' SES and youths' self-esteem might be influenced by a third variable -- parents' self-esteem. If we can assume that the self-esteem of a male adult in our society is directly related to his occupation or economic status, then we would expect high SES of a father to correlate with high self-esteem of that father, which could then be expected to correlate with higher self-esteem of youths.

In contrast, self-esteem of adult women in our society is not as clearly connected to their economic status. Insofar as a woman believes it is her duty to stay at home to be a full-time mother and does so -- even when this means remaining on

public assistance -- her self-esteem might well be inversely correlated with her SES, which would account for the inverse association between mothers' SES and self-esteem of JSOP youths.⁶⁷ This would be an interesting possibility to explore in a future research design that could incorporate mothers' and fathers' self-esteem and empowerment scores as predictors of those scores for their children.

This line of reasoning does not, however, explain why fathers' SES would be negatively correlated with JSOP youths' empowerment scores. In other words, *higher SES of fathers predicted higher self-esteem* of youths, yet *lower SES of fathers predicted higher empowerment* scores for JSOP youths. This is particularly puzzling when we remember that youths' self-esteem was positively associated with empowerment.

The one finding which might help explain this anomaly is the fact that *length of time in treatment* was positively correlated with empowerment ($t = .43, p < .02$). Thus, the longer a youth spent in group treatment, the higher was his score on empowerment. It is conceivable that group treatment may have the greatest impact on improving self-esteem and sense of empowerment for youths from the lowest socioeconomic backgrounds. Exploration of this possibility would necessitate the use of a pre-test/ post-test study design.

⁶⁷ It should be pointed out that effect of mothers' SES was an artifact of the way it was coded for this study. Refer to footnote 58 for a description of the coding process used for mothers and fathers who were not gainfully employed. It should also be noted that in earlier regression runs, mothers who were not working outside the home were coded with a score of "7", which is approximately equivalent to a domestic employee who works for pay. When coded in this manner, mothers' SES did not enter the model as a significant predictor of either self-esteem or empowerment of youths in either study group.

The clearest finding from this research is that self-esteem and empowerment are worthy of future study to determine how they affect the attitudes and behaviors of sexual offenders. Note, for example, that youths' weighted delinquency history scores were negatively related to self-esteem.

As indicated in Figure 11, the variable *time in JSOP treatment* was related to *rape myth acceptance* through an indirect route. The longer a youth spent in JSOP treatment, the lower was his acceptance of *adversarial sexual beliefs* (as evidenced by the negative correlation of $r = -.585$). In turn, a youth's score on the scale measuring adversarial sexual beliefs was a significant and strong predictor of rape myth acceptance ($\beta = .804$). Youths who more strongly believed in the attitude that sexual relationships are adversarial in nature, were also those most likely to have higher acceptance of rape myth attitudes.

Additional indirect relationships predicted scores on the second major dependent variable, *empowerment*. The higher the score a youth obtained on acceptance of sex role stereotypes, the *higher* his score on acceptance of interpersonal violence, and the *lower* his score on empowerment. Although empowerment and rape myth acceptance were inversely correlated as predicted in hypothesis three ($r = -.47, p < .01$), neither of these appeared in the step-wise equations as predictors of each other.

CHAPTER VII: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The dual goals of this study were to develop a demographic profile of youthful sexual offenders in a predominantly rural state (Montana); and to explore theoretical antecedents of empowerment and rape myth acceptance among a group of such youths who had participated in a sex offender group treatment program (the JSOP at Pine Hills School). This was accomplished, in part, through use of a comparison group of adjudicated youths who were committed to Pine Hills for serious offense histories of a *nonsexual* nature (Level C youths).

BACKGROUND FACTORS:

Utilizing the Level C youths for comparative purposes produced two important findings. First, this study provided evidence that sex offenders were similar to nonsexual serious offenders at Pine Hills on a number of demographic variables. Socioeconomic status was overwhelmingly low for both groups, with one-third of all heads of household unemployed overall. Fathers of youths in the JSOP group who were employed tended to have jobs in the skilled manual trades, while working fathers of Level C youths were more likely have semi-skilled jobs. Half of all mothers were not employed outside the home, but mothers had slightly more education on average than did fathers, and this was reflected in the higher status occupations held by mothers who did work outside the home.

Nearly three-fourths of all youths had been placed out-of-home at least once, typically in a foster home or group home, and many had been bounced around

among different relatives. Over four-fifths of youths were from broken homes, with this parental separation occurring before the youth reached school-age. Both groups also suffered a high incidence of severe physical abuse at the hands of their father or other male adult, and a large number had been abandoned by their fathers. Youths in both groups also evidenced a large number of school-related problems such as being behind at least one grade in school, being frequently truant and/or evidencing lack of *desire to achieve* in the school setting.

The major differences between JSOP and Level C youths were related to their "acting-out" tendencies. Whereas Level C youths more frequently abused alcohol and drugs and committed a wider range of criminal offenses, JSOP youths displayed a higher incidence of hyperactivity, enuresis and encopresis. This is interesting in light of the fact that JSOP youths were more likely than Level C youths to have fathers who were substance abusers. This does not, however, disprove the modeling notion behind social learning theory, since JSOP youths were also much more likely than Level C youths to be have been sexual abuse victims. Thus, it is possible that the experience of sexual abuse may have a higher potential for social learning effects than does vicarious reinforcement of drug or alcohol abuse.

ATTITUDE SUMMARY

As indicated by results of the regression analysis, JSOP youths were uniquely different from Level C youths with respect to their attitudes, beliefs, and sense of self. Since they were significantly different from the nonsexual offenders who were also rated by Pine Hills staff as high in *risk* and *needs*, one of two explanations seems

indicated. Either they were initially different from Level C youths, and as such did have unique treatment needs; or JSOP group treatment had the effect of creating a more homogenous set of attitudes among that group of offenders.

In contrast, the Level C youths in this study were a very heterogenous group. This was partially evident from the lower internal reliability coefficients (α) obtained on several of the scales administered. Further, results of the regression analyses were quite different for each group. Although many of the same variables proved to have predictive importance for the Level C group, these did not impact on the same dependent variables as they had in the models produced for the JSOP group.

The possibility exists that the relative homogeneity of attitudes among JSOP youths is at least partially a function of their participation in the treatment process, since attitudes of JSOP youths were significantly correlated⁶⁸ with length of time in treatment on all eight scales administered in this study (see Table 35, page 136). T-tests confirmed that greater amount of time spent in JSOP treatment was correlated with higher levels of such positive traits as self-esteem, personal empowerment and romantic self-image; and with lower levels of such negative attitudes as acceptance of interpersonal violence, sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, sexual conservatism, and rape myth acceptance.

It must be reiterated that these results only point toward the possibility that such change was a function of length of time in the JSOP group treatment program. Such an assumption cannot be supported as a solid finding until it is backed by

⁶⁸ Six of these were significant at $p < .05$ or less, and two were significant at $p < .10$.

longitudinal findings which demonstrate that these changes do occur over time among youths in the JSOP program. Support for this premise would necessitate use of a pre-test/post-test research design.⁶⁹

EMPOWERMENT AND SELF-ESTEEM

Despite the fact that the sex offenders and comparison subjects were similar on most demographic dimensions, a second important finding which resulted from using Level C youths as a comparison group was the discovery that self-esteem and empowerment are not the same attribute. If self-esteem is the same thing as empowerment, we would expect to find the two variables to be highly correlated. This was the case for the JSOP group. However, the fact that two other variables explained half again as much of the variation in empowerment scores as did self-esteem is theoretically important. It seems apparent that empowerment, as measured by the Empowerment Scale, is tapping an attribute distinctly different from self-esteem. Further support for this premise arises from the fact that self-esteem scores *failed to predict* empowerment scores for youths in the Level C Group. In fact, none of the variables in the model were significant predictors of SQEMP for the comparison group.

Perhaps high self-esteem is a "necessary," but not "sufficient" condition for high empowerment). It may well be that the treatment effects observed in this study can

⁶⁹ Staff in charge of the JSOP program at Pine Hills have indicated their interest in such a research design. Tests given to four of the youths in this study can be considered a "pre-test", since they have not yet begun group treatment. Subsequent JSOP program participants will be given the test both before and after treatment for continuation of this research.

provide a tentative explanation of this result as well, if indeed empowerment is an attribute which is amenable to change through the cognitive treatment modality. It was not possible to examine that question with the data gathered for this study, since scores were not available for parental self-esteem and empowerment.

Sociologists have long found that a person's sense of self is positively correlated with socioeconomic status in society. The economic status and prestige of individuals has been shown to affect such things as powerlessness, self-esteem, and anomia. This makes intuitive sense; yet the direction of the relationship between fathers' SES and JSOP youths' level of empowerment was opposite that which would be expected ($\beta = -.405$).

RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE

It is not surprising that scores on *adversarial sexual beliefs* were highly correlated with scores on *rape myth acceptance* for both groups in this study, since the two variables would seem to be measuring similar attitudes. However, it should be noted that the correlation between these two variables was much less strong among the adults randomly sampled in the Burt (1980) study. The variable, *acceptance of interpersonal violence*, was a better predictor of rape myth attitudes for that sample. Further, the effect for both independent variables was substantially smaller in that study than was the case in this research. BETA (β) scores were .279 for prediction of rape myth acceptance from acceptance of interpersonal violence in the Burt sample, and .141 for prediction of rape myth attitudes from scores on adversarial

sexual beliefs. The large discrepancy in BETA scores between these two studies suggests the possibility that negative attitudes may indeed be accurate predictors of antisocial behaviors.⁷⁰

The fact that experience as a sexual abuse victim did not predict rape myth acceptance for JSOP youths is curious, but it could be explained in a couple of ways. First, there was less variation among JSOP youths on this variable, since nearly two-thirds of all sex offenders had been the victims of sexual assault (61.3%). In contrast, only 20% of Level C youths had experienced such abuse. Second, the effect of this variable may have been influenced by the treatment process. Again, the information available from this study points to such a possibility, but further research is needed to provide confirming evidence of treatment effects.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Several anomalies occurred with respect to socioeconomic status as a predictor for JSOP youths. Fathers' SES was positively correlated with self-esteem, but negatively associated with empowerment. Furthermore, mothers' SES was negatively associated with JSOP youths' self-esteem scores, but unrelated to their empowerment scores. It is suggested here that another variable (self-esteem of parent) may be contributing to these discrepancies.

Socioeconomic status is a variable deserving of further study, primarily because of the conflicting effects uncovered by this research. Recall that, for the JSOP

⁷⁰ While the variables in this study were closely similar to those analyzed in the Burt study, it should be noted that the beta scores (standardized regression coefficients) cannot be directly compared. Beta coefficients, like B's, are contingent upon the effect of other independent variables in the equation.

sample, fathers' SES was inversely correlated with youths' sense of empowerment, yet it was positively correlated with self-esteem which, in turn, was positively correlated with empowerment. Furthermore, the finding that mothers' SES was inversely correlated with the youths' self-esteem is a surprising and interesting finding. It seems possible, for example, that a woman could have a high sense of self-esteem even if she were receiving public assistance, since our society currently defines "motherhood" as an important role for women. Fathers are not currently given the same high status for their parental role; instead males are expected to define themselves more in terms of their economic or job status. Thus if their socioeconomic status is low, their own sense of self-esteem may be lower than that of most unemployed or under-employed women.

Following this same logic, it is possible that the inverse relationships between mothers' SES for JSOP subjects' self-esteem and empowerment may be in part a product of the male youth feeling good about himself because he thinks he holds a higher "status" in society, relative to his mother, by virtue of his "maleness" - especially if neither of them holds any real economic power. There is, of course, no data available from this study to support such a conclusion, but the topic area certainly warrants further research.

TREATMENT IMPLICATIONS:

The connection between low self-esteem and low empowerment on the one hand, and negative attitudes or behaviors on the other, has important treatment implications. It seems wise to add additional program components for youthful

sexual offenders which are specifically designed to raise self-esteem and empowerment. Such treatment should expressly point out to these youths that they can and should build their self-image based upon their own intrinsic merits and accomplishments. In contrast, it should be stressed that attempting to build one's self-esteem at the expense of victimizing others or comparing oneself to less powerful others is self-defeating and can lead directly to the continuation of socially unacceptable behaviors.

The fact that *acceptance of interpersonal violence* was inversely correlated with empowerment (SQEMP) for JSOP youths is important in light of the claim by clinicians that rape and sexual assault are frequently expressions of power rather than crimes of passion. The implication has been that sexual assaulters are low in feelings of power, and that they attempt to compensate for this by victimizing less powerful others. This finding provides evidence supportive of that perspective since, after holding constant any effect of *time in treatment*, JSOP youths who held stronger attitudes towards acceptance of interpersonal violence were lower in sense of empowerment. Conversely, those less accepting of attitudes conducive towards interpersonal violence had a stronger sense of personal empowerment.

The finding that Rape Myth Acceptance is highly correlated with Adversarial Sexual Beliefs among subjects in this sample is interesting in light of the fact that the two scales were not as highly correlated in Burt's national random sample of adults. Instead, Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence was most highly correlated with Rape Myth Acceptance. This would seem to indicate that sexual relationships with the

opposite sex is an important component of the attitude structure of youthful male sex offenders. Examination of interpersonal sexuality issues thus seems a very appropriate component for inclusion in the JSOP group treatment process. Again, it should be noted that treatment effects may be part of the reason for the relationship between the two variables (Rape Myth Acceptance and Adversarial Sexual Beliefs) for this sample. A longitudinal study design would be necessary to pinpoint whether this has occurred.

It is also interesting to note that, when the same analysis was performed on the comparison group of subjects committed for serious, but nonsexual offenses, the experience of having been sexually abused as a child contributed to a greater acceptance of rape myth attitudes. This lends credence to the treatment assumption that social learning/modelling effects can be an important component of the cycle of physical abuse. Again, the fact that that variable did not show up in the step-wise analysis for the JSOP group could have been due to a "treatment effect." If this is the case, it also supports the notion that the peer group treatment modality is having the intended effect of resocialization through cognitive restructuring of attitudes. The question remains, of course, as to whether such attitude change will also lead to long-term behavioral change. This could only be examined through a longitudinal design which includes follow-up of sexual abuse subjects after release from treatment (i.e., including "recidivism" as a variable in the analysis).

It should be remembered that the JSOP treatment program is not explicitly designed to raise the self-esteem or empowerment of youths, but rather is geared

directly toward changing attitudes and misconceptions considered to promote problematic sexual behaviors. Thus, increases which may have occurred in self-esteem and empowerment were a by-product of the treatment process. Advocates of an empowerment-based treatment approach have noted that actively participating in the process of "helping others" within the group seems to have just such an empowerment effect. It is possible that the addition of exercises for self-esteem building, goal-setting and problem-solving to the JSOP program would result in substantial increases in both self-esteem and empowerment of these youths.

These preliminary findings do suggest that attitude variables can be important mediators of structural (societal) factors. For example, it would appear that the negative effects of SES can be somewhat alleviated by treatment processes which focus on attitude changes which encourage development of positive interpersonal attributes such as self-esteem, personal empowerment; as well as reducing the negative effects of such attitudes as acceptance of rape myths, adversarial sexual beliefs, sex role stereotyping, and acceptance of interpersonal violence.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The fact that *acceptance of interpersonal violence* was inversely correlated with empowerment (SQEMP) for JSOP youths is important in light of the claim by clinicians that rape and sexual assault are frequently expressions of power rather than crimes of passion. The implication has been that sexual assaulters are low in feelings of power, and that they attempt to compensate for this by victimizing less powerful others. This finding provides evidence supportive of that perspective since, after

holding constant the effect of *time in treatment*, JSOP youths who held stronger attitudes towards acceptance of interpersonal violence were lower in sense of empowerment. Conversely, those less accepting of attitudes conducive toward interpersonal violence had a stronger sense of personal empowerment.

Future research should examine the notion proposed by Finkelhor (1981)⁷¹ that the image of the male sex role held by our society is conducive to the use of force in interpersonal relationships. Since the self (self-esteem) appears to be a crucial ingredient of empowerment among sexual offenders, it should prove fruitful to examine ways in which these youths "define themselves." Use of Doyle's (1978) "Attitudes Towards the Male's Role Scale (AMR)" may prove useful in this regard.

Of additional importance would be examination of the mental processes or cognitions of these youths as they made the conscious decision to sexually assault. Data gathered in the course of this study indicate that 88% of the sexual offenses committed by youths in the JSOP program were premeditated, and in 81% of incidents, the victim was preselected. Such evidence points strongly toward the possibility that cognitive restructuring of events may be a successful means of intervention with this group of offenders.

The possibility also exists that the relative homogeneity of attitudes among JSOP youths is partially a function of their participation in the treatment process, since attitudes of JSOP youths were significantly correlated⁷² with length of time in

⁷¹ See discussion on page 4.

⁷² Six of these were significant at $p < .05$ or less, and two were significant at $p < .10$.

treatment on all eight scales administered in this study (see Table 35, page 134). T-tests confirmed that greater amount of time spent in JSOP treatment was correlated with higher levels of such positive traits as self-esteem, personal empowerment and romantic self-image; and with lower levels of such negative attitudes as acceptance of interpersonal violence, sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, sexual conservatism, and rape myth acceptance.

It must be reiterated that these results only point toward the possibility that such change was a function of length of time in the JSOP group treatment program. Such an assumption cannot be supported as a solid finding until it is backed by longitudinal findings which demonstrate that these changes do occur over time among youths in the JSOP program. Support for this premise would necessitate use of a pre-test/post-test research design.⁷³

An important next step in the research process would be to examine recidivism as a means of determining whether attitude change does promote behavior change among youths who have completed the JSOP program. Valuable information about the connection between attitudes and behavior could also be obtained through an interview study. Further insight into the empowerment process and its potential effect on future behavior could be fruitfully examined by means of an interview process as well. Such an approach could be used to test perceptions of youths about their own attitudes and behavior changes (or lack of same), as a clue to whether

⁷³ Staff in charge of the JSOP program at Pine Hills have indicated their interest in such continued research. Tests given to four of the youths in this study can be considered a "pre-test", since they have not yet begun group treatment. Subsequent JSOP program participants can be given the test both before and after treatment for extension of these findings to a longitudinal research design.

attitude change resulting from group treatment is a conscious or unconscious process. Insight could also be gathered into such social-psychological questions as, "What is *empowerment talk*". That is, how can we recognize a person who feels empowered to change his or her environment?

Also conducive to an interview study design would be exploration of why youthful offenders feel a stronger sense of kinship with women than with men. Since the great majority of sexual offense victims are females abused by males,⁷⁴ it is possible that such youths hold a very ambivalent view of women. It has been noted by treatment professionals that males who were physically abused as children, and grow up to be abusers of women themselves, do have such a "love-hate" relationship with their mothers. It is likely that exploration of the mother-son relationship would provide important insight into discovering ways to interrupt cycles of physical and sexual abuse.

The role of fathers is obviously important to the self-concept of youthful sex offenders in this group. A qualitative study could provide insight into the ways in which these youths do (or do not) try to emulate their fathers in terms of behavior and self-concept. The large number of fathers in both study groups who had abandoned their sons should not be overlooked as having a powerful impact on the youth's sense of self.

Much additional information could be gained by comparison of study results from these two groups of offenders with the same data gathered for comparison with

⁷⁴ both in the population at large and among this group of sexual offenders.

a random sample of youths in junior high schools throughout Montana. Such research would provide insight into how "normal" or widely accepted are rape myth attitudes within the general population of adolescents in this rural state. It would also provide baseline data on potential effects of empowerment for the coping styles of youths.

Finally, it has been noted that there is a growing number of female sexual offenders.⁷⁵ Since all subjects in this study were male, a similar research design should be employed with female offenders.⁷⁶ It has already been noted that the great majority of sexual abuse victims are female, while the majority of perpetrators are male. One must wonder, then, why a larger number of females do not react in a physically assaultive fashion. The social learning reformulation proposed by Perry and Bussey (1979) provides a partial answer to this question (see page 22). However, the questions left unaddressed are 1) *how* and 2) *why* do victims of sexual assault cope with their experience by interrupting, rather than continuing, this cycle of abuse.

It is suggested that the concept of empowerment, as measured by the empowerment scale used in this study, could provide valuable insight into many of the questions posed herein.

⁷⁵ Ten percent of youths who participated in the JSOP program over the past five years had been sexually abused by their mothers.

⁷⁶ Several youths who participated in this study suggested that this survey be administered to the girls at Mountain View School in Helena, Montana.

APPENDIX "A"

Treatment Phases of the JUVENILE SEX OFFENDER PROGRAM (JSOP) at Pine Hills Correctional Center, Miles City, Montana

- PHASE I: Assessment, evaluation, orientation and adjustment to campus life. This phase takes place prior to induction into peer group therapy.
- PHASE II: Sex Education. The student receives information about normal processes of sexuality, and how this relates to his experiences and problems. This is the first step of the group process.
- PHASE III: Self-Disclosure. This process concentrates on helping the student work through denial, understand what is meant by a "denial system," and learn how such denial is manifested by self and others. Youths learn to: constructively confront others when they deny; be open when others confront them about their own denial; and self-disclose about their own sexual history and offenses.
- PHASE IV: Autobiography. As a homework assignment, each youth writes a complete autobiography which includes all family threads affecting the student's self-concept, including important positive and negative early experiences; as well as a sexual history to help highlight and explain the process through which he became a sexual offender.
- PHASE V: Understanding the Assault Cycle. Within the group process which extends over a period of several days, each youth reconstructs, in-depth, his own assault cycle, arousal patterns, and trigger mechanisms which form a pattern that precedes enactment of a sex offense. As a result of this process, the youth gains a greater understanding of his own feelings; learns to identify situations which have been "high risk" for offending; and begins to learn how he can take control of future behavior by examining and changing trigger mechanisms.
- PHASE VI:^{*77} Fantasies. As a homework assignment, students are instructed to keep a daily journal of sexual fantasies. They then explore these personal sexual fantasies in-depth with their counselor, and at least in part with other group members, in order to gain an understanding of the power of such fantasies, and to recognize the difference between destructive and constructive sexual fantasies.

⁷⁷ Starred items indicate those phases which were added to the program in July of 1988.

- PHASE VII:** Victimization. Within the group process, the youth (as victim) identifies and explores unfinished emotional issues of past sexual or aggressive experiences. Throughout this process he learns to understand his own vacillation between persecutor and victim status, to be honest and open about his own feelings of victimization, and to discover how these feelings are manifested, expressed, and can be controlled.
- PHASE VIII:** Victimology. Here the youth (as offender) explores how he openly abused his personal power and betrayed the trust of his victim; learns to understand "rape mentality" (assaultive attitudes toward women and weaker persons) to see how he may be attempting to excuse his behavior; explores ways in which he has previously attempted to meet nonsexual needs through sexual abuse (e.g., release of anger); and learn to recognize and understand the feelings of his victim and the aftermath of sex abuse for all victims.
- PHASE IX:*** Development of Normal Guilt, Shame, Empathy and Caring. The goal of this process is to help the youthful offender fantasize or imagine his sexual assaults in slow motion, and by doing so see the act through the eyes or skin of his victim, in order to actually experience something similar to his victim's feelings at the time of the assault.
- PHASE X:*** Anger. The student learns how to get in touch with his own feelings of anger; demonstrate these feelings through role play situations; identify at which point anger becomes a problem for him; differentiate just from unjust anger; understand how individuals cause their own anger; and learn how to deal constructively with feelings of anger.
- PHASE XI:** Development of Social Skills and Self-Confidence. The student learns to develop a level of competency in certain common social skills within a variety of situations and circumstances; utilizes role play and practice of skills with students and staff; learns to give corrective feedback to other students; and demonstrates ability to accept corrective feedback from others.
- PHASE XII:** Transition to the Community. This phase includes a variety of requirements designed to meet the individual student's needs. These may include learning to identify life skills needed and appropriate ways of learning these life skills, and ways of demonstrating proficiency in the identified areas. Community visits increase wherever possible, including visits with youth court representatives. An oral examination is completed with a committee of JSOP staff and administrative staff, during which the student must demonstrate understanding of the seriousness of his crime, awareness of his risk as a future offender; the ability to stop a sex offense from happening in the future; that he has the necessary motivation to do so; and that he cares enough about others to be willing never to sexually offend another human being again.

In summary, JSOP program staff at Pine Hills hope to return a youth to his community setting with the ability and desire to do the following:

- 1) take responsibility for recognizing and controlling his internal feelings and external behaviors;
- 2) replace assaultive, aggressive, and other inappropriate behaviors with socially acceptable ones;
- 3) participate in age-appropriate social interactions; and
- 4) not commit another offense.

APPENDIX "B"

EMPOWERMENT SCALE ITEMS

1. I have valuable ideas to share with others.
2. Success is more dependent on luck than real ability.
3. There are so many decisions that have to be made, that some days I feel I could just "blow up."
4. I am comfortable with the fact that I am sometimes different from other people.
5. There's little use trying to improve because it's not really possible to get ahead in today's world.
6. I can say exactly what I think.
7. I feel I can achieve my potential.
8. I find it hard to stay committed to goals I set for myself.
9. I become embarrassed when others compliment me.
10. I am more aware of my personal power than most people.
11. I sometimes feel there is no point making plans, because something usually happens to ruin things.
12. My personal strength is a source of strength for others.
13. A person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
14. I can tell you what my work goals are.
15. I have my own rights as a person.
16. I'm not really sure what I want out of life just yet.
17. I feel independent as a person.

18. It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society at large.
19. I can say exactly what I feel.
20. I have a realistic chance of accomplishing my personal goals.
21. The costs of success are usually greater than the rewards.
22. I feel strong as a person.
23. People change for the worst after they become successful.
24. I can live according to my personal values.
25. I inspire others to work toward their goals.
26. I enjoy telling my friends that I have done something especially well.
27. My feelings are clear to me.
28. I frequently feel depressed these days.
29. I feel I am responsible for my own well-being.
30. I can recognize and resist attempts by others to control my life.
31. Sometimes I feel that I don't have much control over the direction my life is taking.
32. I can directly confront others who don't respect my rights or feelings.
33. I am easily beat in an argument.
34. The important people in my life actively encourage me to achieve goals I set for myself.
35. Once a person achieves their current goal, they should set a new, more challenging goal.
36. Part of my motivation in working to achieve my goals is to make the world a better, more positive place in which to live.
37. Feeling that I have personal strength is a way of life for me.

38. I expect and need others to appreciate me.
39. I think I have a positive influence on others.
40. I feel a sense of kinship with women.
41. I do not feel there is much exploitation or discrimination in our society anymore.
42. I feel my contributions and opinions are as valid as those of the important persons in my life.
43. I am not afraid to differ with important persons in my life.
44. I feel able to challenge myself to improve previous performances.
45. In my attempt to better myself, I will probably lose many friends who are important to me.
46. I do not feel threatened by looking at mistakes I have made.
47. I feel I will ultimately influence the larger community.
48. I am able to express my fears about what happens in my life.
49. Many times I feel I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
50. I feel I can learn from all my life experiences, whether good or bad.
51. I can recognize the many strengths in others.
52. I feel a sense of kinship with men.

NOTE: Some items for the Empowerment Scale were taken or adapted from other scale sources, as follows:

- Item 3 from the *Alienation Scale* (Dean 1969)
- Items 9, 21, 23, 26, 35, 38, and 45 from the *Fear of Success Scale* (Zuckerman and Allison 1976).
- Item 13 from the *Anomia Scale* (Srole 1956)
- Item 18 from the *Powerlessness Scale* (Neal and Seeman 1964)
- Items 32 and 33 from the *Assertiveness Scale* (Del Greco 1983)
- Items 2, 11, 31, and 49 from the *Internal-External Locus of Control Scale* (James 1957; Rotter 1966)

APPENDIX "C"

DEVELOPMENT OF THE EMPOWERMENT SCALE

Positive items compose approximately two-thirds of the Empowerment Scale (ES). These were generated from theoretical writings on the topic of empowerment. Negative items, which constitute approximately one-third of all questions on the ES, were adapted from existing sociological measures of concepts diametrically opposed to the concept of empowerment, e.g., powerlessness, alienation, anomia, fear of success, and external locus of control.

The Empowerment Scale was originated by Dr. Frank Clark, Chair of the Social Work Department at the University of Montana in Missoula, as part of a program evaluation for "Options Unlimited." Options is a job development and training program for recipients of public assistance. The overall goal of the program is to help participants achieve long-term economic self-sufficiency. Chronbach's Alpha, a sophisticated variant of the split-half method of determining internal reliability of scale-type measures⁷⁸, was performed on empowerment pretests administered to "Options" program participants, and to a comparison group of subjects registered with a similar jobs training program administered by the State of Montana. Over the full 54 original items of the scale, Chronbach's alpha was .92, which suggests that the items within the scale are highly internally consistent.

⁷⁸ A split-half reliability test divides the scale items in half randomly to determine whether the two halves of the scale are equivalent. Chronbach's Alpha is a sophisticated measure in that it computes an average of all possible combinations of split-half reliability comparisons.

Correlation coefficients were then examined to determine whether some of the items were less strongly associated with the rest (and should therefore be excluded from the scale). Three of the ES items were discovered to be either weakly or negatively correlated with the rest of the scale items. These items were:

- *I almost never feel the urge to tell someone off.*
- *My personal problems are partially affected by larger forces in society.*
- *I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they have only gotten what they deserved.*

With respect to the first item listed above, it was assumed by the authors of the Empowerment Scale that assertive persons high in empowerment would confront others with whom they have disagreements rather than avoiding problems or reacting to others in a passive-aggressive fashion. Respondents may not have interpreted this statement as it was originally intended, i.e., feeling the need, on occasion, to confront persons for purposes of positive problem-solving. Respondents may have felt, instead, that *telling someone off* was aggressive, rather than assertive.

This item was dropped from the ES, since its correlation with the others was weak, and the intent of that question is probably adequately covered by the following items:

- *I am not afraid to differ with important persons in my life.*
- *I can recognize and resist attempts by others to control my life.*
- *I can directly confront others who don't respect my rights or feelings.*

Respondents high in empowerment were expected to agree with the second item listed above, and to disagree with the third item. As indicated in Sue's (1981) definitions of empowerment-based practice and internal locus of control/external locus of responsibility, it was assumed that subjects would be able to acknowledge the

fact that some social forces are indeed beyond their control -- yet this should not negatively affect their sense of personal empowerment. Further, developers of the ES scale assumed that if people become aware of how societal forces affect their lives, they are less likely to consider "themselves" as failures (e.g., assuming they are "bad" or incapable of positive change). By recognizing these problems as forces outside of themselves, they can maintain their sense of self-esteem and also gain the confidence necessary to adopt a "can-do" attitude toward goal achievement rather than accepting a self-defeating "victim" orientation.

However, it would appear that those items were ambiguous with regard to their validity as measurements of empowerment, since they were *negatively* correlated with the other 51 items which were otherwise highly internally consistent. These three items were dropped from the scale, which increased Chronbach's Alpha for the Options subjects slightly (to .93). Dropping further items from the scale would not appreciably increase the scale's internal reliability.

The Empowerment Scale was pre-tested on a group of adolescents in order to insure that the questionnaire items were understandable for persons with less than a high school education. These individuals were asked not to answer any questions which seemed unclear to them until they discussed them with the researcher. In addition, individuals who pre-tested the instrument were asked why they had answered a given question in a particular fashion if the response to that item seemed inconsistent with their responses to other similar items. This process allowed the

researchers to revise the questionnaire so that it would be appropriate for administration to adolescents as well as adults.

The items with which subjects at the Pine Hills correctional facility had some difficulty with interpretation included:

- *I feel a sense of kinship with women*⁷⁹, and
- *I feel a sense of kinship with men.*

The term "kinship" was described as meaning "*a feeling of acceptance or belonging*" to the population of women or men in general. Further use of these Empowerment scale items should include this wording revision, as follows:

- *I feel a sense of kinship (a feeling of acceptance or belonging) with women;*
- *I feel a sense of kinship (a feeling of acceptance or belonging) with men.*

It is interesting to note that the male youths did not have a problem answering either question (after receiving clarification on the definition of "kinship"), even though the item regarding kinship with women appeared first in the scale, while the item regarding kinship with men did not appear until much later in the scale (i.e., the two questions were separated by several other scale items).

Administration of the Empowerment Scale to two widely divergent groups (a predominantly female AFDC population (Options) and the male population of juvenile sex offenders (JSOP subjects) is expected to help establish its construct and content validity. It is hoped that use of a longitudinal design with the AFDC population will provide information with regard to its predictive validity.

⁷⁹ The original scale included only this item, because it was administered to a female population. Before administering the scale to the male youths at Pine Hills, the second item was added regarding "kinship with men."

APPENDIX "D"

TYPES OF SEXUAL OFFENSES COMMITTED BY JSOP YOUTHS

Fondling	(34)	44.16
Fellatio	(20)	25.97
Vaginal intercourse	(20)	25.97
Cunnilingus	(15)	19.48
Digital vaginal penetration	(15)	19.48
Phys asslt w/sexual purpose	(12)	15.58
Anal intercourse	(10)	12.99
Forcible rape	(9)	11.54
Simulated intercourse	(7)	9.09
Indecent exposure	(6)	7.79
Digital anal penetration	(4)	5.19
Obscene phone calls	(3)	3.90
Masturbation of others	(3)	3.90
Peeping	(2)	2.60
Stealing underwear	(2)	2.60
Self-masturbation	(2)	2.60
Other	(2)	2.60
Provocative acts	(1)	1.30
Porno pictures	(1)	1.30
Sadistic Act (S&M)	(1)	1.30
Mutual exploration	(1)	1.30
Bestiality	(1)	1.30

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APPENDIX "F"

COUNTY OF COMMITMENT

<i>COUNTY</i>	<i>TOTAL (N=165)</i>		<i>JSOP (N=91)</i>		<i>LEVEL C (N=74)</i>	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Beaverhead	(2)	1.22	(1)	1.10	(1)	1.37
Cascade	(21)	12.80	(10)	10.99	(11)	15.07
Custer	(1)	0.61	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.37
Dawson	(3)	1.83	(3)	3.30	(0)	0.00
Deer Lodge	(3)	1.83	(2)	2.20	(1)	1.37
Flathead	(19)	11.59	(11)	12.09	(8)	10.96
Gallatin	(6)	3.66	(4)	4.40	(2)	2.74
Glacier	(2)	1.22	(0)	0.00	(2)	2.74
Hill	(5)	3.05	(3)	3.30	(2)	2.74
Lake	(6)	3.66	(2)	2.20	(4)	5.48
Lewis & Clark	(6)	3.66	(5)	5.49	(1)	1.37
Lincoln	(8)	4.88	(7)	7.69	(1)	1.37
Missoula	(17)	10.37	(11)	12.09	(6)	8.22
Park	(1)	0.61	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.37
Powell	(1)	0.61	(1)	1.10	(0)	0.00
Kavaii	(2)	1.22	(1)	1.10	(1)	1.37
Roosevelt	(3)	1.83	(2)	2.20	(1)	1.37
Rosebud	(7)	4.27	(4)	4.40	(3)	4.11
Silver Bow	(1)	6.71	(2)	2.20	(9)	12.33
Toole	(5)	3.05	(3)	3.30	(2)	2.74
Valley	(3)	1.83	(2)	2.20	(1)	1.37
Yellowstone	(31)	18.90	(17)	18.68	(4)	19.18
Federal Commit	(1)	0.61	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.37

APPENDIX "G"

DESCRIPTION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS SCORES and Scoring Procedures for the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position

1. Duncan Socioeconomic Index of Social Position. This list of scores was derived from survey results of respondents who had been asked to rate the status and prestige of specific occupations. Each occupation thus has its own unique SES score. On this scale, *higher scores indicate higher socioeconomic status*.
2. Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position. This index was developed to meet the need for an objective, easily applicable procedure to estimate the positions individuals occupy in the status structure of our society (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958). While the Census SES (above) is based solely upon the status of the occupation itself, the Hollingshead Index combines status derived from two factors -- occupation + education -- into one overall SES score.

Scores on the Hollingshead Index are computed as follows. All occupations are grouped into one of seven categories, to which scale scores are assigned:

- a) professional = 1
- b) semi-professional = 2
- c) administrative personnel/small business owners = 3
- d) clerical/sales/technicians = 4
- e) skilled manual = 5
- f) semi-skilled labor = 6
- g) unskilled labor = 7

Number of years of education completed are also lumped into categories and assigned a scale score:

- a) post-graduate (greater than 16 years) = 1
- b) college graduate (16 years) = 2
- c) partial college or technical training = 3
- d) High School diploma or G.E.D. = 4
- e) 10th to 11th grades = 5
- f) 7th to 9th grades = 6
- g) less than 7th grade = 7

The Hollingshead Index then applies *factor weights* to the scores (7 for occupation, and 4 for education). A person employed in the unskilled trades would thus receive a score of $7 \times 7 = 49$ (for occupation), plus $4 \times 4 = 16$ (for education), for a total of $49 + 16 = 65$. On this index, *higher scores are indicative of lower socioeconomic status*.

APPENDIX "H"
PARENTS' OCCUPATIONS

FATHER'S OCCUPATION

TYPE OF JOB	NATURAL FATHERS	
	(N)	%
NO JOB	(31)	26.96
deceased	(9)	7.83
injured/disabled	(8)	6.96
truck driver	(7)	6.09
mechanic/body man	(6)	5.22
retired	(5)	4.35
janitor/custodian	(4)	3.48
laborer	(4)	3.48
mill/constr/shop foremn	(3)	2.61
heavy equipment oper	(3)	2.61
welder	(3)	2.61
miner	(2)	1.74
R R worker	(2)	1.74
armed services	(2)	1.74
electrician	(2)	1.74
machinist	(2)	1.74
carpenter	(2)	1.74
LPN	(1)	0.87
disc jockey	(1)	0.87
student	(1)	0.87
card dealer/keno cal	(1)	0.87
millworker	(1)	0.87
sales	(1)	0.87
lineman	(1)	0.87
plumber	(1)	0.87
bellman	(1)	0.87
counselor	(1)	0.87
respiratory therapis	(1)	0.87
farm/ranch hand	(1)	0.87
surveyor	(1)	0.87
farmer	(1)	0.87
bus/taxi driver	(1)	0.87
cook/baker	(1)	0.87
stocker	(1)	0.87
warehouseman	(1)	0.87
delivery driver	(1)	0.87
meat dept. manager	(1)	0.87

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION

<i>TYPE JOB</i>	<i>NATURAL MOTHERS</i>	
	(N)	%
housewife	(74)	54.41
secretary/clerical	(7)	5.15
clerk/cashier	(6)	4.41
housekeeper f/pay	(6)	4.41
deceased	(6)	4.41
waitress	(4)	2.94
nurse aide	(4)	2.94
janitor/custodian	(3)	2.21
barber/beaut/cosmet	(3)	2.21
bar maid/bartender	(2)	1.47
asst. manager	(2)	1.47
dishwasher/food serv	(2)	1.47
LPN	(2)	1.47
laundry worker	(2)	1.47
card dealer/keno cal	(1)	0.74
grocery buyer asst	(1)	0.74
flight attendant	(1)	0.74
teacher	(1)	0.74
laborer	(1)	0.74
counselor	(1)	0.74
small business owner	(1)	0.74
technician	(1)	0.74
motel maid	(1)	0.74
bookkeeper	(1)	0.74
computer operator	(1)	0.74
shoe repair	(1)	0.74
food serv supervisor	(1)	0.74

APPENDIX "T"
YOUTHS' RELIGION

RELIGION	TOTAL (N=164)		JSOP (N=90)		LEVEL C (N=74)	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
no preference	(35)	21.34	(15)	16.67	(20)	27.03
Catholic	(38)	23.17	(18)	20.00	(20)	27.03
Baptist	(21)	12.80	(13)	14.44	(8)	10.81
Protestant/Christian	(17)	10.37	(9)	10.00	(8)	10.81
Lutheran	(15)	9.15	(10)	11.11	(5)	6.76
7th Day Adv/Assmly	(9)	5.49	(6)	6.67	(3)	4.05
LDS/Mormon	(7)	4.27	(4)	4.44	(3)	4.05
Methodist	(5)	3.05	(3)	3.33	(2)	2.70
Pentecostal	(5)	3.05	(3)	3.33	(2)	2.70
Jehovah Witness	(3)	1.83	(3)	3.33	(0)	0.00
Church of Christ	(2)	1.22	(2)	2.22	(0)	0.00
Church of Nazarene	(2)	1.22	(1)	1.11	(1)	1.35
Episcopal	(2)	1.22	(2)	2.22	(0)	0.00
Revival	(1)	0.61	(1)	1.11	(0)	0.00
1st Church of God	(1)	0.61	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.35
Mennonite	(1)	0.61	(0)	0.00	(1)	1.35

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