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IS THIS STICKY STUFF REALLY LOVE?

A Q METHODOLOGICAL STUDY OF HOW TEENAGE FEMALES IN THE 1990s CREATE MEANING AND UNDERSTAND SEXUALITY

by

Jennifer Airey

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

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Dedicated to the boys at the res.
Abstract

This study examines how a local group of 15 and 16 year old young women understand and give meaning to their own, as well as other teenage females', sexuality. Two distinct views are focused on. First, the specific value system of the analysts of a 'deviance' approach to female teenage sexuality which depict female teenage sexuality as wrong, deviant, dangerous, and in need of control. And second, the social constructionist view which questions these values and depictions of sexuality as well as the myriad of values and behaviours that also exist. This research agrees with the theory of social constructionism that views sexuality as a learned and scripted phenomenon. The goal of this thesis is to establish if young women escape the dominant, patriarchal values and regulatory systems surrounding female sexuality, as well as if a feminist alternative to female sexuality is adopted. Using Q methodology, 33 respondents completed Q sorts which were factor analyzed resulting in three meaningful factors. Each factor represents a different view of sexuality. The factors are 'liberal tolerance,' 'traditional conservatism,' and 'romanticism.' Interview extracts from nine, semi-structured, open-ended interviews are used to illustrate and support the three views. It was found that the young women in the study face five of the dilemmas encountered by generations before them. These dilemmas are: the double standard; fear of a bad reputation; lack of pleasure in sex; an unfair grounds for bargaining with regard to sex; and a
lack of sufficient language for the positive expression of sex. Also, the young women in the study were reluctant to identify themselves as feminist despite endorsing many ideals of feminism. It was concluded that there is a dichotomy between discourse for self and other, a significant lack of pleasure among teenage female sexual experience, and a definite need for feminism to be encouraged as well as more far reaching. Females need to reclaim their sexuality and challenge the constraints of patriarchal ideology. Better sex and erotic education are needed to foster a female-centred, female-empowered, and pleasure oriented sexuality.
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INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Teenage sexuality and subsequent premarital sexual relations are an undeniable part of modern North American society. Considerable research over the past thirty years has focused on teenage pre-marital coitus. Much of the research on aspects of teenage sexual relations, however, is usually concerned with the sexual act itself, how adolescents perform it, how often, and with how many. How the teenager her/himself makes sense of such experience is largely neglected or ignored (Thompson, 1984; Lees, 1986).

The focus of this thesis will be an examination of how the teenage girl herself understands and gives meaning to her and other teenage girls' sexual experiences. Teenage sexual experience will be examined through two paradigms, the "deviance" paradigm and the social constructionist viewpoint. The analysts of the deviance approach appear to accept the existing dominant cultural value of a need to control female sexuality and view it as dangerous. Social constructionism questions these values and attempts to present the myriad of values and behaviours that exist. The goal of this thesis is to establish an understanding of how the teenage girl is affected by the current social constructions of teenage sexuality. Do the young women in this study escape dominant, male-controlled values and regulatory systems? Are they aware of a feminist alternative? Do they call for egalitarian
values and conditions regarding female sexuality as well as to control their own sexuality?

Male control of female sexuality will be discussed to understand why it has been so difficult for females to claim their own sexuality. Has the teenage female fallen back into traps of "compulsory monogamy, premarital chastity, and the double standard" (Thompson, 1984, p. 351) that feminism is trying to break out of? This will be examined through a discussion of how the teenage girl responds to feminism. Does she identify herself as feminist? Is this identity contingent on whether or not she endorses many ideals of the women's movement?

The literature includes an abundance of studies (Reiss, 1970; Kleinman, 1978; Jessor, Costa, Jessor and Donovan, 1983; Udry and Billy, 1987; Elliot and Morse, 1989; Rodgers and Rowe, 1990) that connect teenage premarital sex with "deviance." In a large number of studies (Jessor et al., 1983; Donovan and Jessor, 1985; Rowe, Rodgers, Meseck-Bushey, and St. John, 1989; Rodgers and Rowe, 1990) there is a tendency to link such actions as early sexual initiation with deviant behaviours and deviant tendencies. These studies often suggest ways to control and discourage such behaviour.

Existing studies rarely consider the quality and nature of teenage girls' sexual initiations and relations. Also, few attend to the constraints on sexual relations and the roots of eroticism (Lees, 1986; Thompson, 1990).
When studies do go beyond 'how many' or 'how often,' researchers have tended to focus on attitudes or standards, with a heavy reliance on college age student samples. One of the recent major shifts in this area has been toward studying younger adolescents (Miller and Olsen, 1988), yet generally only as young as 15 (Miller and Moore, 1990) even though adolescents are not only having more sex, they are having it at younger ages (Jessor, Costa, Jessor and Donovan, 1983).

When considering research on youth populations, teenage girls have been reported as being understudied in matters concerning adolescence and youth culture (Lees, 1986, p. 14-16; Kostash, 1987). Girls are traditionally thought to engage in less sexual activity than boys, but considerable evidence shows that sex differences are diminishing (Miller and Olsen, 1988, p. 194). This evidence indicates a need for teenage girls to be studied.

Turning our attention specifically to teenage girls in the 1990s, it appears that they enter into and face sexuality with many of the same dilemmas their sisters and mothers encountered before them. These dilemmas can be divided into five groups. These are: the incessant double standard; the fear of a tarnished reputation; lack of pleasure concerning sex; an unfair grounds for bargaining with regards to sex; and the lack of a sufficient language to express themselves sexually. Each of the five dilemmas will be briefly expanded upon.
When considering the double standard, scholars recognize that the way a boy or girl expresses sexual desire is constrained by the assumptions they make about the nature of female and male sexuality and by the different implications the expression of sexuality has for a boy or girl. Sexual acts are negotiated within these forceful constraints (Lees, 1986, p. 20). Also girls monitor and police each other’s behaviour in regard to their sexual codes and perpetuate the line drawn between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ girls (Kostash, 1987, p. 186). Sex does not take place in a social vacuum but rather is one of the most regulated forms of behaviour. It is set up and regulated by structures of law, religion, government, and the ideological underpinnings of sex-gender relations (Lees, 1986, p. 22).

This double standard instills a fear in today’s teenage girl—the fear of a tarnished reputation and being labelled a "slut" with all the ugly connotations that go with it. Contrary to belief, reputation and name labelling bear no relation to a girl’s actual sexual behaviour. Instead these names are applied for such reasons as having no boyfriend, or certain ways of dress, talk or behaviour and go relatively unquestioned once applied (Lees, 1986). This leads to the reproduction of a girl’s subordination with many of the facets of her life under scrutiny. A consequence is a push to ‘belong’ to someone in a monogamous, heterosexual relationship (Kostash, 1987, p. 187-188). However, when girls discuss
their relationships with boyfriends, they all too often complain about these relationships, suggesting that they were not getting what they wanted out of such relationships (Kostash, 1987, p. 97).

Many girls believe that they should not be sexual or they have parents and teachers who believe this (Thompson, 1990, p. 343). Even when girls do decide to engage in sexual intercourse, the pervasive double standard is once again thick in the air. "Good girls" are denied the right to think about pleasure (Thompson, 1984), to be concerned with casual or recreational sex (Kleinman, 1978), or have multiple partners (Thompson, 1984; 1990; Lees, 1986; Kostash, 1987).

The literature (Rubin, 1984) demonstrates that sex is almost always rationalized, justified, or denied by teenage girls. The extremely punitive social framework in our (Western) society presumes sexual activity to be guilty on all grounds until proven innocent. Sex is subject to very real formal and informal controls (Rubin, 1984, p. 277-278). This translates into our culture being suspicious of sex, especially when a teenage girl is involved. Sexual practices are construed and judged in terms of their worst possible expression, with only a partial acceptance of true love or engagement as an excuse for such behaviour (Rubin, 1984, p. 278). When sex does occur it is largely in a monogamous relationship for teenage girls (Thompson, 1984). This increases the pain and sense of danger felt if a break-up
occurs, especially after first intercourse. This leaves teenage girls in an extremely vulnerable position, as well as on a poor bargaining platform. They are desperate to make the age-old bargain of sex for love (Thompson, 1984, p. 374).

The result is that sexual pleasure in any form has become a guilty secret (Vance, 1984, p. 7), almost unspeakable and unthinkable among teenage girls. Any form of expression of sexual desire is significantly absent from teenage girls' encounters, except in terms of an exclusive 'love' relationship (Kleinman, 1978; Thompson, 1984; Lees, 1986). "Teenage girls are not having too much too soon, they are having too little--too little pleasure, too few options, not enough sexual power" (Thompson, 1984, p. 375). We cannot create a body of knowledge that is true to teenage girls' (and women's) lives if sexual pleasure cannot be spoken about safely, honestly, and completely (Vance, 1984).

If teenage girls are indeed going to participate in sexual activity, it is tragic to think that this will occur devoid of pleasure. It is far less forbidden to say "I had sex," than to say "I had pleasure" (Thompson, 1984, p. 362).

There is also a lack of a language for girls to talk about their own sexuality in a way that does not define them as the objects of male gaze (Lees, 1986, p. 28). Unfortunately, there is no apparent shortage of degrading language for a girl's actual or perceived sexual behaviour. There is also no positive expression for a sexually active
female; and language in general is inadequate for describing women's experience (Lees, 1986, p. 156). This functions to keep women's expression oppressed. However critical we may be of derogatory words such as 'slut,' 'easy lay,' and 'tight bitch,' we are subject to their objectification and our sexuality is constrained by their power (Lees, 1986, p. 158).

For feminism, the chief goal is not protection of young girls from the sexual reality but protection and expansion of the possibilities for women's liberation. Equalizing the genders and expanding women's opportunity for knowledge, pleasure, and work (Thompson, 1984, p. 376) should be included in the goal of feminism. This goal requires working toward increasing pleasure and decreasing frustration; disentangling sex, intimacy, and romance, at least sufficiently so that their difference becomes perceptible (Thompson, 1984, p. 377). This goal will have a greater chance of success if teenage girls themselves are reached by the feminist movement. Teenage girls need to feel comfortable and be encouraged to participate in the identification, consciousness, and activity of the movement.

A profoundly necessary task for all women is to identify positive and pleasurable experience so that both can occur more frequently. Teenage girls, and women in general, need to know their sexual histories, moving beyond the concern for individual experience (Vance, 1984, p. 6) so they can learn from one another. Surely the experience of many teenage girls
is more diverse than one could imagine. To learn of these histories, we must speak about them to each other. Without the dialogue of women’s speech, we risk the mistake of falling back on texts and myths, which are prescriptive and overgeneralized (Vance, 1984, p. 6).

These five dilemmas show that the female teenager encounters problems with, and has difficulty achieving, egalitarian sexual expression. The insistent double standard has had the negative, yet powerful effect of rendering the expression of female teenage sexuality wrong and deviant. Those teenagers who are rejecting a dominant, male-controlled sexuality, both in thought and in action, are an understudied, unheard group. This study is interested in uncovering if young women do create new and positive meanings for themselves.

In sum, the focus of this thesis will be an examination of how a local sample of teenage girls understand and give meaning to their and other teenage girls’ sexual experiences. The five dilemmas mentioned above will be examined. The negative, controlling, and constraining influence of males on the construction of female sexuality will be addressed as well as the teenage girl’s relation to feminism. Hopefully such an examination will contribute to an understanding of how the teenage girl is affected by the current social construction of teenage sexuality. Teenage girls need to be asked about these
very issues that affect them. Only teenage girls can answer these questions and speak for themselves about themselves.

The following literature review will examine the popular deviance paradigm from the social constructionist approach. The review will identify the focus and shortcomings of the area of teenage sexuality.
LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will outline current studies of teenage sexuality in the deviance paradigm, as well as current studies of female teenage sexuality in a social constructionist approach.

Sociologists have been viewing adolescent sexuality as deviant for decades. Numerous sociologists have "conceptualized early adolescent sexual behaviour as a failure of age-graded social controls, with the primary focus on the effects of normative control by parents and peers" (Udry and Billy, 1987, p. 841). However, the work of Reiss (1970) explicitly linked the concepts of anomie and labelling with adolescent sexual activity and other deviant behaviours. This work was instrumental in the development of an 'adolescent sexual behaviour as deviant' theoretical approach. Since Reiss, scholars have made comparisons of adolescent sexuality to deviance and other problem behaviours.

Recent research in the deviance tradition continues to demonstrate the overlap of sexuality and deviance. Rodgers and Rowe (1990), in making a comparison of adolescent sexuality to deviance, conclude that sexual experience is predictable from measures of deviance and vice-versa. Rowe, Rodgers, Meseck-Bushey and St. John (1989) argue that sexuality and non-sexual deviance are influenced by the same underlying genetic trait. The researchers analyzed the relationship of physical sexual behaviour with non-sexual
deviance, finding a correlation between relatively early sexual behaviour (which they define as a transition to non-virginity prior to 18 years) and nonsexual forms of deviance for both males and females.

Elliot and Morse (1989) argue that sexual behaviour during mid-adolescence is an adolescent problem behaviour that is associated with substance use and abuse as well as minor forms of delinquency. The authors go further to describe such behaviour as a developmental progression toward involvement in multiple problem behaviour, with sexual intercourse embedded in a more general pattern of non-normative and problem behaviour.

Donovan and Jessar (1985) consider precocious sexual behaviour to be just one problem behaviour in a whole syndrome of problem behaviours. In a retest of earlier research findings, the authors suggest that such "problem" behaviours as drinking, illicit drug use, delinquent type behaviour, and early sexual intercourse all comprise a single behavioural syndrome. They found considerable generality across sex, education level, socioeconomic, and ethnic backgrounds in the United States. They argue that the single, common, underlying factor of unconventionality in both personality and the social environment accounts for the generalization of the results. According to Donovan and Jessar (1985, p. 901) personality and social conventionality are indicated by "greater religiosity, greater intolerance of deviance, more conservative
sociopolitical attitudes, stricter friends' controls, fewer models for drug use and more models for involvement in religion.

Jessor, Costa, Jessor and Donovan (1983) found in a longitudinal study of the transition from virginity to non-virginity among adolescents, that such a transition was not adventitious, but rather regulated by personality, behavioral, and social factors. As with the others mentioned, Jessor et al. (1983) consider "problem" behaviour to be applicable to adolescent early first intercourse. They note that a set of predetermined criteria can predict the onset of a transition to non-virginity. These criteria include: more tolerance of deviance; expectation for and higher value on independence; and less involvement in conventional behaviour such as church attendance. However, the virgins who did not make a transition to non-virginity within this nine year study (leaving them at ages 23, 24, and 25) "felt themselves to be significantly less competent to establish relationships with members of the opposite sex, and reported perceptions of their own physical attractiveness as lower than the non-virgins" (Jessor et al. 1983, p. 622). These reasons may have in fact been outstanding factors in their decision to remain virgin, rather than simply being conventional and non-deviant.

It is evident from the above research that throughout the past three decades the conception of 'adolescent sexual behaviour as deviant' and problem behaviour have taken on many
forms. The deviance perspective is especially dangerous for teenage girls for it reinforces control of their sexual lives, contributing to a perpetuation of negative reputations, guilt, doubt, shame, and stigma for those who decide to engage in adolescent sexual activity (Kostash, 1987). Instead of reinforcing girls’ tendency to deny that they are sexual, we need to promote a receptive climate for discussion and a sex-positive response to reasonable medical and developmental concerns (Thompson, 1990, p. 358). Girls need to accept themselves as sexual beings and deal with sex fully and straightforwardly. A label of deviance works to inhibit, rather than promote sexual freedom. It would appear that females are strongly discouraged from being sexual (Gagnon and Simon, 1973, p. 59).

If adolescents are indeed going to continue to participate in sexual relations, an emphasis on such activities as ‘problematic’ and ‘deviant’ serves no positive function. The focus needs to be shifted to discover positive and pleasurable experiences with consideration for the quality of sexual experiences. How the adolescent gives meaning to and understands sexual experience cannot be ignored.

In an attempt to move away from a quantitative and a strict ‘deviant’ perspective when dealing with female sexuality, Kleinman’s (1978) study "Female Premarital Careers" integrated a consideration of qualitative feedback and a discussion of meaning. The study was concerned with the views
of young women in Montreal regarding premarital sexuality and activity, focusing on the meanings people assign to their participation (or lack of it) in particular activities. The unfortunate element in this study was Kleinman’s reference to the women in the study as "marginal deviants." Although Kleinman makes an effort to study what the women are telling her, the study is troubling due to the semantics of her work. Just the fact that sexuality is associated with deviancy leads to a presumption that something is indeed ‘wrong’ with it.

Despite my disagreement with the author’s labelling, the study does have relevant results. Kleinman found that the so-called sexual revolution created moral ambiguity for women. The "deviant" aspect is shown by the women’s experience of moral conflict and doubt in their premarital sexual activity decisions (Kleinman, 1978, p. 103). Kleinman (1978, p. 101) notes that the very fact that there is approval and disapproval about sexual behaviour would indicate that it is not considered to be an amoral matter.

Although progression through sexual activity is not the same, Kleinman suggests that the virgin follows five stages in the transformation to non-virgin. She discovered ambivalence at all five stages for the women in her study. This ambivalence was related to negative reactions from family and peers throughout the process of losing their virginity. The women felt that premarital sexual activity and intercourse were most acceptable within the parameters of a love
relationship (Kleinman, 1978, p. 115). Kleinman (1978, p. 115) concludes with data showing casual sex not to be considered a viable alternative to sex with love.

Recent research on sexuality has grown beyond the earlier, typical concerns of deviance as well as 'how often' and 'how many,' to inquire about sexual meaning and subjectivity. Included in the research is how sexuality itself is understood and the role of sexual science in maintaining or undermining the dominant codes of meaning (Vance and Pollis, 1990, p. 2). Far from remaining static, "women’s sexuality is seen as a contested ground, open to political, social and symbolic interventions" (Vance and Pollis, 1990, p. 4). Despite patriarchal sex and gender systems, women struggle to resist male domination, attempting to develop new and more gratifying definitions, identities, meanings, and freedoms (Vance and Pollis, 1990, p. 4-5). The literature also addresses the issues of quality of first sexual initiation, and the meanings that such experiences have for a female teenage population within a social constructionist framework.

Primarily concerned with the social construction of female sexuality, Thompson (1984) described the salient details of white, female, working class, teenage sex and romance in the 1980s. Thompson interviewed over 150 adolescents in New York, from 1978-1983. Her study focuses on 50 life histories. Thompson discovered that the teenage
narratives described sex and romance as intertwined and found that sex and romance were fundamental organizing principles in girls' tradition and lives.

The narrators presented a version of the self "as innocent, well-intentioned, chastened by experience, victim rather than victor or co-operator even when the facts they recount may suggest a different interpretation" (Thompson, 1984, p. 351). Also evident from the interviews is the fact that these teenage girls were retreating into traps that feminism recently tried to spring free, such as "compulsory monogamy, premarital chastity, the double standard, flypaper dreams of motherhood and the nuclear family; true and eternal love" (Thompson, 1984, p. 360). But this does not describe the full range of teenage girls' sexual and romantic choice for many were choosing, or had chosen, to move beyond conventional romantic and sexual agency taking many new risks instead of enduring meaningless relationships (Thompson, 1984, p. 360). The majority of the young women reveal flat sexual landscapes with few partners, limited sexual activities, few descriptions of non-coital petting, and relatively little pleasure, particularly orgasmic pleasure (Thompson, 1984, p. 363). The double standard was still intact in almost every narration, leading to a rule of marriage or monogamous true love for coitus to occur (Thompson, 1984, p. 363-364).

Thompson (1984, p. 374) states that from a feminist perspective, the efforts of teenage girls to shape their
sexual lives are striking in the degree to which they involve an attempt to exercise sexual power, particularly given how poor a bargaining position many feel they are in, and how desperately they want to make the bargain of sex for love.

Sue Lees' (1986) Losing Out also entails an important study which examines sexuality and adolescent girls. This book aims to raise questions about the way individual experience is socially constructed in London, England. In particular, the author is interested in sexual experience, for she feels it is so crucial to a girl's identity. Lees was interested in uncovering how sexuality was talked about, displayed, and structured, as a crucial part of social life. By focusing on the terms girls used to describe their lives, rather than asking them structured questions, she was able to see which experiences were meaningful to them (school, boyfriends, sex, etc.), and how those individually experienced feelings are socially structured (Lees, 1986, p. 12). By analyzing what the girls said, Lees (1986, p. 158) found that what they say has a shared, though hidden, organization, that both structures and produces those cultural meanings through which they relate to the world. She found this by focusing on meanings of the explanations presented, looking at what the accounts had in common in terms of explanations, contradictions, opposition, gaps, and taken-for-granted assumptions. Lees points out that we need to understand the way social practices and systems of representation, operate
and appear to work without any direct coercion. In order to grasp how the cultural codes of behaviour are understood, and are effective at keeping women in their "place," we need to examine the terms on which girls enter into social life and the way those terms both limit and constrict their choices (Lees, 1986, p. 19).

As was evident in Kleinman's (1987) and Thompson's (1984) work, Lees (1986, p. 26) found significant the absence of any form of expression of sexual desire, except in terms of an exclusive 'love' relationship. Secondly, the double standard leaves a girl's achievements (in sport, work, academia, etc.) as secondary to her sexual reputation. All her behaviour is given a sexual significance whatever she is trying to accomplish or achieve (Lees, 1986, p. 164).

Turning to a study of Canadian teenage girls, Myrna Kostash (1987) explores the lives of teenage girls in three major cities across Canada. Kostash is intent on letting the girls speak for themselves and she is astounded by how much they opened up to her, for as she found in too many cases "nobody else had ever asked, so the stories came tumbling out" (Kostash, 1987, p. 9).

Kostash (1987, p. 10) found that pleasure is not consistent with sex, for as she notes "now that the taboo on premarital sex has fallen, girls are receiving even less pleasure from sex, as cuddling and necking and petting are
forgone in the rush for the joyless humping of teenagers on car seats."

The author devotes a chapter to "Sexualities" where she discusses how little power teenage girls have in controlling their own bodies and sexual experiences (Kostash, 1987, p. 175). She concludes her study by urging researchers to give this understudied population the opportunity to speak up and tell the stories no one has been willing to listen to.

More recently, in an American study that considers the quality of teenage girls' sexual initiations, Thompson (1990), in a continuation of her 1984 work, draws on 400 in-depth interviews with teenage girls to consider how they describe these initiations. The research question was concerned with how teenage girls understand and construct their sexual initiations and how teenage girls understand their own sexual activity within this construction. The author compares the family and sexual histories of girls who describe sexual initiation as painful, boring, or disappointing, with those of girls who emphasize sexual curiosity, desire, and pleasure.

Thompson (1990, p. 342) notes that most research has ascribed the lack of female desire to "developmental and social conditions that constrict rather than develop a sense of sexual entitlement and an understanding of how to have pleasure, a view that sexology has, by and large supported." The narratives of these teenage girls' sexual, romantic, and reproductive histories were explored for their assessments of
early sexual experience and first intercourse (Thompson, 1990, p. 342). Thompson notes that to provide such an understanding of the content and method of social construction, which is not readily evident in quantitative analysis, qualitative studies are required. Like Lees (1986) in Britain, Thompson found that although "my first time" had become a staple in girls' oral tradition, girls had few conventions to draw on to open or develop the subject, and every girl thought that every other girl had the same story to tell (Thompson, 1990, p. 343).

For the girls who do tell stories of sexual anticipation and pleasure, they describe childhood and preadolescent sexual fantasies and experimentation, a drastic difference when compared to the girls who mourn their lost virginity. Those who "don't know what happened," or received no sexual education, spoke as if they had had no sexual consciousness, memories, or experiences before first penetration (Thompson, 1990, p. 343).

The study concluded with a call for honest and straightforward sex as well as erotic education that will give girls the clues they need to recognize desire. The tendency to deny that girls are sexual, or should just say "no" to sex, must be demolished so that sexual confidence, pleasure, and effective contraception can be part of every consenting teenage girl's sexual history (Thompson, 1990, p. 358).
It is overwhelmingly evident that in relation to first sexual initiation, and sexual activity in general, teenage girls are an understudied, disadvantaged, unheard group that are nonetheless eager to talk if someone is willing to listen. There is most certainly a need to explore Canadian teenage girls' assessments of early sexual experience and first intercourse in the 1990s. This must however, include a social constructionist view of the issue, for teenage girls need to speak for themselves. They need to speak out in a non-judgemental climate, without the connection to deviance, or the denial of pleasure hanging over their heads. For if we continue to ignore their views, impose views on them, or remain unconcerned by not paying attention, we will only succeed in embedding them further in a constraining, powerless, discriminating, double standard world that already hassles and harnesses them daily.

The next section outlines the theoretical orientation adopted for this study.
THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The preferred theoretical orientation for this thesis is that of social constructionism primarily derived from Berger and Luckmann's (1966) Social Construction of Reality and Laws and Schwartz's (1983) Sexual Scripts. As has been noted earlier, there appears to be little research addressing teenage girls' understanding of sexual intercourse from within the context of their own experiences, particularly within the theoretical framework of social constructionism. This theory is useful in understanding how teenage girls socially construct sexuality within their own experiences and how the sexual scripts they adopt affect their decisions and experiences. Sexual scripts will be defined and discussed later in this section.

Social constructions can be defined as definitions of reality under which humans operate (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). To the extent that we relate to social or physical events in terms of meanings for us, or what to do about them, we are acting on the basis of social constructions of knowledge received through socialization (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 3). Within social constructionism one needs to look at the actor to see how these meanings are internalized from the "objective world" into inner subjectivity.

How individuals give meaning to their sexuality has been largely ignored in the literature (Plummer, 1975). This absence is surprising given that social meanings have a
determining impact on our sexuality. Sexuality has no meaning until it acquires meaning in social situations (Plummer, 1975, p. 32) and is therefore a social construction that we learn from others (Plummer, 1975, p. 30). Although society assumes common sense definitions of sex as given (Plummer, 1975, p. 40) the sexual reality is constantly being modified and altered (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

Ethnological evidence shows that in sexual matters humans are capable of almost anything, however, human sexuality is directed and sometimes rigidly structured (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). But once sexual meanings are introduced, they are not without change, rather they are built up over the life span (Plummer, 1975, p. 40). Vance and Pollis (1990, p. 2) note that "social construction theory suggests that sexuality is not a biological given, determined by organs and acts, but a profoundly social product in which bodily sensations are linked to sexual acts, identities, and meanings, in ways that are fluid and changeable over place and time." The idea that experiences are socially structured conflicts with the common sense assumption that our behaviour is a matter of free choice or is natural and biologically given. The way in which free choice is socially constrained is rarely discussed (Lees, 1986).

Due to the fact that female experience is central to female sexuality (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 1), it is only from the teenage girl herself that the researcher can learn
how her sexuality is constructed. The teenage girl has been socialized throughout her life by receiving 'knowledge' about sex. Different institutions in society, such as patriarchy, the family, law, and religion, hold traditional views of sex that fit their own purposes and are passed on (Laws and Schwartz, 1983).

Institutionalized sectors of society provide the dominant scripts that actors follow concerning sexuality. These are backed by an ideology that stresses the "rightness" of these scripts. These scripts include a language which externalizes and reinforces a subjective reality (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 5). Meanings can also be institutionalized with the above features. When the idea of social construction is applied to the area of sexuality, sexuality can be said to be scripted. Sexual scripting has authority over both sexual behaviour and sexual identity. A social construction which is fully developed includes the routines and the mechanisms for educating or socializing newcomers into the system, as well as a means for maintaining the definition of reality on which it is based, such as sanctions (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 6).

Gagnon and Simon (1973) and Laws and Schwartz (1983) have suggested that people form detailed "scripts" or mental scenarios about the sexual behaviour and attributes of women and men across various situations. Storms, Stivers, Lanbers and Hill (1981, p. 699) note that because sexual behaviour
occurs in private, outside the direct gaze of others, these scripts tend to be highly stereotypical and often erroneous.

For the teenage girl, ways of making sense of her experience are embedded in a world view which is accepted as reality by all those around her and in the sexual scripts that are a part of her world view. Sexual scripts (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 2) are defined as a "repertoire of acts and statuses that are recognized by a social group, together with the rules, expectations and sanctions governing these acts and statuses." These learned scripts help the teenage girl to find meaning in her experiences. Sexual scripts operate at both a social and personal level. They are embedded in social institutions, as well as internalized by individuals (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 217).

These dominant scripts receive our first attention because of their social strength and the cultural knowledge of people's sexual options embedded in them. These scripts are forceful because they are internalized through socialization. When the individual woman challenges, modifies, or rejects the sexual programming of her society, it is against the background of the dominant script. Although our sexual self-knowledge is patterned by sexual scripts, we can develop our own personal attitudes and concepts which differ from the traditionally approved ones (Laws and Schwartz, 1986).

Many researchers note (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Plummer, 1975; Laws and Schwartz, 1983; Kitzinger, 1987) a
dialectical relationship existing between personal realities and social constructions. Sometimes individuals seek to transcend the sexual scripts, and sometimes they merely adjust their experience to fit them. Often the individual woman brings her personal reality into line with the social construction. However, sometimes the personal reality becomes a basis for attacking or rejecting the social construction (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 5). If the individual woman questions the dominant script which forms the background for her own experience, she introduces choice into her sexual lifestyles and sexual identity (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 6).

In examining sexual scripts, one can see that alternative scripts to the dominant scripts are often put down or rejected. This helps the dominant or institutionalized script to remain strong, while preventing others from appearing as viable options (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 6). Laws and Schwartz (1983, p. 7) note that although social arrangements are invented with conscious intent, that intent is neither perceived nor questioned by those who inherit them. Rather, it is simply accepted. Humans are socialized for sexuality from a culture that contains norms for appropriate sexuality that are age-graded and gender specific. Sexual scripts are even differentiated by social class; behaviour which is considered normal in one class is sometimes considered perverse in another (Laws and Schwartz, 1983, p. 26).
It can be noted from Berger and Luckmann (1966) that once social constructions, or scripts, become institutionalized, new sexual scripts continue to emerge from this process. As situations are typified and recognized by enough people, they become part of the sexual script.

When there is a lack of fit between personal experience and sexual script, according to Laws and Schwartz (1983, p. 222) almost all sexual histories have the potential to contain lost information, that is, experiences which do not fit the script and are not integrated into the scripted sexual identity.

Because we all experience life as individuals, it is hard to appreciate the way in which many of our experiences are caught up in, and constrained by ideas and definitions of femininity and masculinity (Lees, 1986, p. 16). It is only by comparing how different girls describe their experiences that it becomes clear that masculine and feminine behaviour is subject to different social rules and operate within different norms (Lees, 1986, p. 16).

The theory of social constructionism should be a useful framework in providing a way of explaining how teenage girls find meaning in their sexual realities. Whether sexuality is viewed as female-centred and female-empowered by teenage girls can be discovered. This would include an egalitarian view of sexual rules and behaviours for teenage girls compared to their male counterparts. Does a new, positive, pleasurable
alternative for female sexuality exist for teenage girls in contrast to the dominant male-controlled version? Once their social constructions are realized hopefully something can be done to allow them freedom to make their own choices concerning their own bodies and lives.
METHODOLOGY

This study uses Q methodology and open-ended, semi-structured interviews in an attempt to reach understandings about underlying subjective states. It is felt that the two methods will cross-validate and prove mutually informative (Kitzinger and Stainton-Rogers, 1985). Q methodology and the Q sort will be addressed first followed by a discussion of the interview.

As a research methodology concerned with meaning and understanding, Q methodology, invented by William Stephenson in 1935, seeks to bring science into subjectivity. It embodies a method, a group of assumptions and a form of measurement (Emke, 1985).

The focus of this methodology is the subjective meanings that people generate as they attempt to make sense out of their life situations. The measure of a person’s subjective point of view can only be given by that person, it cannot be gained from the external ‘objective’ standpoint (Brown, 1986, p. 73). This study uses Q methodology as an interpretive tool to seek an understanding of what sexuality means for several respondents, as opposed to an explanation of what sexuality is. Subjectivity can only be studied if the subjects themselves are seen as central. The interest here is not in the external appraisal of behaviours, but the internal, deeply motivated feelings of the respondents (Emke, 1985, p. 27). These subjective opinions, although typically unprovable, can
be shown to have structure and form using Q methodology (Brown, 1986).

Q methodology seeks to extend existing knowledge and understanding (Goldman, 1991, p. 345). Q does not predict. Its purpose is not to test hypotheses, but rather to make discoveries (Brown, 1986). The goal of the researcher is to discover meaning as it arises, and to interpret the schema that the respondents present (Emke, 1985, p. 25).

The most basic part of the Q technique is the concourse. A concourse is defined as an infinite collection of statements relating to the area under study. It is not a compilation of facts, but rather statements of meanings and feelings (Emke, 1985, p. 24). Within a constructionist framework the statements are not regarded as having a priori meaning or as being valid measures of a characteristic trait (Brown, 1986; Kitzinger and Stainton-Rogers, 1985). The Q statements are extracted from the concourse, which in this study is the literature review.

Under Q methodology, a population refers to all possible statements that could be part of the concourse. This is an infinite number. The sample refers to those statements which are used (therefore Q samples items, not people). The interrelationships between samples is what is under investigation. Samples are arranged into a meaningful order by subjects so the relationship between one sample and another may be deduced (Davis, 1973, p. 526). It is necessary to
reduce the number of statements to a practical level, which is typically between 40 and 60 (Brown, 1986).

These statements (see Appendices A.1 and A.2 for the 40 statements to be used in this study) were typed onto 3.5" x 5" cue-cards and randomly numbered. The statements were divided into two broad categories; those which agree with teenage sexuality as deviant and those which present teenage sexuality as acceptable, egalitarian, and relatively free. Each category includes an equal number of positively phrased and negatively phrased statements. There are 12 deviance perspective statements and 28 social constructionist based statements. There are more social constructionist based statements than deviance perspective statements for the former was the predominant interest of the study. The deviance perspective is a secondary consideration. These statements were kept as short, simple, and inclusive as possible so as not to alienate or exclude the teenagers by their wording (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 82). Also, pre-determined assumptions of a specific sexual orientation were avoided.

Respondents were asked to sort these statements as to whether they would agree or disagree with them along a continuum scale. Agreement is marked with a positive score, disagreement with a negative score, and '0' indicates neutrality. Those respondents who agree with the deviance perspective items would sort the statements labelled "positively phrased statements" in Appendix A.1 positive, and
"negatively phrased statements" negative. The 12 statements for the deviance perspective are divided as followed; 6 positive and 6 negative. There are also 28 statements; 14 positive, 14 negative, collected from the social constructionist literature on female teenage sexuality. Positively phrased statements in Appendix A.2, under the same heading, are those that would elicit a positive score if the sorter accepted egalitarian female teenage sexuality. "Negatively phrased statements" would elicit a negative response if the sorter accepts egalitarian female sexuality.

A pre-test was conducted with seven volunteers, ages 14-16. These volunteers did not attend the high school where the formal Q sort test would take place (See Appendices B and C for the consent forms used for the pre-test). The pre-test demonstrated to the researcher that the Q sort statements originally proposed were indeed understandable to subjects and could be sorted by this age group without difficulty. The researcher also questioned the volunteers after the session to gain insight from the respondents' perspective. Insight was offered into particular wording and possible needs for an accompanying explanation. Knowledge gained through the pre-test process was applied to the subsequent Q sort session.

People are not randomly chosen for this sorting. Rather, they are selected on the basis of presumed interests (Kitzinger, 1987) and in this case, convenience. All respondents attended the same local high school where the
study took place. Permission was granted verbally to the researcher to do this study by the superintendent for this particular school district, as well as in writing by the school principal (See Appendix D for the Principal’s Consent Form). Respondents were all female and either 15 or 16 years of age except for one 18 year old who also participated. The respondents were predominately white with one black and two asian respondents participating. Race or ethnic background were not distinguished, nor recorded for this study. The diversity of views and opinions on the topic under study is what is to be sampled, not the percentage (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 84) or background of people expressing them.

All respondents participated in this study voluntarily and were required to return a signed parental/guardian and participant consent form (see Appendix E). All respondents were tested at one time, in the same room, by the researcher. The researcher explained the purpose of the study as well as the instructions to the subjects. Instructions were also written visibly on the black board at the front of the room. Subjects each received a card-board continuum scale (see Appendix F) to further assist them in this task. All respondents were given the opportunity to ask questions and clarify any misunderstandings before the task began.

The 40 Q sort statements were distributed in envelopes to each participant. These Q statement cards were shuffled randomly before they were offered to the participants.
Although the researcher sets the parameters of the task, the subjects perform the Q sort on their own terms. The researcher provides a direction, but the subject provides the data (Emke, 1985). The statements of the concourse that are chosen have no predetermined order of importance. Order is given by the subject. This puts the subject at the centre of all meaning (Brown, 1986, p. 73).

The subjects were asked to sort and rank-order the 40, randomly appearing cards of statements along a forced-choice, quasi-normal, distribution continuum. The scale (see Appendix F) was an 11 point quasi-normal scale ranging from +5 (most agree) to -5 (most disagree), with all other gradations in between. A subject represents her own viewpoint through rank-ordering (Brown, 1989). The result will be a Q sort that is unique to that individual subject. Therefore the assumption that items have their own fixed meanings is discarded, for meaning and significance are attributed by the subject (Brown, 1989, p. 116).

The purpose of Q is not to generalize its results to the entire "population," but to bring self, the concourse, and meaning together by focusing attention on the statements of the Q sample (Brown, 1986). The researcher is predominantly interested in how the respondent interprets and sorts the Q sample, not in the statements alone. Each respondent will have a subjective reaction to the Q statements. The
statements are not independent, but work with each other to allow new meanings and relationships to emerge.

After the Q sort task was completed, a factor analysis was undertaken. The computer program "p.c.q. (Factor Analysis Program for Q-Technique), version 2.1" (Striklen, 1989), was used for the statistical work. The goal of factor analysis is to find a few underlying 'factors' which can summarize the pattern of correlations among a large number of variables. Variables (Q sorts) which are highly positively correlated are apt to represent the same 'factor' or underlying dimension, while Q sorts having low correlations will probably be found to load on different factors (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 85). Factors indicate clusters of people who have ranked the Q statements in essentially the same fashion (Kitzinger and Stainton-Rogers, 1985). The number of factors is therefore a purely empirical matter as determined by the extent to which the respondents are divided on the issue (Brown, 1986, p. 60). At the end of the factoring process, factor scores were calculated using p.c.q., for each of the statements in each of the factors. Once the factors were extracted, they were rotated, using varimax rotation. Rotation brings the factors to positions in which the variance of the loadings of samples on the axes are maximized (Davis, 1973).

After Q methodology was completed, all subjects were asked if they were interested in being interviewed. Those interested were asked to voluntarily supply their phone
numbers for contact at a later date. Those who would be considered for the interview could not be determined until after the factor analysis on the Q sort data was complete. This was due to the fact that the number of factors that would result from factor analysis could not be determined a priori. The researcher was interested only in those respondents who defined a certain factor. Semi-structured interviews took place to supplement the data that fell under specific factors. Extracts from these interviews were used to illustrate factor interpretations where appropriate (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 159). These extracts will appear in the results and discussion section of this thesis. It should be noted that quotations from interviews used in illustrating the factor interpretations will not constitute, in any sense, a 'random' representative sample of all the comments made by those particular individuals (Kitzinger, 1987).

The interview schedule was developed in order to elicit accounts and ideology in an open-ended and flexible way. The interviewer used precaution to avoid any exploitation or discomfort of the interviewee. The interviewer conducted the interviews with a non-judgemental attitude. Respondents were told at the outset that the interviewer was interested in all sex. The questions used in the interview were designed to convey openness. An informal guide, or checklist, of points to be covered (see Appendix G) was used but some points were
re-ordered or eliminated as appeared appropriate throughout the interview (Kitzinger, 1987).

All interviews took place off the original high school grounds. These interviews occurred at various local libraries or the University of Windsor, whichever was more convenient for the interviewee. All respondents were given further explanation of the study (Appendix H) and asked to sign an additional consent form at the bottom of this information (Appendix H). All interviews were tape-recorded, and later transcribed, with the respondents’ consent. The interviews ranged in length from 30 minutes up to an hour and a half. All interviewees were given ample time to ask any questions what-so-ever before and after the interview.

The methodology, as outlined above, is viewed as crucial in order to extract teenage girls’ thoughts and meanings surrounding their sexual realities. Anything less would neglect to get at what the teenage girls themselves felt and experienced surrounding this issue.

The succeeding section consists of the results of the Q methodology and interviews.
RESULTS

Thirty-three Q sorts were factor analyzed using the computer program "p.c.q. (Factor Analysis for Q Methodology) version 2.1" (Striklen, 1992). Each subject's Q sort was correlated with each other subject's Q sort. Given 33 respondents, a 33 by 33 correlation matrix was produced (see Appendix I). These correlations indicate the extent to which pairs of Q sorts resemble, or are very different from each other. Six factors were extracted and rotated to simple structure using varimax rotation (see Appendix J). Six factors accounted for 59% of the variance. Factors are standardized with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, so the factor loadings give an indication of salience (Emke, 1985).

Factors were extracted if they possessed eigenvalues greater than or equal to 1.00. Eigenvalue refers to the principal axes (Davis, 1973). Factors which did not have any 'pure' loadings were dropped from analysis prior to calculation of the factor arrays. Four factors resulted (see Appendix K) which accounted for 55% of the variance. A 'pure' loading refers to a respondent's Q sort significant (.45 or greater) loading on one factor and no other. If a significant loading for a respondent's Q sort occurs on two or more factors that Q sort is considered a 'confounded' sort (see Appendix L) and dropped from further analysis. Q sorts with pure loadings are presented in Table 1. These four factors
account for 55% of the variance. The boxed numbers refer to those significant (.45 or greater) Q sorts that define a particular factor group. The number representing the sort was an arbitrary number assigned to each sorter as Q sorts were collected by the researcher. Factor D was dropped from further analysis due to insufficient findings and spurious relationships. This decision was further influenced by a lack of interviewee volunteers who may have substantiated any possible discoveries.

Further analysis with the pure, significant, Q sorts yielded the results of a single Q sort (factor array) for each factor. Each factor array consists of a union of those individual Q sorts constituting the factor (see Appendix M). Therefore, each factor array is the average sorting position on the continuum for each factor group. A list of the average scores rank-ordered by factor group for all 40 Q sort statements is presented in Appendix N. Individual Q sort rank-orderings will not be included in the results for confidentiality reasons. Ultimately the task is to interpret and explain the similarities and differences among these factor arrays (Brown, 1986, p. 60). The actual resulting factors (A, B, and C) are what are to be identified, analyzed and interpreted by the researcher.

Next, the semi-structured interviews took place. Of the twenty perspective interviewees who were eligible, only fourteen had signed up. Of these fourteen, only nine agreed
for the actual interview. Excerpts from the nine interviews are presented to supplement the data from the factor array of each factor group. These excerpts help illuminate and substantiate the way the data are interpreted. Full transcriptions of each interview are not provided due to reasons of confidentiality.

The three factors are compared with the differences between factors presented. The Q sort statement items that are relevant to this comparison are presented in the text. Throughout the analysis Q sort statements and their respective factor group scores (located to the right of the item) will be presented with excerpts from the interviews to follow for substantiation and illustration. The results indicate that each factor group exhibited a public/private dichotomy when sexuality was addressed. This dichotomy will be discussed after the results of each factor are presented.
Table 1

Varimax Rotation for sorts with significant loadings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sort</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>+80</td>
<td>-13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>+76</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>+74</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>+73</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>+73</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>+55</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>+50</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>+46</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>+87</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>+85</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>+74</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+70</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+67</td>
<td>-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>+65</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>+62</td>
<td>-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>+55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>+50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>+45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Factor A

As indicated in Table 1, subjects 1, 3, 15, 22, 24, 29, 30 and 33 define Factor A. All load significantly under A which means that they all have a factor weight of at least .45 or greater. Other subjects also load significantly on this factor but have high loadings (defined as equal to or greater than .45) on other factors as well so they therefore are not 'pure' (Kitzinger, 1987) Factor A accounts (see Appendix I: confounded sorts).

The combined factor scores for Factor A indicate that the young women with a high loading on Factor A are not opposed to pre-marital sex for teenagers outside of a serious, exclusive, and monogamous relationship. They are accepting of casual sex even if they personally would not partake in such activity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Factor A (factorscores)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. You should not have to be married just to have sex.</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Sex before marriage is only okay if you are engaged.</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. There is nothing wrong with protected casual sex.</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the interviews are taken into account, subjects in Factor A typically describe pre-marital sex for teenagers as a personal choice.

Right now I couldn't see myself just having casual sex but sure it could happen some time you know in the future, or whatever. I don't, I don't see much wrong with it, you know, if all the precautions are taken, you know, about STD's and stuff.
There doesn’t always have to be [an emotional commitment], ah, I don’t know—I, I probably would feel more comfortable if there was, but there doesn’t always have to be, not for everyone you know.

In response to other teenage girls, whether they are friends or not, having casual sex with someone they did not know...

I think it’s their own lives and their own bodies and let them do, you know—if they feel there’s nothing wrong with it, then it’s fine.

Pre-marital sex is also viewed as a learning experience with no regrets.

Some things I could have done without but the thing is I use things as learning experiences and the thing is I’ve gained a lot from learning that I know what not to do and who not to see, what kind of people I can trust so I don’t regret doing it although I might’ve not liked some of the past experiences.

Yes, I was ready for that and I’m glad it happened, and I always have been glad it happened. No regrets. I don’t wish anything was different about it. No I don’t think I’d do anything differently.

I: Do these experiences have an impact on how you feel about yourself?

No, the thing is that it was like awhile ago eh, I just look at it as like a chapter in my life that just opened and closed completely.

One respondent had an interesting account when questioned on how she felt about people who believe you have to be married to have sexual intercourse. This account reveals how sexuality is influenced in the public school system.

Well it’s fine for them you know, if they want but there was this one girl, this one lady, who came to school who was—she admitted to being a little bit of a slu[t]—a little loose when she was young and
then she was telling us not even to kiss anyone until we were married which was a bit hypocritical, just a little! I think that if people think that, that’s fine but they shouldn’t pass judgement on people that don’t wait.

I: This woman was a speaker invited to your school? Yeah she came to ______ (the school), she was trying to—well what happened was there was this one—well she had gotten pregnant once and she had an abortion and the first thing her boyfriend said to her was "So when can we have sex again?". She was just anti—, you know, pre-marital sex and she was trying to enforce this on everyone.

I: How did your friends react? Oh well everyone thought it was ridiculous. I was surprised they brought her into school.

The young women in Factor A do not view the loss of virginity as a regrettable, shameful experience. Although they may have chosen to undergo some of their circumstances differently, non-virginity itself is not something to harbour guilt about. Virginity does not materialize as a key issue. Respondents do not condemn pre-marital sex for either themselves or others, as can be seen in the following chart and personal accounts.

| 24 | I do (would) regret losing my virginity. | -4 |
| 6  | I do (would) feel guilty and ashamed for not being a virgin. | -4 |
| 12 | It makes no difference whether my friends are virgins or not. | +5 |
| 19 | Teenage girls should be able to have sex whenever they feel they are ready. | +4 |

I: If you were going to have sexual intercourse, what would be the reasons?
Um, how I feel about the guy, um, if I feel I'm ready, um, mostly like what my feelings are towards him, but that's about it.

About others having sex

I think it's an individual thing, some want to and they may be ready for it.

When questioned on the reason (if any) for having intercourse or a significant sexual experience on the most recent occasion the respondents did not cite 'true love' as the basis for such an interaction. Contrary to the literature (Reiss, 1970), 'sex with affection' did not reign supreme as the primary reason for engaging in these activities. As evident in the following responses respondents took part in sexual intercourse or sexual experiences for fun, pleasure, and mutual friendship.

Um, it was mutual and I really liked the guy.

Something to do I guess, have fun I guess.

I just mean it was for fun, for physical pleasure basically.

He was a friend but I wouldn't go out with him but he's considered a close friend I guess. It was an ongoing thing.

It was a mutual type of thing, like we care about each other and everything but it just wasn't the sort of thing where....

The absence of 'love' as a reason or justification for intercourse was acceptable even after the fact.

I: Were you comfortable with what was going on?
Ya, it wasn't a bad thing, like we care about each other and everything but it wasn't anything like love or anything but we did care about each other.
I: Can you separate an emotional involvement?
Ya--I don't know. It's hard to say cause like
sometimes I'll have it with the person once and I
will want it but it won't be available anymore.
Sometimes I'll have sex with a person and then I
just won't want to see them again. It'll be like
I'll never see them period.

Despite an acceptance of pre-marital sex without guilt or
shame, these young women are not emancipated from all
constraints when considering intercourse in the future.

I: When will you be ready to have sex again?

Just when I'm comfortable with myself again, when
my self-esteem is really good and my self-
confidence and whatever and I'm not using it as a
tool anymore cause that's one thing that I really
don't like cause it's not worth it.

Well, first of all, I have to find a boyfriend and
then see, that's just--I go day by day. I never
plan things. They're never how you expect them to
be, so I'm not going to have the "big day" my first
time.

Well the thing is that I think like if you're gonna
have sex, okay you may not start out emotionally
involved but afterwards you will be, especially if
it goes on for any length of time. You know you'll
form some kind of bond between the two of you.

Compared to any other factor, Factor A is distinguished
by this group's repudiation of the statement that a girl with
a bad reputation deserves one.

7. A girl only gets a bad reputation when she deserves one.

A

5

The following quotations also illustrate this.

No, some girls they get it just because they are
friendly in public but it doesn't always mean that
they had sex before. They could just be really
outgoing. It doesn't really mean anything. I
don't think that people get reputations like that because they deserve it.

Not always true but sometimes it is. Sure I'll listen to the gossip and the rumours but I don't care really.

Well basically like sometimes a friend and I we will be just joking around and we'll say, "Oh she's a slut" cause guys like her. It's just a perception. It's not really anything concrete I don't think. I don't know, you shouldn't judge people.

One interviewee recounts from personal experience how devastating such a misrepresentation can be.

It just hurt me that other people were gossiping about me all the time but it was like my self-esteem was so low that it couldn't have brought me down anymore but--I don't know it's kind of hard to explain--a lot of people were blocked against me. They just listened to the rumours and they didn't get to know me and the rumours were like fabricated anyways so there's a lot of people that don't know me but think this way about me but it wasn't even true anymore so some parts weren't even true at the time. I guess that's the part that bothered me that people wouldn't be friends with--were blocked off without me even having any control over it.

This is also consistent with the respondents' disagreement on the following statements concerning the label of 'slut.' One respondent was uneasy with the word 'slut' for it is troubling when applied in an atmosphere of the double standard.

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<tr>
<td>9. Any girl who has sex with someone she is not in love with is a slut.</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. You can tell a slut by the way she acts and dresses.</td>
<td>-3</td>
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Well guys are made out to be all cool and everything if they are getting a lot and girls are thought of as sluts, that's a problem I have with
that word you know, like just because you know we’re having a lot of it doesn’t mean that there’s anything wrong with us, like there’s a guy over here who’s having it twice as many times as I have and like he’s really cool, okay like that makes no sense to me, you know.

I: Do you think anyone deserves to be called a slut? No, not at all.

I: Do you think there is such a thing as a "slut"? In the terms I do and I don’t. I mean like people say "Oh she’s a slut" but it doesn’t necessarily follow that I believe in that. I don’t believe she’s a slut until I see proof of it.

Um, to a certain extent—well not really. Well the thing is I’ve been through a real lot and people used to call me a slut so the thing is I understand what their thinking is like, at least to a certain degree. People were calling me a slut but I was using it for a reason you know and I wasn’t just using it for cheap thrills. I have a problem with the word ‘slut’ and I’ve seen a lot of people go through what I’ve gone through and been called sluts so I have a problem with that.

It is apparent to this group that reputations are put forth unjustly. When asked about whether guys choose girls on the basis of reputations:

Well I’m just guessing but I think that they don’t care, well the slimeballs at least don’t care, just as long as they get to sleep with her and then she’s a slut after that.

When considering pleasure outside of a binding relationship or pleasure for pleasure’s sake, the respondents agree to some extent that this is acceptable.

26. It is all right if a girl has sex just because it makes her feel good.
Well it's [having an orgasm] nice. It depends on the reason why you're doing it. If you're doing it for that reason then yes obviously...

One of the respondents felt that enjoyable sex was an important part of a relationship and did not feel obligated to stay in a relationship that offered a miserable sexual experience.

It was just totally non-compatible, just really, really bad. There was just nothing there. There was no emotion to it number one. It was just not very good. Just the actual sex itself wasn't good and when it was done I was just sitting there and saying "I don't like this person anymore." It was just really bad like the rhythm was off. I tried to talk to him about it but I just didn't want to be with him again, it was gone. It plays a certain part in a relationship...

As a whole the Factor A group has a more accepting and positive attitude compared to any other factor when considering male or female homosexuality in this study.

5. If two people both enjoy having sex with each other, it should not matter whether they are two girls, a guy and a girl, or two guys.  

32. It would not bother me if any of my friends were lesbian.  

39. I am disgusted by the thought of two females having sex.  

23. I would not find it wrong to have sex with another girl.  

27. I cannot see how sex between two females can be as satisfying as sex between a male and a female.  

I feel it's--everyone has a right to think and do what they feel is right, umm umm, like I think it's
right for people to be homosexual and have the same feelings towards men and women or whatever.

I’m not against it. I don’t know if I’d do it but I’m open to it. I don’t mind what other people do that’s like—I don’t have a problem with it.

I don’t think it matters. It shouldn’t matter.

I hear rumours and stuff but that’s different and to each his own. Everyone is different and I’m all for it.

When questioned on whether they would feel uncomfortable if one of their girlfriends were lesbian, the young women were more receptive to the idea than the other two factor groupings.

It might at first, but I don’t think just hanging out—I think it would just be the same as anyone else, you know.

I don’t think I’d have a problem with it you know. My view would be changed on them cause I’d know something about them but I wouldn’t hold it against them. I wouldn’t feel bad because of it.

I’ve had friends and I’ve found out they were homosexual and at first I’m in shock and everything, and then—but—I’m fine with it now. They’re still the same person.

Well I’d be surprised naturally but I might have a little difficulty with it at first but that’s cause it’s a change. I would get used to it. She’s my friend. Why shouldn’t I?

But there are some reservations.

I just get uncomfortable when they display those feelings and emotions when they’re around me, more than I do when heterosexual couples are near me.

It doesn’t really bother me when I’m just sitting around talking to them, but it’s when they become affectionate with other people of the same sex that I get uncomfortable.

I: Why do you think this makes you uncomfortable?
Cause I’m not used to it. I’ve always grown up with, you know...

When asked about a family connection...

Say—-I think it would be the same. Actually if I first learned, at first when I learned that he was homosexual or whatever I probably would feel uncomfortable with the idea but I’d get over it pretty quickly because he’s my brother.

I: Would you want to change him?
Oh no! No, I... no I don’t think so.

I don’t think I’d have a problem with it, I don’t think it would happen but...

Well certain parts of my family—-half of my family is from Australia and the other from Scotland so the British and Scottish part of it is really rigid and they would have a problem with it but my mom wouldn’t but my dad’s side would a lot. They say they are open to it but I really don’t think so.

My family, they wouldn’t react, my immediate family but some of the other relatives, they’d be ooooo! I wouldn’t think my family would react that badly, they’d be "oh", get on with life.

This factor group can therefore be described as moderately liberal, accepting of, and more receptive to, pre-marital sex and homosexuality. Also, Factor A respondents are in conflict with the notion that ‘slut’ and bad reputation are accurate portrayals, or even warranted representations concerning a teenage girl’s sex life.

Factor A is the most liberal and publicly tolerant group in this study. This group views sex as a personal choice and a learning experience. They strongly believe in the ‘right of the individual,’ as well they are humanistic on matters concerning homosexuality. Although they believe people should be free to choose their own behaviours or lifestyles, they
cannot agree that such lifestyles are satisfying, or that they would consider them for themselves.

Despite the moderately liberal views held by this factor grouping, few could really be said to hold a "free thinking" outlook. All respondents felt some guidelines must be upheld before intercourse could be undertaken, and none considered experimenting with sex outside of heterosexual limitations or practices. This liberalism leaves the structure of patriarchy and the institution of heterosexuality hidden. This view masks that liberal values in our society are not always true and are ideologically produced and maintained to serve specific functions and reinforce structural oppression (Kitzinger, 1987).

Many of the respondents expressed accepting attitudes but their interviews revealed the limits of this 'openness': There is indeed a self/other dichotomy in operation.

SELF vs OTHER

Throughout the interviews of this study, it became evident that the young women defining the various factors present two levels of discourse which are in tension with one another. This tension could be described as a self/other dichotomy concerning female teenage sexuality. Respondents held a level of discourse for others which conflicted with their discourse for self. In many cases they tolerate female sexuality but at what level? Through examination of the
combined Q sort scores for each factor, as well as the interviews, it becomes clear that this tolerance may only be true at the public level for others and not the private, or self level. This bifurcation is analogous to organized religion and the "love thy neighbour" principle. This ecumenical teaching which is exuded in public, however, often becomes a judgemental, condescending, and down-right condemnatory attitude towards other groups and persons in private.

Most of the young women who were interviewed had the best intentions of appearing somewhat sexually open-minded. Even the most staunch conservative (later discussed in Factor B) interviewees assured me that they were sexually open-minded and unparochial with non-judgemental, liberal parents who passed down their 'liberal' values.

Turning now to various comments from the interviews, it can be concluded that what these young women present for others is often in tension with how they "really" feel in private for self.

Despite the public 'permissiveness' that Factor A respondents advocate in earlier quotations on emotional involvement and sex such as

There doesn't always have to be (an emotional involvement in sex), ah, ...there doesn't always have to be not for everyone you know.

and...
I: If other teenage girls, friends or not, decided to have casual sex with someone they did not know, what would you think about that?

I think it's their own lives and their own bodies and let them do, you know, if they feel there's nothing wrong with it, then for them it's fine.

Later on in the interviews we find a juxtaposition when the person in question hits closer to home such as self or a close friend.

When asked what the respondents would (if at all) consider a slut:

Well, I have an example. There's a girl who I used to be really good friends with and she had this boyfriend who she kept saying that she was really in love with so we went to this all night dance and that night she took off with some guy in his car and went to McDonalds and then with some other guy into some forest area or something and she had sex with both of them and then she went right back to her boyfriend in the morning and slept with him, and I think I, oh and she's always, she's been with the last boyfriend for a couple of years now and she tells us all about, all her um--she tells us "all I did this weekend, and we do this" you know--oh, and she had rug burns on her back and said "oh, this is what I did this weekend" so I classify her as a slut.

This statement came after her earlier statement of:

Um, no again I feel it's, everyone has a right to think and do what they feel is right.

It would appear that the agreement with statements: 1) "There is nothing wrong with protected casual sex" (+3); and 26) "It is all right if a teenage girl has sex just because it feels good" (+1), are agreeable in a context for others as general statements but not when these statements apply to self or close friends. The same could be said of the disagreement
with the statement: 9) "Any girl who has sex with someone she is not in love with is a slut" (-1).

This tension is consistent with Spencer's (1989) study which compared the sexual permissiveness granted a general or generic male or female with the sexual permissiveness granted to self or an individual who has more personal relevance such as a friend, or sibling. Spencer discovered that sexual behaviour becomes more acceptable with each increasing stage of a heterosexual relationship, from the first date to engagement. Respondents were more permissive for a generic person than one with close ties. This suggests that moral conservatism is applicable when a person in question has personal relevance. This may also suggest that the dominant ideology has taught people that liberal views on sexuality for others are acceptable.

Sprecher, McKinney and Orbuch (1991) also suggest that different scripts exist for what would constitute an acceptable sexual experience for friends, dates and partners.

One respondent states that her parents influence her sex life in the following way:

They're [her parents] very liberal ... they are very supportive.

But moments later the respondent states that:

My mom and dad both, they think it is stupid for someone so young to become sexually involved ... I must agree with them, it's not a smart move.

This is consistent with the findings of Harrison and Pennell (1989) who found that parents influence their
adolescents by having an impact on sex-role development as well as levels of sexual acceptance.

When asked why the respondents would not have sex now, the answers included:

Cause I’m too young, I’m not ready,--and I just want to be a kid right now.

But later on when questioned about any thoughts or desires for sexual experience one respondent stated that she thinks about sexual experiences happening and "well I wonder if I’m kind of slow but then I realize ‘hey it’ll happen’ and I just wait for it."

I: Do you have sexual feelings?
   Ya, I have sexual feelings but I know to keep them under control. I know I have to--for my personal beliefs. I just wonder what it’s like sometimes, I wonder if it’s going to be anything special or just love ‘em and leave ‘em.

   It would appear that after a definition of oneself as a sexual being with sexual thoughts, it is felt that such thoughts must be kept under control. It is interesting that respondents in this factor group hold a stance for others on teen sexuality that is liberal but for self this stance is different. This includes: "I think it’s stupid ... you have your whole life ahead of you why can’t you wait a few years"; "I just want to be a kid right now," "I’m in no mood to die at the moment" (due to AIDS as a reason for not engaging in sex) and;

   I think it’s something you have to be emotionally ready for and that’s not something I’m ready for. So, I just don’t agree with all of it--some of it I do like some of the movies and T.V. but that’s an
adult point of view and I'm just a kid so I can agree with it from an adult's point of view but from a kid's no way!

The discourse for self for sexuality of those in Factor A appears to be phrased in terms of personal development, fear of AIDS, and a matter of psychological readiness. It is interesting to note that a rejection of teenage sexuality does not stem from religion or 'morality' for the young women occupying this factor.

It can be concluded that despite high loadings on the 'liberal factor,' Factor A respondents are caught in a web of tension when their private and public discourse levels are examined. While these young women profess open, non-judging, sexual acceptance for others, on a private level such as friends or self, discomfort arises. Also, in relation to her personal situation she holds the dominant constraining views and values.

Some of the above tension could be attributed to what Zani (1991, p. 176) labels as "the symbolic impact of the feminist movement" which offers many models for female identities which can be confusing. Zani (1991, p. 176-177) adds that the "presence in girls of ambivalent feelings and apparently contradictory behaviour adds to this already complex situation."

Bardwick (1971) notes that while sexual mores have been changing since the 1920s, liberal sexual mores co-exist with more traditional, conservative ones. In spite of any "sexual
revolution," Bardwick notes that sex is emotionally threatening when little physical pleasure from sex is received and when sex is accompanied by a fear of having degraded oneself, or possible abandonment by a partner for acting immoral. Bardwick (1971, p. 262) found in her own study that sexual anxieties and ambivalence are generally characteristic of a young female population.

The conflict and ambivalence that young women (such as those in this factor group) demonstrate stems from their lack of power in sexual relationships leaving them vulnerable psychologically and physically (Bardwick, 1971). Young women also fear social and moral damnation for "the residues of an older morality which are still powerful ... have been internalized as a standard of behaviour" (Bardwick, 1971, p. 262).

Although such conflicts abound in the other factor groupings, Factor A respondents were the ones who felt the greatest strain between their tolerance for others and private restrictive standards for self.

**Factor B**

Factor B was defined by sorts 4, 8, 9, 12, 20, 23 and 27 (see Table 1). The combined scores of these seven young women's Q-sorts (see Appendix M: Factor B) indicate a conservative group. This conservative view will become clear
when the interviews of the three volunteers defining this particular factor are examined.

The young women defining this factor have a rigid and traditional view towards pre-marital sex for themselves. They do not approve of sex before marriage or casual sex, especially without the element of love. The young women in this factor have all decided to wait until marriage before engaging in sexual intercourse. They plan to remain monogamous, having only one sexual partner. They do not agree with sex outside of a serious love relationship for others or sex with multiple partners.

When compared to the combined score of those in Factor A (Appendix N), it can be noted that Factor B is by far a more conservative group and less tolerant of untraditional sexual values. This group would be the group to agree with the deviant analyst’s perspective on teenage sexuality.

The Factor B young women are clearly distinguishable from the Factor A young women on the issues of multiple partners and casual sex.

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<th>FACTOR B</th>
<th>FACTOR A</th>
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<tr>
<td>10. There is a limit to how many people I will have sex with in my life.</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. It should be okay to have protected sex with many different partners.</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. There is nothing wrong with casual sex.</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>+3</td>
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This is illustrated through an interview extract.
But like I said before I'm planning on having a limited number of partners in my life.

The following respondents state that religion influenced their decision to remain virgin until marriage and their beliefs about pre-marital sex.

I've been raised in the church. My parents used to be ministers. I've been really raised by the bible so that's basically my beliefs.

Basically she [mother] told me everything that our religion restricts us to do. It restricts it [pre-marital sex] totally—and I agree with it.

Um, I don't know but basically I come from--I'm somewhat religious so I'd probably be married first before I did that but then after that it's kind of expected you'd do it but I wouldn't probably do it unless I was married anyways so, I don't know. I'd have to love the person and stuff.

Well religion [has an influence] and supposedly like, um, there's really strong emotional ties in with it and like you just date a person and you decide to do something like that and then you break up and it'll rip you apart.

I: No sex before marriage?
Basically but I don't know exactly, to that basic point I think--probably married. It depends on the situations but you'd have to be serious with someone cause otherwise it could rip you apart.

Sex is thought of solely in terms of personal limits for this group, thus having an impact on how they judge sexual behaviour in general. This is evident in the following passages.

You mean like technical virgin?--well that's still technically not intercourse but it's still sex--I wouldn't do that.

I think it's [oral sex] kind of disgusting--it's just not somewhere I'd really want to put my mouth.
[Casual sex] Well--what one person finds right for them I don’t--personally I wouldn’t--I wouldn’t feel okay with myself about it.

The young women defining this factor do not believe that sexuality should be the free decision of a teenage girl. They feel to some degree that teenage girls need limits and direction so as not to make sexual decisions themselves. Again there is a marked difference between the two factor groups.

---

3. There should be an age limit on how young someone should be to have sex for the first time.

19. Teenage girls should be able to have sex whenever they feel they are ready.

22. There should be programs set up to prevent girls from having sex before marriage.

---

The respondents deny that teenage girls are sexual beings and they see the decision to engage in sexual intercourse as wrong. The following quotations illustrate these points.

Um, I think generally--basically, well not all are waiting for marriage but at least for love and cause all my friends are a different religious mix and different backgrounds--but um, like basically the same opinions, they don’t just rush out and do stuff.

Oh the guys all want to and they’re all ready but most of the girls aren’t really sure and they’re kind of pressured by the guys, but most of my friends are in university so...

Well, I don’t know, like I plan on eventually doing something but I’m not like in a big rush to find out about things. I’ve got a whole life ahead of me. Like "Oh everybody’s doing it," big deal.
There would be things that I wouldn't do sexually because of myself--maybe--like what I do is my business.

The young women defining this factor would even go so far as to pass a character judgement on who would or would not have sex. They also do not disagree with other statements that indict one's character.

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<tr>
<td>15. Teenage girls who have sex have different personalities than girls who do not have sex.</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. A girl who has sex should not be thought of as delinquent.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Girls who have sex before 15 usually have delinquent friends.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. A teenage girl who goes to church would not have sex.</td>
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<td>-1</td>
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This point is further illustrated in the following statement:

No, basically I don't hang out with that kind of group.

These young women would be (or are) devastated to lose their virginity which they hold (held) as an ideal until marriage. Factor B respondents are adamant about the notion that sex is not acceptable outside of marriage and certainly not outside of love. Once again there is a salient discrepancy between factors B and A.
24. I do (would) regret losing my virginity.  
B  +4  
A  -4

6. I do (would) feel guilty and ashamed for not being a virgin.  
B  +2  
A  -4

17. You should not have to be married to have sex.  
B  -5  
A  +4

36. Sex is okay even if the two people are not in love.  
B  -4  
A  0

I really feel that they should be married first.
I don’t agree with it [pre-marital sex]—well a lot of my friends are into that but I don’t really think that it’s right.
I really don’t think that—and what you hear about what’s going on, and also the fact that the guy’s not there the next day. I don’t think it’s [sex before marriage] worth it.

[A reason for having sex] Well that I was married at least [before having sex], well at the most actually and I guess that I loved the person.

A reason for not having sex—um, well not being married and—I don’t know, we’re also restricted from dating so there wouldn’t be any reason to have sex at all.

You mean like loving each other and stuff? Well ya, like—it just kind of lessens it, kind of lessens the importance and value of what you’re doing.

If I trusted the person and it would have to be that I really felt that I loved him.

If I don’t love them I don’t think I’d ever want to [have sex].

I: What would make you feel guilty about sex?  
Having sex before marriage.

Again the two factors diverge, this time when making a judgement call on the use of the word ‘slut’. Factor B
respondents agree that a slut is a detectable entity defined by certain behaviours or actions.

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<td>16. You can tell a slut by the way she dresses and acts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. A girl only gets a bad reputation when she deserves one.</td>
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This is further illuminated in the following quotations.

A lot of times they [bad reputations] are deserved because I don’t know maybe because of the way someone dresses or the way they act around people or something.

[A slut is] somebody who I guess expected every guy she met to have sex with her.

Basically someone who sleeps with anyone that they don’t know, that they don’t know well enough and just because they feel like doing it, cause they don’t have nothing better to do, doesn’t matter with who just as long as they get it.

I: Do you think a teenage girl would be a slut if she liked having sex because she got a lot of physical pleasure out of it?

That’s hard to say cause I don’t know the person. I think so. It depends on different situations like how they grew up, if they grew up not knowing anything better than you can’t expect them to know anything better so I don’t think of that person as a slut. They’re just doing what they’ve been shown, so I wouldn’t hold that against them.

Concurrent with Thompson’s (1990) research, teenage girls with little or no sexual experimentation hold views similar to the above.
20. I had experimented with sex when I was younger.

No I don’t do that [masturbation]. That’s gross.

I: Any sexual experiences?
   NO.
   and--
   I have no dating career.

I: Have you ever kissed anybody?
   No, I haven’t even gone out.

The respondents in Factor B do not agree with a teenage girl having sex solely for the purpose or outcome of pleasure.

26. It is all right if a girl has sex just because it makes her feel good.

They appear to negate sexual pleasure for themselves and others. This could be due to a fear of engaging in moralistic decadence or equating sex with ‘sin.’

I: If sex was not enjoyable would you worry about it?
   No, I’m not going to worry about it.

I: Do you think sex will be an important part of your marriage?
   Not as important as other things. If there is children taking care of them and um taking care of the house and money and things like that.

I: How would you like sex to happen when you are ready?
   Oh I don’t know.

I think it’s sad that they [friends] do stuff like that [pre-marital sex]. Some of them were in bad situations and I think that they don’t really feel good about themselves.
I: What kind of situation would you consider a bad situation? Well one incidence is when this guy came over and just asked her if she'd have sex with him and he didn't even remember and then about two months later he didn't even remember if he did or not.

Pleasure may even be repudiated waiting for 'Mr. Right'.

I have no dating career which is pretty bad cause I'm sixteen but that's no--that's, it just means that I haven't met anybody perfect.

Respondents in Factor B are not open to homosexuality for males or females despite professing "non-judgemental" attitudes. Quite the opposite is manifested. Factor B respondents are unequivocally less accepting of homosexual statements than those in Factor A.

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<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>+1</td>
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<td>27. I cannot see how sex between two females can be as satisfying as sex between a male and a female.</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. It would not bother me if any of my friends were lesbian.</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>+2</td>
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We see this rejection of homosexuality upon examining one respondent's answers to the following interview questions.

I: What does your religion say about homosexuality? It also does not allow it.

I: How would you feel if a close friend were a lesbian?
I don't know.

I: How about if someone in your class was gay?
    I guess I would feel uncomfortable but you know.

I: What if someone in your family was gay?
    I don't know because I know my mother is strongly against it. She believes it’s just a psychological thing.

I: Have you heard of gay Muslims?
    No.

I: What would happen, would they choose to leave or be asked...
    I don’t know, I wouldn’t know about it.

Aside from religion, this resistance to homosexuality may be due in part to family pressure or upbringing, sheer ignorance, or a complete lack of understanding where homosexuality is concerned. This can be illustrated in the following statements.

They just can’t have children that’s all.

I don’t know I just wouldn’t discuss what guys are cute with them...

I: Gay brother or sister?
    My dad--my mom would probably be okay with it but my dad he’s kind of a jerk so I guess he’d probably, he’s really judgemental of people and stuff so I guess he would be upset about it I think, but I don’t like my dad so...

I don’t believe that that’s right but I do believe in forgiveness and I would never hold it against them and I do understand why some people go to that due to past experiences with the other sex so I have a lot of friends that are gay and a lot of older people that I know that are gay, and my mom’s really raised me not to judge them and to accept them for who they are and not for what they do.

I: Why do you think the people you know are gay?
    Um, because of their bad experiences with either mothers or past girlfriends.
In summary, there is a prominent difference between Factor B and Factor A. Whereas Factor A was the most liberally minded group in the study, Factor B was the most conservative group. This second group holds traditional views on pre-marital sex and virginity. They believe marriage and love are essential prerequisites for sex, especially sexual intercourse. Factor B respondents have had little or no sexual experimentation and pleasure is denied as a viable pursuit for teenage girls, including themselves. The derogatory term 'slut' (again all respondents assumed it must demarcate females) is a verifiable, sometimes deserved label, according to this factor group. Sex is not considered a free, unlimited decision for teenage girls. Religion and religious upbringing appear to be strong factors in the respondents' beliefs concerning sex and related issues.

Religiosity has been found to have a strong relation to adolescent sexual intercourse (Herold and Goodwin, 1981; Juhasz and Sonnenshein-Schneider, 1987; Miller and Olsen, 1988; Harrison and Pennell, 1989; Miller and Moore, 1990). Herold and Goodwin (1981) report that religious females are less accepting of premarital intercourse and more likely to follow conservative parental norms. The tendency to be devout and observant of religious custom and teaching is more important than any specific affiliation (Miller and Moore, 1990). Young women aged 15-19 who said religion was important to them and who attended church more frequently were less
likely to report having had sexual intercourse (Miller and Moore, 1990). Miller and Olsen (1988) found that adolescents who were members of churches that teach sexual abstinence before marriage were significantly less likely to have had sexual intercourse compared to those affiliated with other denominations.

Once again, as in Factor A, this group of respondents encounters the self/other dichotomy. In the interviews a duality of views is discovered. During the interview respondents expressed an open, non-restrictive attitude for the sexual decisions of others. This can be viewed in the statements to follow.

I: What do you think about teenagers who do have sex? That’s their decision, their choice and I don’t think any worse or any better of them if they do.

Well--what one person finds right for them--I’m not one to judge other people if they’re okay with how they feel, if they feel okay with what they’re doing that that’s okay for them.

There’s probably such a thing as a slut but I wouldn’t describe a slut because I don’t feel I should be judgemental about people any more than I would want to be judged myself so I don’t think I would describe a slut.

Well, really it’s not for me to decide ‘cause if a person is okay with what they are doing themselves that’s up to them and that’s what matters.

I don’t really judge people that do [have pre-marital sex].

Each person can think what they want and we don’t discuss it as who’s wrong and who’s right.

Despite the suggested openness of the interviewees and their belief in a non-judgemental outlook they are soon reneging on
this thought:

Basically [a slut is] someone who sleeps with anyone that they don't know, that they don't know well enough, and just because they feel like doing it, cause they don't have nothing better to do, doesn't matter with who just as long as they get it.

I: What would you consider a slut?

Somebody I guess who expected every guy she met to have sex with her.

I: Do you think a girl would be a slut if she likes having sex just because she got a lot of physical pleasure out of it? ...

I think so, it depends on different situations like how they grew up, if they grew up not knowing any better than you can't expect them to know any better so I don't think of that person as a slut they're just doing what they've been shown, so I wouldn't hold that against them.

Although the respondents espouse equality for male and female pleasure as in question 4) "It is just as important for a girl to receive pleasure during sex as it is for the guy" (+3); it appears that this would only apply to specific, acceptable situations in which the teenage girl is involved.

It can be concluded that Factor B, as in all the factors, exhibit a dichotomy of opinions and tension in discourse concerning self and other teenage female sexuality when their interviews and Q sort scores are examined.

**Factor C**

This factor was defined by sorts 6, 11, 16, 25 and 28 (Table 1). The two young women interviewed for this factor had the two highest loadings on Factor C.
Young women defining this group, as in Factor A, have a more liberal view of the issues in this study than in Factor B. This liberalism, however, differs from the young women in Factor A. Although Factors A and C have some similarities, they are not harmonious. Both Factor A and C support pre-marital sex as well as a shared belief that teenage girls should be able to make a decision to have intercourse, regardless of their age. However, the discrepancy exists on the issue of what justifies such a decision. Factor C respondents stress love as a paramount prerequisite to this decision whereas Factor A respondents note a variety of reasons why someone would choose to engage in sexual intercourse. Factor C respondents express a more romantic view of teenage sexuality than the Factor A’s liberal, public view for others. A ‘romantic’ view of teenage female sexuality (and sexuality in general) is defined in this context as a view that is primarily concerned with sentiment, emotion, and deep feeling. Christian-Smith (1990) notes that romance, in the context of the teenage girl, constructs an image of femininity in a conservative way, with a woman seen as incomplete without a man. Romance also softens sexuality giving the appearance of innocence (Christian-Smith, 1990).
17. You should not have to be married to have sex. +5 -5 +4

19. Teenage girls should be able to have sex whenever they feel they are ready. +4 -1 +4

33. There should be an age limit on how young someone should have sex for the first time. -3 +1 -2

I wouldn’t say there’s a certain age but I would say— I think as long as you love someone, truly love someone, you love them and trust them then sex is okay.

Like if they really loved and trusted each other, and before they have sex they should say "Am I going to regret this if this doesn’t work out?" and if they say they won’t regret it then I think it’s okay.

You can’t really put an age on it. It’s just when you find somebody you really like and you feel like it then.

It’s not a time, it’s just finding that right person and knowing that I really love them and trust them.

Yeah, um, I’d want to have sex before I got married to like meet different people cause you might love someone and then get married and then have sex with them and they really suck like that and not want to spend the rest of your life with them. So, ya, I think that you’d want to. In a way you should just so you know cause that’s a really big part in a marriage.

I: Do you think people should be married or engaged before having sex?
No I don’t think so.

and...
No.

Although the respondents in Factor C feel that a teenage girl should be able to have sex at any age when she feels
ready without the requirement of marriage, these young women are not as receptive to casual sex or multiple partners as their Factor A counter parts. It would appear that the Factor C group is not opposed to teenage sex but they hold a more romantic view than Factor A which includes restrictions for sexual acceptance to occur such as a monogamous, serious, love relationship.

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1. There is nothing wrong with protected casual sex.  

   +1  -2  +3

3. It should be okay to have sex with many different partners.  

   -2 -3  0

Ye. I would have to know a lot about them and really trust someone in you know a relationship.

Well it depends but I think [going out] a little more than a month, just so you get to know each other. I can’t see doing it after the second or third day.

Not that fast, I don’t think so. You don’t know who he is or anything about him and that might make a problem.

Casual sex outside of 'standards' is viewed as wrong.

My one friend she felt, um, with her first um, she had a boyfriend this year and she waited a real long time cause she was scared and all that and she finally did and after that I think she liked it cause she went out with two other guys after she broke up with that one and did it in less than a week and I thought that was pretty wrong. It’s her choice but I don’t think that was a very smart choice to do.

Casual sex is also viewed as a problem.

I: What do you think about casual sex?  
That’s their problem, I don’t care.
I: This is not for you?
NO!
and...
I think it's really dangerous, especially in these
days with AIDS and these other STD's.

Another indication of these underlying restrictions would
be the agreement that sex without love denotes a slut. These
young women barely agree that sex is okay if one is not in
love and barely disagree that they would feel guilty or
ashamed for losing their virginity.

These young women reflect the general consensus of 'sex
with affection' often found among young people today, as
reported in the literature (such as Reiss, 1970). This
acceptance of pre-marital sex under the guise of 'true love'
is still an "... ideology of 'true love' clearly borrowed
from the official morality ... and [it] achieves a form of
social acceptance" (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 108). This view
reinforces monogamous, love relationships.

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<td>9. Any girl who has sex with someone</td>
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<td>she is not in love with is a slut.</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+3</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Sex is okay even if the two people</td>
<td></td>
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<td>are not in love.</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-4</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. I would feel guilty and ashamed</td>
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<td>for not being a virgin.</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>+2</td>
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<td>10. There is a limit to how many people</td>
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<td>I will have sex with in my life.</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>+5</td>
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Also evident in the following statements.

Well if they are really good friends I think that
that would ruin a friendship but if they love each
other I think that would be a good reason to.
If I loved the person enough, and um, I probably wouldn’t do it when I first met them. I probably would wait a long time.

If I loved someone, and I—just loving them and just wanting it.

The next set of quotations demonstrate that these young women fear what would happen without the security of love.

I wouldn’t want to get hurt and I wouldn’t want to get pregnant. I guess not getting emotionally hurt and pregnant.

Just so he could brag about it, I wouldn’t do that just cause he wants to and so he could brag about it to his friends and stuff.

Even within the confines of love the respondents illustrate that they are beset by ambivalent worries.

I thought it was something different and I kind of liked it. [Afterwards] I felt so-so I guess, I don’t really remember, kind of good and kind of bad cause you feel like dirty slime I guess.

... I will feel really guilty with the next person if it was so soon afterwards, maybe then I’d feel guilty but I don’t know.

I don’t know, um, because we had only known each other for about a month and I was like "Oh isn’t this just kind of jumping into things," and I was worried. I know you shouldn’t worry about what people think but I was worried, I was worried about what my friends might think.

Ya, I thought I jumped into things and went a little too fast and after that I learned to take my time with things. I just thought after that moment I’m not going to do that again— that spur of the moment type thing.

I feel the same way, like not to jump into things like that.

Teenage girls who step outside such boundaries are viewed unfavourably.
It depends how they act about it, if they go around bragging about it and act like a slut and a who(r)e and all that, I guess afterwards, but there are some that are just nice and you know that they’ve been going out with the person for a long time which really doesn’t matter but they seem like they’re married and all that so we just think "Oh, that’s wonderful."

[A slut] Someone who sleeps around and doesn’t care who they are sleeping with or what their background is--don’t really care about their reputation--maybe fool around with other people’s boyfriends.

I listen to what they [friends] do. They tell me everything and I think "Oh slut" but I never say anything.

A sexual double standard is manifest in the following scores. Although the young women report a moderately strong agreement with admission to the enjoyment of physical pleasure they can receive from sex, they do not feel it is permissible for teenage girls to want sex for pleasure alone. They again reinforce the ‘right’ and ‘proper’ boundaries for sex and pleasure.

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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>It is just as important for the girl to get pleasure out of sex as it is for the guy.</td>
<td>+4</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>I enjoy the physical pleasure I can receive from having sex.</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>It is all right if a girl has sex just because it makes her feel good.</td>
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Further evident in the following excerpts.

Yeah, it shouldn’t be all the guy, good luck.

I: What if a girl wanted to have sex because she liked the way it made her feel?
I guess if she wanted to with her boyfriend and they'd been going out a long time. I guess if she felt like doing it and not just having a feeling and then going out and just having it with someone you've only gone out with a day or not even really going out with him. That would be wrong I guess.

Falling outside of these margins is distressful. This becomes clear in the succeeding quotations.

Ya I felt pleasure then but after that I sort of felt bad about what I had done.

I: How come?
I don't know, um, because we had only known each other for about a month and I kind of was like "Oh isn't this just kind of jumping into things," and I was worried.

Sex is not thought to be separable from intimacy or as a means for pleasure in and of itself. If it is, it is deviant.

The following statements illustrate this fact.

She thinks she shouldn't have done it [sex] cause she said she couldn't control it but she could but she didn't know what she wanted to do so she did that [sex] but then afterwards she thought maybe she shouldn't have done it.

Well both, physical comes along with it but the emotional side of sex is important too.

It depends on the situation. Just going out and saying "I want to have sex" and going out and just picking someone out of the blue, oh I don't think that's right. For me that wouldn't be right, I would never do that, especially like I said before, all the diseases and stuff you have to be careful--but I don't know, if it was your boyfriend and you had sex with him before and then you had the urge, I don't know.

The young women in Factor C express judgemental opinions about other teenage girls.
13. Being involved in bad behaviour has nothing to do with whether you have sex at an early age.

16. You can tell a slut by the way she acts and dresses.

[A slut is]... just someone that bragged about what they did and how they walked and that about--like around boys. Just the way she acts around guys and stuff like that.

It's just the way she acts [like a slut]. She acts like she wants to and gets them ready and then she won't. She just teases them I guess you could say.

Compared to the other two factors, Factor C is the only factor that agrees with the statement that a girl only gets a bad reputation when she deserves one. Possibly due to their romantic view, sex without love may be seen as deserving of stigma. This coincides with the thought that a 'slut' can be identified solely on appearance and/or action.

7. A girl only gets a bad reputation when she deserves one.

Respondents in Factor C do agree, however, that they themselves worry about reputations.

25. I worry about my reputation.

Respondents reinforce that bad reputations are something to reckon with and they regulate their behaviour accordingly. The ensuing citations illustrate this fact.
I: Would you do more sexually with a guy if no one would ever find out?
Yeah probably.

I: What do you think you would do differently?
Just anything that felt right at the moment, just as long as he didn’t go telling everyone and everyone thought it was something bad.

I know you shouldn’t worry about what people think of you but I was worried. I was worried about what my friends might think.

[If she had had sex at an earlier sexual incident]
In a way I think I would have forgotten about it but I don’t know, but I think I would probably feel the same, just a little more open, I guess, like someone knows too much about me and was out there just talking about me or something afterwards. That’s all I’m really worried about now, what people would say about me cause you hear so much about what people say now. You’d hate to find out what they say about you, and if it’s not true cause they don’t know how it was or how you felt or anything.

I always worry about what everybody thinks about me. I’m a worry wart. I’m always wondering about if I look perfect and stuff like that.

I used to but I don’t really care any more--well I care but I don’t let it affect me, like if people think you are one way and I know I’m not the way someone thinks I am then I don’t let it bother me and then no one else cares, and then they say "Well they don’t care" so if they say that, it’s not the way it is. Like if I say ... if someone says something bad about me well I say that’s not the way it is and if you don’t want to believe me than that’s your prerogative.

Factor C respondents intensely agree every girl’s first time is not alike. This may be heavily influenced by their ‘romantic’ view of sexuality.

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<th>29. Every girl’s first time is basically the same.</th>
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<td></td>
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I think it will be like good and exciting and all that but it depends on who it’s with cause different people have different ways of doing it and have more fun.

The young women defining this factor are more amenable to some statements regarding same-sex relations than the other two factors but they themselves would not engage in such behaviour.

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<td>5. If two people both enjoy having sex with each other, it should not matter whether they are two girls, a guy and a girl, or two guys.</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<td>39. I am disgusted by the thought of two females having sex.</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. It would not bother me if any of my friends were lesbian.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
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I think I would still be friends with her. I think I would be interested, seriously I’d be interested. I’d want to find out more—like why and how she feels and—I’d have to admit I’d be a little bit cautious but I don’t think too much, like to the extent that I’d be like "get away from me."

No, well, it’s their choice I guess. It doesn’t bother me.

And about having a lesbian baseball coach...

It didn’t bother me, it didn’t make a difference. I felt the same way about her.

But they admit they themselves would not consider homosexuality.

Well they [her friends] always pretend that they’re lesbians anyway. It’s just a joke off of Saturday Night Live so I don’t think it wouldn’t bother them if someone was gay or a lesbian but they would never be like that and neither would I.
One respondent upholds her romantic conviction that any sex is okay as long as it is within the realm of 'love.' As long as they love each other it shouldn't matter.

But the young women in this group are the most opposed to the "rightness" of sex with another female.

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<td>23</td>
<td>I would not find it wrong to have sex with another girl.</td>
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<td>-3</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>I cannot see how sex between two females can be as satisfying as sex between a male and a female.</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+2</td>
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I: What if someone in your class were gay? I don't care as long as they didn't like me.

I: What about a brother or sister? ...I wouldn't care that much. I'd just think they were a little weird I guess but I know it's something they can't help sometimes.

To sum up, Factor C respondents hold a romantic view of teenage sexuality. Sex was defined as being romanticized when it is tied up in emotion, sentiment, and deep feelings. This "romanticization" of sexuality is a departure from the liberalism of Factor A and the traditionalism of Factor B. However, Factor A respondents exhibit a romantic view of sexuality through their private discourses on sexuality and Factor B respondents idealize the romantic view of "saving themselves" for love and marriage.

Although Factor C respondents support pre-marital sex for female teenagers it is only within restrictive bounds such as heterosexual monogamy. 'Sex with love' is a legitimate option
for these young women but guilty and ambiguous feelings abound. If sex and intimacy are unwound from one another, and romance falls by the wayside, these respondents cry ‘slut’ for the female involved. Pleasure is only acceptable within the bounds of love or serious relationships.

Factor C respondents are judgemental of others’ actual or perceived sexual behaviour while they themselves act accordingly to avoid sexual scrutiny. They accept same-sex relationships minimally on some levels but state that this is not an option they would consider for themselves.

The Factor C young women, like those in the other two factors, also reveal a dichotomous relationship in their perspective about female sexuality when their interviews are examined alongside of the combined Q sort score for those loading on this factor (See Appendix M: Factor C).

When the respondents’ interviews are examined, there is only an acceptance of casual sex when certain limits are enforced. These views were expressed earlier.

I: Do you think it’s okay for a teenage girl to have sex just because it makes her feel good? It depends on the situation—saying “I want to have sex” and going out and just picking someone out of the blue—Oh I don’t think that’s right—if it was your boyfriend and you had sex with him before and then you had the urge, I don’t know.
I listen to what they do (her friends), they tell me everything and I think 'Oh slut' but I never say anything.

Slut? Someone who sleeps around and doesn't care who they are sleeping with, or what their background is--don't really care about their reputation.

As long as they love each other I don't think it matters.

However, when the combined Q sort score for this factor is examined we see that Factor C respondents agree with the statements that: 1) "There is nothing wrong with protected casual sex" (+1); and 36) "Sex is okay even if the two people are not in love" (+1). They also reveal a strong agreement with the statement: 4) "Teenage girls should be able to have sex whenever they feel they are ready" (+4). These agreements to statements during the Q sort for others appear to include stipulations when they are talked about in the interview which has a more private genre of self.

In sum, Factor C respondents appear to think concurrently with Zani (1991) who notes there has been a change in the 'models' that regulate sexual behaviour. Today's model is considered one of 'permissiveness with affection' under which sexual relationships are right for both sexes within certain conditions. The quality of the relationship seems to have an important consideration in determining the level of sexual intimacy (Zani, 1991). Spencer (1989) also cites a similar discovery. Her study found that women are as permissive as men for the self, as long as love and possibly the chance of
marriage are assumed to be linked by sex (i.e., "safety" factors) (Spencer, 1989).

Leigh (1989) found in a study interested in reasons for having or avoiding sex by gender that 95% of females say emotional involvement was a prerequisite for sex. Expression of love was noted as a more important motivation of sexual activity in women than in men. It also appears that the quality of the relationship is of extreme importance. This is consistent with Morrison's (1980) study, where the author found that "wrongness" or "immorality" are not as important for abstaining from sex as "not caring" is to a respondent.

It should not be forgotten that although cultural scripts and individuals' perceptions combine sexuality with emotions (e.g., love), sexuality and emotions are distinct phenomena (Goettsch, 1989, p. 255). To claim otherwise is a value judgement. For as Goettsch (1989, p. 255) notes;

"There is no inherent morality in sexual activity. Moral issues are derived from social conventions regulating interaction, conventions whose objective moral status may be unverifiable."

Evidence has been found from the interviews to coincide with Coleman and Hendry's (1990) findings that 1990s young people are more open concerning sexual matters than previous generations; clearly evident in their frankness when they speak about sex. The interviews also correspond with Coleman and Hendry's (1990) discovery that sex is more a matter of private than public morality. Nevertheless, the young women
in this study are also less likely to make absolute judgements on what is right or wrong in individual cases. The authors note that there seems to be a growing awareness of the importance of sex for stable, long-term relationships along with the belief that sex needs the context of a relationship if it is to be meaningful. In this study most of the young women agree that a long-term or 'love' relationship is needed for meaningful sex but only one respondent asserted that sex was important for a (marriage) relationship. In one other case sex was likely to be "expected" when married.

In conclusion, it is evident that the predominate rule governing teenage sexuality today, that 'sex with affection' is acceptable, can be coupled with ambiguity and confusion for many of the respondents in this study. The acceptance of sex or permissiveness with affection is highly romanticized in the discourses of the young women in this study. Although Factor C respondents can be characterized as the most apparently "romantic" group, Factor A respondents reveal a romantic ideal for self, as opposed to a more tolerant, acceptable attitude for others. The simple fact that Factor B respondents embrace a traditional view of women's roles and sexuality connects them to a romantic view also. The Factor B young women seem to idealize a "Victorian myth" including the idea of sex as an act of commitment and love; a "gift for the husband."

Throughout this study we see that in constructing and reconstructing sexual meanings for themselves and others the
young women present different discourses that relate to each other. Although the discourses presented in each factor group had differences, all three are variations on a theme of romantic, primarily heterosexual, monogamous sex. This element was especially true when the private realm of the respondents' sexual lives and attitudes was examined. It would be safe to agree with Thompson (1984, p. 364) that "[F]ar from being something that teenage girls take lightly, ... as the media and new right would have it, first intercourse is loaded down with expectations and symbolic weight."

The construction of a social crisis of teenage girls as dangerously "promiscuous" is simply a projection of adult fears (Petchesky, 1984), the media, and the New Right (Christian-Smith, 1990). Women become socialized in such a climate to believe that their own sexual impulses are dangerous (Vance, 1984).

In spite of all the "New Right" hullabaloo, this study indicates that teenage girls are in fact relatively conservative concerning their own, and other teenage girls', sexuality. The young women in this study, as in Thompson's (1984, p. 351) study, presented a "version of the self as innocent, well-intentioned ... and victim rather than victor." Definitely not the free-thinking, sexually open young women feminism would like to see, nor the selfish, satan-like sluts religious fundamentalists or conservatives portray. Popular
culture has also provided a construction of femininity that supports conservative ideologies, such as media, magazines, and teenage romance novels (Snitow, 1983; Christian-Smith, 1990; Peirce, 1990)

This is in keeping with Forgas and Dobosz (1980) who observed that social relationships among humans conform to culturally established patterns. The deep-seated Western conception that romantic love is the only true path to an enduring and permanent relationship is reflected in the merging of "love," "permanence," and "commitment." This is in line with the cultural definitions of female sex roles. The authors found that romantic relationships were also important to religious people, such as those subjects in the Factor B group (Forgas and Dobosz, 1980, p. 298).

Snitow (1983, p. 252) tells us that "[W]hen women try to picture excitement, the society offers them one vision, romance. When women try to imagine companionship, the society offers them one vision, male, sexual companionship." Thompson (1984, p. 354) also found in her study that sex and romance are connecting threads in girls' tradition, snarled in teenage girls' discourse. In effect, teenage girls create erotic systems "out of the scraps and the relics of Victorianism, romanticism, modernism and feminism" (Thompson, 1984, p. 374).

Part of the problem with the resurgence of conservative romance could be with feminism's relationship to romance, for feminism has not effectively relayed its understanding of the
sexual and romantic dialectic to teenage girls (Thompson, 1984, p. 375). The concerns of sex and romance for teenagers must not be dismissed but spoken about, and sexual autonomy defended. Consciousness raising at puberty is a necessity before young women feel stigmatized by sexuality. Also, projects that focus on romantic disappointment are needed (Thompson, 1984, p. 377). Teenage girls must be incorporated in an unique way to feminism so that they feel it is something they may embrace. Feminism and its relationship to the teenage girl will be discussed further at a later point in this thesis.

Christian-Smith (1990) notes that when teenage girls investigate the meaning of romance and how it is constructed, they achieve a greater understanding of the processes of gender identity formation. She notes that romance not only connotes the emotional and caring aspects of a relationship, but also involves a pattern of power between women and men. Adolescent femininity is constructed through the code of romance. Part of the strength of romance is that it operates in private life, away from public scrutiny. Romance therefore appears to be innocent and non-controlling, for the power underlying private life is invisible (Christian-Smith, 1990).

Sexuality without romance is viewed as taboo. Romance controls the forms of, and occasions for, sexuality. As Christian-Smith (1990, p. 28) reports

[Romance is a way of circumscribing boys’ sexual demands within traditional notions of permitted
sexuality by compelling them to make emotional commitments ... however, ... legitimate sexuality remains non-genital, ... romance ... ultimately constructs feminine subjectivity in terms of a significant other, the boyfriend.

We have seen throughout these three factors that sexual desire is held in check, leaving love as its substitute (Christian-Smith, 1990). "Sex is a domain of masculinity, a domain to which girls have access, but legitimately only through a romance with a boy" (Christian-Smith, 1990, p. 31). Male control of female sexuality will be discussed later in this thesis.

It can be concluded that the three above mentioned factors exhibit differences in their respective discourses on sexuality. These include liberal tolerance on a public level for others, and romantic idealism for self and close relations on a private level for Factor A; traditional, "Victorian" sexuality with a conservative religious overtone for Factor B; and a romanticized view of sexuality for self and others for Factor C. Nevertheless, all three factors seem to converge at a point of romantic, heterosexual, monogamy on a global scale when their discourses for self and other are viewed together.

All in all, female teenage sexuality is not a clearly defined entity for the respondents in this study. Rather, sexuality is constructed and reconstructed with ambiguity and confusion for most of the respondents. Versions of the self differ from that of the other, public tolerance differs from private acceptance, pleasures are overlooked or under-
emphasized, and ideals are held up that are sure to be torn down by male-dominant society.

The following section will discuss how five dilemmas facing female teenage sexuality today, identified earlier in the literature review, have had an impact on the lives of the nine interviewees.
FIVE DILEMMAS

In the preceding literature review, female teenagers in the 1990s were identified as possibly facing five dilemmas concerning their sexuality. These five dilemmas were as follows: the double standard; fear of a bad reputation; unfair grounds for bargaining with regards to sex; lack of pleasure concerning sex; and a lack of a sufficient language for sexual expression.

Despite different factor loadings, which have been outlined in this study, all young women interviewed discussed the five above dilemmas to some extent. This section allows the reader to become aware of similarities that exist among all three factor groups. Nevertheless, some interviewees were aware that these problems existed while others did not conceive of them as problems. Some respondents believed the problems were diminishing.

Each of the five initial dilemmas will be examined individually through a panoramic view of all nine interviews.

DILEMMA 1: THE DOUBLE STANDARD

The description of today's double standard as problematic for the teenage girl was outlined in the literature review as a constraint on expression of sexual desire for females due to the assumptions that are made about the nature of female and male sexuality. There are different implications that the expression of sexuality has for a female or male. These
implications include the unfair 'punishment' teenage females receive for sexual expression. Sexual acts are negotiated within these constraints (Lees, 1986, p. 20). Also, girls monitor and police each other's behaviour in regard to their sexual codes and draw the line between "good" and "bad" girls (Kostash, 1987, p. 186). And finally, sex was described as one of the most regulated forms of behaviour by institutions such as religion or the family (Lees, 1986, p. 22).

The above three descriptions of how the double standard remains problematic for the female teenager are exemplified through excerpts from the interviews of the nine young women who participated in the interview part of this study.

Starting with the first description, that a girl's expression of desire is constrained, we see that interviewees viewed the sexual expression of another female as troubling if such expression was not in line with their expectations of a teenage female. Often the ideal of a "good" girl was not one who was sexually active.

"I kind of feel sorry for her cause that's [sex] all she really has in her life. Well, I think, well as far as I know her, it's because it makes her feel desirable, or pretty. I don't know, or to boost her self-confidence but she doesn't really realize that it's going--that it's making other people think less of her instead.

Well guys, well some think she's wonderful because she's always happy to see everyone and they don't see past that. And other guys know she's just a slut and talk about it and laugh about it behind her back. Her boyfriend does sometimes behind her back but she wouldn't listen to me when I told her."
The following quotations, previously documented, further illustrate this division.

I guess if she wanted to [have sex] with her boyfriend and they'd been going out a long time. I guess if she felt like doing it and not just having a feeling and then going out and just having it with someone you've only gone out with a day or not even really going out with him. That would be wrong I guess.

Do you mean just going out and saying "I want to have sex" and going out and just picking someone out of the blue? Oh I don't think that's right. But I don't know if it was your boyfriend and you had sex with him before and then you had the urge, I don't know.

Secondly, it is apparent that the interviewees do indeed monitor and police the behaviour of others. This became evident in the previous quotation of

And she had sex with both of them and then she went right back to her boyfriend in the morning and slept with him ... so I classify her as a slut.

It would be funny at first [if one of her friends had casual sex for fun] but we would just look at her and consider it. We would wonder for awhile and then we would talk about it. If she was close enough to us than we would ask questions wondering what was going on, if she was just doing this to get back at somebody.

After that [having sex] I think she liked it cause she went out with two other guys after she broke up with that one and did it in less than a week and I thought that was pretty wrong. It's her choice but I don't think that was a very smart choice to do. I don't know how she really feels about it but she did try to brag ... I think she thought they expected it so she did.

Despite such scrutiny, the following excerpts show that the young women do realize that the double standard is something that indubitably exists.
You mean the double standard, yeah. I um, try not to pass judgement on people but if I do it's the same kind of guidelines in my brain for guys as I do for girls and I think that's the way it should be.

I: Do you think there are guys at your school that hold the double standard?

Oh ya, oh ya, oh definitely. The majority I'd say. Just as long as they get to sleep with her and then she's a slut after that.

Well guys are made out to be all cool and everything if they are getting a lot and girls are thought of as sluts.

Like just because you know we're having a lot of it [sex] doesn't mean that there's anything wrong with us. Like there's a guy over here who's having it twice as many times as I have it and like he's really cool. Okay like that makes no sense to me, you know.

The ones [guys] I know, they really have little respect for them [girls who have sex]. They go and do it then turn around and tell everyone else and call the girl—spread rumours about them.

I think it's rude cause they can get off doing the same thing [have sex] but the girls are the ones having the names.

I: Do you think girls have power like this?
They do but it doesn't seem to overall hold as much. It doesn't seem to stick as much.

If you don't do anything they call you tight and if you do one thing they call you loose so there's not much you can do about that really. You've got to pay attention to it but not your top priority.

I: Do you think girls physically want sex as much as guys do?
Ya ... Girls are pressured to want it but not as much—as guys I guess ... Just cause of what I just told you about the slut and all that.

However, the next group of statements reveal that some of the interviewees may perpetuate the double standard.

Well once I heard that the way women look at relationships is the emotional part of it and the
way men look at it is the sex part. In that I could say that they want sex more than women do, especially at my age. Definitely guys want it more than girls do.

Oh the guys all want to and they're all ready but most of the girls aren't really sure and they're kind of being pressured by the guys.

[A slut is] somebody who I guess expected every guy she met to have sex with her.

It can be noted that the double standard can lead to "sexual constriction, invisibility, timidity, and incuriosity" (Vance, 1984, p. 3). These are not signs of an intrinsic and specific female sexual nature. Rather, the polarization that results between male and female sexuality from the double standard is a product of the "prevailing gender system, which is used to justify women's need for a restricted, but supposedly safe space and highly controlled sexual expression" (Vance, 1984, p. 3). Such gender inequality may lead to internalized control of women's impulses and contaminate desire at its very root with self-doubt and anxiety (Vance, 1984).

Finally, the third description of the prevailing double standard states that sex is one of the most regulated forms of behaviour from parents, the church, and other institutions in society. The family and other institutional networks play a role in regulating sexuality by defining legitimate sexuality and marking out the sites where it may or may not occur. For teenage girls, sexuality involves repression, very little pleasure, and considerable danger (Christian-Smith, 1990, p. 31).
The following statements show that the double standard can come from the parents.

She [mother] tells me things that are important. You know like not to go and have sex with any guy you meet and stuff like that, and be careful, that’s about it.

Maybe they’ve [parents] taught me sort of not to be loose about it. I don’t know, my mom doesn’t want me to be like that so I respect the way she thinks.

Ya, because they’re [her parents] very liberal but not to a point of just go out and do what you want.

My mom and my dad both, they think it is stupid for someone so young to become sexually involved. I must agree with them, it’s not a smart move. So they do have an influence.

I: Do you think they have an influence on your sex life? Probably, just probably the environment, my family life, and stuff like that. Like I have a really good family life, I don’t need anything to grab on to. So I’m pretty much stable.

Another way that a double standard can be viewed is that some of the respondents state that they value their virginity and would like to keep it until marriage for a ‘gift’ to their perspective husbands. These young women feel that something they value—virginity—is a commodity that future spouses may own.

I: Do you value your virginity?
Yes I do cause it’s something that’s very personal. It’s mine. It’s something that I can give to the first person that I have sex with.

I: Do you think that someone has to be married to have sex? Me personally, I’d rather wait till I’m married but it’s not a given, it’s not like I’m never gonna do it before I get married but I’d rather, then I’d have that to give to my husband.
Moreover, the double standard factor here is that the young women do not consider it important that their partner(s) offer them the same sort of 'sacred gift' in return.

I: Would you prefer if your husband had not had sex either? I wouldn't care, as long as he's not sleeping around with every single girl who he meets.

I: How would you feel if your partner really wanted you to remain a virgin until marriage but he/she had been having sex, do you feel that is unfair?
You mean that they want me to--no. I wouldn't think that it's unfair. I don't think it is unfair. They are allowed to want what they want.

DILEMMA 2: TEENAGE GIRLS FEAR A BAD REPUTATION

Offer and Offer (1977) found that juniors in high school disapproved of sexual intercourse out of fear of developing a bad reputation. In the literature review, fear of a bad reputation materialized for teenage girls from a number of factors. The first of these factors was that actual sexual behaviour did not necessarily bear a relation to the onslaught of a bad reputation (Lees, 1986). A bad reputation could be bestowed for such reasons as how one dresses, talks and/or acts (Lees, 1986). Therefore, "proper" behaviour was deemed more favourable so as to avoid such negative labels. This encourages a push toward monogamous, heterosexual relationships (Kostash, 1987).

The following quotations from the nine interviewees demonstrate that reputation is not necessarily applied to actual sexual behaviour. Rather, a bad reputation can be
conjured up from how a female acts, walks, dresses, or behaves.

I: Do you think she actually has sex?
   It's just the way she acts. She acts like she wants to and gets them ready and then she won't. She just teases them I guess you could say.

I: Is there someone you would consider a slut?
   Yeah.

I: Why?
   Just the way she acts around guys and stuff like that.

   [A slut is] just someone that bragged about what they did and how they walked and that about, like around boys.

   A lot of times they [reputations] are [deserved] because I don't know, maybe because of the way someone dresses or the way they act around people or something.

   I don't believe she's a slut until I see proof of it--flirting isn't really slutty I guess but somebody who thinks it's a game I would consider a slut.

I: Flirting a game?
   No intercourse a game. I would definitely consider that wrong and I would think that is a slut.

I: What do you mean by a game?
   Oh they're doing it for fun. They're not really--they're just doing it cause it's happening, the "in" thing to do I guess. They are stupid.

   [A slut is] someone who sleeps around and doesn't care who they are sleeping with, or what their background is--don't really care about their reputation. Maybe fool around with other people's boyfriends.

Well guys, well some think she's wonderful because she's always happy to see everyone and they don't see past that.

Well after that party I was worried about what--well the whole school heard about it so I was worried ... Let people think what--rumours start, they always start, so let people think what they
want. There’s always worse rumours about everyone else so...

"Proper" behaviour, or at least the perception to others of "proper" behaviour, is also engaged in to avoid negative labels. This became evident through the following passages.

Everyone thinks I’m sweet and vulnerable and innocent and so they might think a little different of me [if her sex life was discussed].

Behaviour is affected by what others might think.

I: Do you think you would do more sexually with a partner if no one would ever find out?
Yeah probably. Just anything that felt right at the moment. Just as long as he didn’t go telling everyone and everyone thought it was something bad.

I think I would probably feel the same [if she’d had sex earlier] just a little more open I guess. Like someone knows too much about me and was out there just talking about me or something afterwards. That’s all I’m really worried about now. What people say about me cause you hear so much about what people say now. You’d hate to find out what they say about you and if it’s not true cause they don’t know how it was or how you felt or anything.

Ya to a certain extent [behaviour is affected] cause you know it’s not fun to have people talk about you but it’s not the main, important thing to put like priorities. But of course you’ve got to worry about it a bit or you’re not taking care of yourself.

I: Do you think that if you were with a guy you would be afraid that he would go tell people what you were doing?
A little bit yeah but it’s hard to tell how people will take it. Like my friends probably wouldn’t care but other people would think I was weird or something.

The young women express in the succeeding statements that they do not feel bad reputations can be avoided.

But basically if people are going to talk they’re gonna talk.
You can’t spend your whole life dodging rumours and
everything you know. If you don’t do anything they
call you tight and if you do one thing they call
you loose so there’s not much you can do about that
really. You’ve got to pay attention to it but not
your top priority.

Oh they will label anyone as a slut. If they don’t
like a person they will say that she’s a slut.
Yes, this happened to my friend. She was really
upset because a lot of them used to be her best
friends, girls and guys. Well actually the guys
were pretty good about it, the girls were mostly
jealous because the guys mostly liked her. She was
skinny, blond, so a lot of the girls got jealous
and started spreading rumours about her.

I: Had she done anything?
Not at the time. She was really upset and I think
she decided she would prove them right. She’s got
a low self-esteem and decided if that’s what
they’re saying about me then I guess that’s what I
am. That’s when she started having sex after
school ended and she got away from everyone and
that’s when she started.

No, some girls they get it [a bad reputation] just
because they are friendly in public but it doesn’t
always mean that they had sex before. They could
just be really outgoing.

Through the respondents’ testimonies we can see the
damage that these rumours do to young women’s lives and sexual
encounters.

Well I had a bad reputation for awhile because
people started finding out but it’s taken me like
awhile really to get it out of the way but I did
have it for awhile.

They just listened to the rumours and they didn’t
get to know me and the rumours were like fabricated
anyways so there’s a lot of people that don’t know
me but think like this about me.

They [guys] thought I was a lot easier and wanted
me to go out with them and--it’s not a good thing
really. I just felt really cheap after and these
people would come--it would be good at the time but
you know afterwards I would just feel really bad.
The unjust appropriation of a bad reputation is problematic for

[although the boundaries of the safe zone have been somewhat renegotiated since the 19th Century to include relatively respectable forms of unmarried and non-procreative heterosexuality, gross and public departures from "good" woman status, such as lesbianism, promiscuity, or non-traditional heterosexuality, still invite--and are thought to justify--violation (Vance, 1984, p. 3).

DILEMMA 3: AN UNFAIR GROUNDS WHEN BARGAINING ABOUT SEX

It is believed that teenage girls have an unfair bargaining position with regard to sex and their sexuality. It was outlined in the literature review that many girls believe that they should not be sexual or have parents and teachers who believe this (Thompson, 1990, p. 343). This is evident in the statements: "I just want to be a kid right now" and "my parents think [pre-marital sex] is stupid." Today, the idea of women, especially young women, as sexual agents or sexual initiators, whether in a lesbian or heterosexual context, is still a dangerous one in our culture (Petchesky, 1984). The following statement reveals how young women feel pressure to follow the ‘rules.’

Um, now the reason why I should [want to have sex] is if I love the person...

It has also been noted that many teenage girls believe "good" girls do not think about pleasure (Thompson, 1984), nor are they concerned with casual, recreational, or multi-partner sex (Kleinman, 1978; Thompson 1984; Lees, 1986; Kostash, 1987; Thompson, 1990). The lack of identification of teenage girls
as sexual subjects leaves pleasure and desire lurking in the shadows, obscured from adolescent eyes (Fine, 1988).

As a result, a girl or young woman is educated primarily as the sexual victim of male sexuality but not as a subject in her own right (Fine, 1988). Fine (1988, p. 30) notes that young women cannot successfully develop a critique of gender or sexual arrangements if they are taught to fear exploring desire.

The next group of statements reveal that pleasure is often denied by the teenage girl when she fears she has crossed a line.

I think really what happened is we went a little bit too far, that I felt comfortable with and to be good friends at the same time. I think that it was just moving too fast when he was going underneath my shirt and that.

In a way I regret doing it [sexual experience] but I learned something. I learned how far I should go when knowing somebody so I think it's invaluable.

It was also evident from the following passages that the interviewees believe that casual, recreational, or multi-partnered sex is "not worth it."

Like what you hear about what's going on and also the fact that the guys not there the next day. I don't think it's [pre-marital sex] worth it.

This guy came over and just asked her [friend] if she'd have sex with him and he didn't even remember and then about two months later he didn't even remember if he did or not.

This resistance of teenage girls to defining themselves as sexual beings can be dangerous for it may lead to contraceptive non-commitment (Petchesky, 1984). It has been
discovered that negative sex attitudes do not discourage sexual activity. Instead, they discourage responsible contraception use (Fine, 1988). Teens who believe sexual involvement is wrong do not want to legitimate "bad" behaviour by using contraception. Teaching sex-negative attitudes, or abstinence, will most likely discourage responsible contraception (Fine, 1988, p. 31). As well, buying contraceptives is deterred in approximately one out of four sexually active teens due to embarrassment, fear and nervousness (Associated Press, 1992). Contraceptive irresponsibility is just one of the problematic side effects of a negative sex/pleasure attitude that confounds teenage girls. Contraceptive practices, however, were not a topic in this study.

It is evident through the use of interview excerpts that an unfair bargaining position with regard to sex is very closely linked with a lack of pleasure (further expanded upon in DILEMMA 4). While sexual pleasure is all right within the confines of a "steady" relationship, a woman who pursues her own pleasure outside of "a relationship" may not be courted on the same terms as a woman whose sexual availability is more ambiguous (Petchesky, 1984).

Teenage girls have little power in controlling their own bodies and sexual experiences (Kostash, 1987). This situation gives males the upper hand in the bargaining position. For as Vance (1984, p. 3) elaborates
sexual abandon and impulsiveness acquire a high price, since women must think not only about the consequences of their sexual actions for themselves, but also about the consequences for men, whose sexual "natures" are supposedly lustful, aggressive and unpredictable. Through a culturally dictated chain of reasoning, women become the moral custodians of male behaviour, which they are perceived as instigating and eliciting. Women inherit a substantial task: the management of their own sexual desire and its public expression. Self-control and watchfulness become major and necessary female virtues.

The following rationalization for a teenage male's behaviour is confirmation that some teenage girls believe that a male cannot help himself when it comes to sexual encounters.

Since then, it's kinda of, like it's just recently that I haven't felt um dirty every time I think about it [sexual experience]. Just cause the way he treated me [her eyes were tearful at this point], and he didn't do it intentionally you know. It just--that's the way it happened.

The following excerpts illustrate how a teenage girl lacks power in sexual experiences while the male is given greater control. Male control of female sexuality will be elaborated on later on in this thesis.

Um, it was mutual and I really liked the guy and um, there's kind of parts of it kind of where I was pressured into it, and um, it was awhile ago. After that, after--he kind of pressured me into doing some things I didn't want to do and, but I--he was a couple of years older than me. This was a couple of years ago and I just felt stupid saying "no, just forget about it" so I didn't and um, that didn't last that long after...

If a teenage girl exerts some power over a situation, even if it is in the form of disapproval, she often loses out in one way or another if the male does not get his way. The following examples illustrate this point.
Oh ya, well I knew he had [had sex], ya, he wanted—he said whenever you’re ready but before we have sex "Come with me and let’s do this" you know, and let’s do all this stuff. What happened was that I kind of pulled away and I didn’t really talk to him. I was kinda cold to him and so he kind of ended it officially you know.

Um--the guy, he was older and he was used to having sex often and I told him that I didn’t want it.... For some reason we just stopped calling each other.

I: Did you get pleasure from this experience?
For awhile but then a couple of weeks later NOT. Then he decided that it wasn’t worth it and he didn’t want to go out with me and I should stop everything for him.

It was going too fast for the length of time we’d known each other and um, he said that it didn’t matter but I knew that he did want more so we started drifting apart.

And so I’d go over and like I always wanted to go out and he’d never go. And so um—it was at his house [that sexual experiences occurred] and I wanted to go out and he’d say "no stay."

This next statement explains how the lack of power in sexual experiences for a teenage girl can lead to silence in her pain or tolerance of negative situations.

If something was hurting me [sexually] I’d say something but I don’t know. If it wasn’t hurting me but I was just uncomfortable with something I probably wouldn’t say something. Like that time I told you about earlier, that last guy, I just didn’t say anything so that’s what I’d probably do.

The following three statements are different reactions to the question:

I: If you knew what gives your body pleasure would you discuss this with your partner?

I’d like to think I could. I’d hope I would be able to but I’m pretty shy about telling people what I want and I wouldn’t want to offend them you
know. So I probably wouldn’t end up doing it but I’d like to think I could.

I guess it would depend on who it was in a way, and how long you’d known them but I would hope that I could and I would want to. But I guess it would depend on who it was with.

Well not at first but after awhile I guess. I suppose I could talk about it but I have no experience here so I wouldn’t know.

These above statements illustrate how the young woman does not feel comfortable with herself as a desirable being, as well as feeling ill at ease about discussing pleasure with a partner. These statements also demonstrate the tension between equitable sexuality between the sexes and the real life situation of females lesser power.

This next statement shows the ambivalence around desire and/or powerlessness of the teenage female involved.

She started going out with more guys and they knew she had sex and I think she thought they expected it so she did.

The following accounts show that the power of the male does not stop at physical power but includes mental control as well.

Basically because the thing is when I get into a relationship with guys, my focus tends to be directly aimed at them and I’m not able to look at myself in other situations that are going on and I don’t—I can’t really. I don’t know it just distracts my mind too much and I can’t—my mind starts spinning and I can’t deal with things that are going on basically.

In this next incidence the respondent gives up her mental control.
Just because I was using it to fill an emotional gap but it wasn’t working so I felt cheap and used afterwards when it wasn’t working. And I know that the people really didn’t care about me even though I tricked myself into believing so. It wasn’t good.

DILEMMA 4: TEENAGE GIRLS LACK PLEASURE WITH REGARD TO SEX

Almost every interviewee reported that sex would not be feasible unless they were ‘in love,’ loved the person, or in a serious, long term relationship. Pleasure is often denied for young women except in an exclusive ‘love’ relationship (Lees, 1986; Thompson, 1984; Kleinman, 1978). Thompson (1984) found a significant absence of pleasure or expression of sexual desire except in an exclusive ‘love’ relationship. This absence of pleasure may occur due to strict guidelines that limit what type of, and when, sex is acceptable.

You don’t just start touching each other when you’re naked on your first date or something. Like you have to kiss first then work your way up.

Casual sex is not viewed as a viable alternative to sex with love (Kleinman, 1978). And pleasure is rarely brought into this picture. Teenage girls are often in conflict regarding self-representation. Fine (1988, p. 37) notes that teenage girls spend enormous amounts of time trying to "save it," "lose it," convince others that they have lost or saved it, or trying to be "discreet" instead of focusing their energies in ways that are sexually autonomous, responsible and pleasurable.

The next excerpts demonstrate the lack of attention pleasure receives when considering a sexual encounter.
I: What would be your reasons for wanting to have sexual intercourse?

It wouldn't be just for fun ... it wouldn't be some guy I met out on the street. It would have to be a very special thing I guess so it wouldn't just be--it would have to be very personal. It wouldn't be just "wam bam thank you ma'am." Somebody I love.

I think that's [a teenage girl having sex for pleasure] SO stupid! Because, it's just--so many problems. So many different things could go wrong. If you're gonna have sex it should be with someone you love not just "oh well, I feel like having sex today, I think I'll have sex." It's just not intelligent and I think it's wrong.

No, I think with her first boyfriend [she enjoyed sex physically], just that time. She really liked it but with the other ones ... She thinks she shouldn't have done it. Cause she said she couldn't control it but she could.

The following interviewees show the strain of feeling good but having to judge if they are allowed to feel this good.

I thought it [a sexual experience] was something different and I kind of liked it.

I: How did you feel afterwards?

So-so I guess. I don't really remember. Kind of good and kind of bad cause you feel like dirty slime I guess.

Ya I felt pleasure then [the first time] but after that I sort of felt bad about what I had done.

I: How come?

I don't know, um, because we had only known each other for about a month and I kind of was like "oh isn't this just kind of jumping into things". And I was worried ... I was worried about what my friends might think. I just, after that--thought I'm not going to do that again--that spur of the moment type thing.

These responses are in line with Fine's finding that "[t]he adolescent woman herself assumes a dual consciousness--at once taken with the excitement of actual/anticipated
sexuality and consumed with anxiety and worry" (Fine, 1988, p. 35). Better safe than sorry still prevails as an important consideration (Vance, 1984).

The succeeding quotations show that pleasure is not discussed openly and honestly (Vance, 1984). We can find that pleasure is not consistent with sex (Kostash, 1987).

Yeah probably [I’ll have sex for pleasure] but not for my first time. But not as I’m—I don’t know but I think if all that happened when I’m older and you know living on my own. I don’t know—sorry.

I’ve heard so many negative things about people’s first times that I just try not to—I never plan things. They’re never how you expect them to be so I’m not going to have the "big day" my first time.

Yeah I guess sooner or later you’re gonna have to [have sex] and all that...

The next statement indicates that sex is closely tied with emotion and intimacy.

There’s really strong emotional ties in with it [sex] and like you just date a person and you decide to do something like that and then you break up and it’ll rip you apart ... you’d have to be serious with someone cause otherwise it could rip you apart.

The following passages outline that pleasure, or how to receive pleasure, are not freely discussed topics for the teenage girl.

I: Do you think sex could be physically pleasurable?
I guess. I don’t know, it’s supposed to be.
I: Have you ever had an orgasm?
Not that I know of.
I: During masturbation?
No I don’t do that, that’s gross.

I don’t think it’s really a good decision [for a teenage girl to have sex for pleasure] cause a lot of things could happen. Like I know I’d want to
feel secure cause if I did get pregnant or anything like that I'd know that I'd have some support from somebody.

We see from these past examples that it is important for female sexuality to be fully affirmed as a legitimate passion that arises from within, to be directed without stigma (Wolf, 1991, p. 273). However, as Wolf (1991, p. 277) notes, for most of women’s history the representation of women, our sexuality has not been in our hands.

"Submitting to parental prohibitions often results in a subsequent disapproval of pleasurable sexuality and coitus" (Mishne, 1988, p. 197). Petchesky (1984) informs her readers that while adolescents do need help to protect themselves from sexual abuse, disease and unwanted pregnancy, no adult has the right to "protect" them from the pleasurable sensations and explorations of their own bodies. Rather, the concern should be with empowering young women and giving them more control over their lives (Petchesky, 1984).

When asked about the influence of her mother on her sex life this respondent said her mother only told her about the important things.

You know like not to go and have sex with any guy you meet and stuff like that.

The following excerpts are clear examples that teenage girls’ parents do not even introduce the aspect of pleasure when sex is discussed. This cold climate for sexual parley may be attributed to the fact that young women withhold aspects of their sexual life from their parents.
I: Do you discuss your sex life with your mom?
No, not that much, she just talks to me about the stuff in the news that’s happening, like condoms and AIDS and stuff but I don’t tell her about my boyfriends.

I guess my mom got me the books, the "Where Did I Come From?" books so I sort of learned from that and my friends I guess.

Oh this is really lame, my parents—you know that little illustrated book "Where Did I Come From?" that’s all they gave me. Yeah they said "read this, any questions? No, good-bye."

I: Did you learn about sex from your parents?
No, not really I pretty much knew everything by then.

I really don’t have that much to discuss ... Well there’s—if there’s any problems I guess but I don’t really have to worry about it much.

Fathers are not viewed as viable outlets for discussion about sexual matters or situations. This lack of communication with a significant male figure may be a contributing factor to why so many young women find it difficult to express their sexual desires and feelings with male partners.

Not my father! He doesn’t talk about sex, It’s just like that, maybe my mom.

I: Do you ask your father questions about sex?
Ahhhh, sometimes, it depends on what kind of questions they are. Basically if it’s like what should I do when a guy does this, I wouldn’t ask him cause he’d go and beat up the guy.

The deep fear that teenage girls face when talking to parents about sex reflects the continued mystification of sex by the dominant culture, particularly for young women (Petchesky, 1984).
And of course, as the following quotation illuminates, it’s not just parents in our society that deny pleasure and free decisions regarding sexuality.

Well there is one thing, it’s kind of beat. I’m in a self-help group, okay, and in that you’re not supposed to have relationships or whatever for the first year. So that kind of cut it you know.

It cannot be denied, however, that teenage girls are having and finding pleasure despite the numerous accounts against this fact. Nevertheless, it appears that even when pleasure is discovered it is often only by surprise and without careful consideration from the male partner. As evident in the next excerpt, pleasure also reeks in ambivalent feelings along side.

I: Have you ever had an orgasm?
   Yes.
I: How was that?
   It was great!
I: Did you know this might happen?
   Not really.
I: Had you felt this feeling before?
   No.
I: What did you think?
   It was great. It was like whoa it’s cool and I thought if that’s what that is like what about sex.
I: Did your partner know this happened?
   It sort of just happened.
I: Did you want to have one again?
   Ya but I didn’t want to go any further than that.

Another thorn in the side of teenage girls’ pleasure is that of a sexually ignorant male partner. Most boys are not brought up knowing how to please a female sexually, or even that she can receive pleasure herself. If males were also taught the value of pleasure for females it may ameliorate,
rather than hinder, teenage girls' enjoyment of their beginning sexual encounters.

I: Do you think your partner was concerned about how you felt?
   No.

I: Did you know that at the time?
   I knew but I didn't want to know so I just pushed it away.

From a second respondent:

I: Do you think he knew what a female orgasm was?
   For a female? I think he knew about it but he didn't know how.

I: Do you think he cared?
   No.

A third respondent:

I: Do you think he was just interested in pleasing himself and not you?
   Yeah.

I: Was he interested in having an orgasm?
   He was but he said if I didn't want to that was okay.

And a fourth:

I: What about him giving you an orgasm, do you think he knew how?
   I really don't know, he wasn't that smart.

I was a little bit nervous cause the guy was way more experienced than I was and I didn't know really what to do sort of thing.

I: What was it like the first time you had sexual intercourse?
   Not very good. Well it wasn't that great just that--okay I was thirteen and it really lasted like for like a minute or something. It was really like nothing--nothing at all. It hurt--that was about it ... Ya, I knew it was gonna happen. Well just that it would be a lot better you know. Something special and romantic and blah, blah, blah but it wasn't. It was just boring.

This kind of negative, or at least not positive, first sexual experience was in keeping with Thompson's (1990)
results that discovered a substantial time delay between teenage girls' second intercourse experience after a first intercourse experience that was not positive.

I: After the first time you had sex, how long was it until you had sex again?
   Four months or something like that.
I: Was it something you wanted to do again?
   No not directly, no.
I: Was there any more sex with him?
   No.

Teenage girls rarely have sex frequently as an aftermath of first sexual intercourse, particularly those who start sexual activity before age fifteen (Thompson, 1984, p. 368). A lack of desire is not necessarily developmental, rather this could occur for reasons such as a lack of foreplay, lack of a belief that a girl has the right to desire, or simply it may have been an experience that she does not wish to repeat (Thompson, 1984).

DILEMMA 5: LACK OF A SUFFICIENT LANGUAGE TO EXPRESS DESIRE AND DISCUSS FEMALE SEXUALITY

It has previously been stated in the literature review that there is no shortage of degrading language for a sexually active, or perception of sexually active, teenage girl. There is also no positive expression for a sexually active teenage girl (Lees, 1986). The ensuing extracts from the interviews verify this lack of language and quick reference to a negative label for a sexually active teenage girl.

I listen to what they do. They tell me everything and I think "Oh slut" but I never say anything.
I guess like if there's someone whose like promiscuous I'd call them a slut. Someone who just like sleeps around with anybody and doesn't even care. Like not even in a relationship. Just anybody at all and often.

[A slut is] basically someone who sleeps with anyone that they don't know. That they don't know well enough and just because they feel like doing it, cause they don't have nothing better to do. Doesn't matter with who just as long as they get it.

It has also been noted previously that language in general is inadequate for describing women's experience (Lees, 1986). The succeeding passages confirm this fact.

No, I feel that unless I feel awful about it that's usually when I talk about it. But if I'm fine I like to keep it as my special whatever.

I don't talk to my friends about any of this stuff cause my sex life is my problem.

Um, (pause), I, I don't feel comfortable. I want to keep that for myself you know.

I don't really talk to my friends about it [sex life] a lot. I like to keep it sort of a secret. I think I'm not ready to talk about it yet. I think when I'm older I might, later on when things are more important and stuff.

This next example illustrates that there is no way to positively discuss sex outside of a monogamous, exclusive, steady relationship.

If they go around bragging about it [sex] and act like a slut and a who[r]e and all that, I guess afterwards. But there are some that are just nice and you know that they've been going out with the person for a long time...they seem like they're married and all that so we just think oh, that's wonderful.

Teenage females are not offered a comfortable, open environment to discuss their sexual happenings, especially
outside of a 'love' relationship. There is also no positive discussion of sex with self (masturbation) or sex with other females. Encouragement of discussion of sexual fantasies and thoughts could help open the door to more frequent, as well as more acceptance of, diverse thoughts and actions regarding female sexuality.

Technical talk about female pleasure is also void of knowledge. Here we see that teenage girls do not always have an understanding of female sexuality at least as far as they could discuss it.

I: Do any girls you know ever talk about having an orgasm? No.

I: Do you know what an orgasm is?
   Sort of. It's something that's supposed to make you feel really good or something like that. Well actually my friend said she didn't when she was having sex with her first boyfriend but I think she was just joking around with one of the guys and she said "Oh no I didn't" and all that. But I think that's when--she's kinda getting real slutty now.

I: Do you know how a female could have an orgasm?
   Nope, my mother never told me that.

I: How do you think a female could have an orgasm?
   Probably just through intercourse itself.

I: Do you know what a clitoris is?
   Nope.

   Teenagers have enough trouble trying to discuss a dyadic sexual encounter, but what happens when there are more people involved? It appears even more arduous to find words to discuss this next situation.

   I was with two guys once. It was pretty good, strange at first but it was good cause I really didn't have to do anything. It was more relaxing
or whatever. I don't know it's pretty hard to explain.

Despite the fact that the respondent described this as her most pleasurable sexual experience, she had the hardest time describing, and finding words to analyze, the experience.

Inadequate language, coupled with an overemphasis on danger, when teenage female sexuality is discussed results in speech about sexual pleasure to remain taboo. For as Vance (1984, p. 7) notes when "pleasure occupies a smaller and smaller public space and a more guilty and private space, individuals do not become empowered; they are merely cut off from the source of their own strength and energy." Sexuality needs to be acknowledged as worthy of serious talk.

This lack of an open and pleasurable discussion of sexuality is not solely the problem of teenage girls but also received from today's standard sex education curricula and classrooms (Fine, 1988). Fine (1988, p. 30) reports that public schools suppress a discourse of female sexual desire, promote a discourse of female sexual victimization, and explicitly privilege married heterosexual practices. Fine (1988, p. 33) notes that the naming of desire, pleasure, or sexual entitlement, particularly for females, barely exists in the formal agenda of public schooling on sexuality. When spoken, it is tagged with reminders of "consequences"—emotional, physical, moral, reproductive, and/or financial.

In retrospect, the majority of the sexual lives and experiences of the teenage girls in this study are in line
with Thompson's 1984 study. She stated that in her study "the
life histories seem to describe a flat sexual landscape—one
of few partners, a limited repertoire of sexual activities,
and relatively little pleasure, particularly orgasmic
pleasure" (Thompson, 1984, p. 363).

If only teenage girls could know that anything about
their sexual thoughts, fantasies, fears and actions are all
important and worthy of talk. They shouldn't have to wait
until they think they have done an acceptable action (or
non-action) or reach an appropriate age, for we are sexual
beings our whole lives!

In summary it appears that teenage girls in the 1990s
encounter many of the same dilemmas of prior sisters and
mothers. These dilemmas include the double standard, the fear
of a bad reputation, an unfair grounds for bargaining with
regard to sex, a lack of pleasure concerning sexuality, and a
lack of language for sexual experience and discussion.

Scholars (Thompson, 1984, 1990; Vance, 1984) have
recognized that teenage females can receive positive direction
towards their sexuality through feminism. If this is to
occur, young women of all ages will need to be aware of
feminism's goals and ideals. But are young women brought up
with a clear representation of what feminism, and feminists,
represent? Do young females identify with the women's
movement and encompass its ideals? Or does the dominant male
views and regulatory systems concerning female sexuality hold
teenage girls in check. The next two sections will address these issues as they help to shed light on why the male control of female sexuality is prevalent and whether feminism may or may not currently succeed in the empowerment of young females in the 1990s.
MALE CONTROL OF FEMALE SEXUALITY

It is apparent from this research that an egalitarian approach to teenage female sexuality does not exist. This suggests that the male-controlled values and regulatory systems for female sexuality are still dominant in the 1990s. Despite feminism's optimism regarding helpful suggestions for the mobilization of teenage girls towards feminism and an alternate approach to sexuality, there appears to be strong underlying opposition to a female-centred, female empowered sexuality. This is due to the fact that males have defined and controlled women's sexuality (Wine, 1985; Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990; Wolf, 1991) for centuries (Robinson, 1984). The definition and control of women's own bodies has also been impeded for thousands of years (Wine, 1985).

The ways in which males define and control women's sexuality will be briefly examined in this section. These issues are extremely crucial to understand in order to transform male control and open the door to egalitarian sexuality.

The definition of sexuality from a male perspective begins during the earliest stages of socialization. Little girls are taught a view of sexuality that is certainly one-sided. We have been socialized to believe that sex drive is synonymous with male sexuality (Barry, 1984). Adolescent girls and boys learn of the overwhelming undeniable male sexual urge, and most girls learn early to define their own
sexuality in terms of this male view. When sexuality is male
defined it also becomes male identified (Wine, 1985). Barry
(1984, p. 256-257) clearly illustrates how this occurs.

As adolescent boys learn sexual power through the
social experience of their sex drive, so do girls
learn that the locus of sexual power is male.
Given the importance placed on the male sex drive
in the socialization of girls as well as boys,
early adolescence is probably the first significant
phase of male identification in a girl’s life and
development .... As a young girl becomes aware of
her own increasing sexual feelings, she learns to
understand them primarily in the context of the
boys’ sex drive. In response to the dictates of
compulsory heterosexuality she turns away from her
heretofore primary relationships with girl friends.
As they become secondary to her, receding in
importance in her life, her own identity also
assumes a secondary role and she grows into male
identification.

Wine (1985, p. 59) notes that one of the major aspects of
Barry’s observations is that female sexuality becomes so
male-defined, male-identified, that most women have had little
or no opportunity to explore self-defined, woman-centred
female sexuality.

This is problematic for once the ‘power’ of the male
adolescent sex drive is taught, it soon develops into the norm
and rationale for adult male sexual behaviour (Rich, 1980).
Woman-to-woman relationships suffer as a result and compulsory
heterosexuality is further perpetuated (Rich, 1980). This
occurs because women are indoctrinated to want male
credibility and status. Women are led away from woman-
identification (Rich, 1980) and excluded from a female
imagination (Irigaray, 1985). Women must fight against this
male strangle-hold to achieve change among the social relations of the sexes and reclaim the energy and power that has been sacrificed.

This trap of male definition means that the majority of women enact their sexuality in the world of men (Miller and Fowlkes, 1987, p. 148) conceptualized on the basis of masculine parameters (Irigaray, 1985, p. 25). Feminist researchers have found that these male, heterosexist images of women are objectified and depersonalized leaving female sexuality to be defined in terms of male desire (Wine, 1985, p. 58). Despite the growing feminist literature in women’s sexuality, Wine (1985, p. 62) states that much of the current literature is still dominated by a model of female sexuality that explicitly or implicitly accepts the male as standard and heterosexual intercourse as the only means for mature sexual expression. She further notes that women have a considerable distance to go before woman-centred perspectives on female sexuality gain general acceptance.

Alongside the cultural myth of the male sex drive is the fact that males believe they have the right to take girls and women as objects to fulfil this drive (Barry, 1984). Sexual domination acted out in one-to-one relationships is the basis for the cultural domination of women. This type of domination is commonly viewed as taking place on a separate, personal level through private sexual expression. On a level such as this there is no visible collective action and therefore,
Barry (1984, p. 259) notes, the generalized abuse of women from the sex-is-power ethic has been viewed only as individual acts with their problems individualized.

The long-term consequence of a conflicting set of feelings for female and male sexuality and the relationships of men and women in society allows for the sexual differences between men and women to become an arena for struggle over power and control (Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990). Numerous women now repress their own sexuality and socialize their daughters to do the same while reproducing the ideology of male supremacy in their sons (Robinson, 1984). Llewelyn and Osborne (1990) report that as men grow up, they retain the split internal image of women as madonna/whore that they have been taught. When this image is added to the confused messages given to children about sexuality as ‘bad,’ and something not to be talked about or done in public, Llewelyn and Osborne (1990) state that it becomes easy to understand why conflicts and confusions are expressed most clearly in sexuality. Sexuality comes to represent all that is bad and yet desirable in women. This conjures up the idea that male control and containment are required. Nevertheless, at the same time, women are idealized as possessing all that is soft, desirable and good (Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990, p. 82)

When male and female sexualities are polarized, men use this polarization to legitimize the idea that women need a restricted but supposedly safe space and highly controlled
sexual expression (Vance, 1984, p. 3). Vance argues that this legitimation not only condones brute violence, but also pushes women's sexuality, desire and impulses inward, leaving behind doubt and anxiety. Thus females are left with a male-imposed double standard on their sexuality and autonomy. 'Good' females have been expected to conserve their virginity and sexual innocence until marriage, whereupon their chastity and fidelity are controlled, while 'loose' females are open season, unconditionally available (Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990, p. 82). Due to these facts most women, young and old, have not been able to develop their sexual responsiveness, nor do they insist on exploring their very considerable capacity for sexual enjoyment (Vance, 1984; Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990). Instead, a woman will often conform to the sexual needs of her male partner, almost automatically considering her own pleasure of less importance than his (Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990).

Jackson (1984a) warns, however, that women must be wary of the concept of 'sexual pleasure' for she feels this is problematic. She notes that we must consider the questions of what counts as sexual pleasure, who defines it, and who has the power to ensure that certain definitions prevail. Jackson believes that there is a need to explore these questions for we may find ourselves asserting a 'right' to something that is not in our interests as women struggling to end male supremacy (Jackson, 1984a).
Even if the sexual pleasure that is offered by men is accepted by women, the punitive force of the double standard still remains. Snitow, Stansell and Thompson (1983, p. 25) report that for the most part, men still retain the power to reject or validate women sexually as well as to determine the conditions of sexual relations.

And so it can sadly be stated that sexual 'freedom' from constraints and prudery rarely bring a freedom for the experience of sexuality in women's own terms (Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990, p. 85). Women are expected to be sexually willing, but not too experienced or too available to threaten the male sense of power and superiority. Women are not supposed to have clear ideas of their own about how they might enjoy sex more, as this might betray too greedy and 'unfeminine' a sexual appetite (Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990, p. 86).

Jackson (1984a, p. 45) and others (Rich, 1980; Robinson, 1984) note that it is crucial for feminists to understand the historical processes of male constructions regarding female sexuality if we are to develop effective strategies for changing the social relations of the sexes. Sexuality does not merely reflect, but rather is fundamental to, the construction and maintenance of power relations between men and women.

Scholars (Shulman, 1980; Jackson, 1984a; Ramazanoglu, 1989) recognize that such ideas are shaped primarily by the
'science' of sex--sexology which is primarily constructed by male scientists within a patriarchal conception of the female. According to Jackson (1984a; 1984b), sexologists such as Ellis, Kinsey, and Masters and Johnson provided a pseudo-scientific foundation for the construction of a form of heterosexuality and sexual pleasure through which women could be controlled and male power maintained. These findings have been popularized in mass media and sex literature (Jackson, 1984b).

Male-defined sex research can thus be seen as constructing and promoting, by means of fraudulent scientific legitimation, a model of sexuality which both reflects and reproduces the interests of male supremacy. The particular form of male sexuality that exists under male supremacy has been 'naturalized' and 'universalized' according to Jackson (1984a; 1984b). These results are presented as the scientifically objective model, not merely of male sexuality, but of sexuality in general. Conceptions of female sexuality based on the same model must be rejected, if feminist sexual practices are to be developed (Jackson, 1984b). If a feminist model of sexual practices and ways of conceptualizing female sexuality are to be ascertained, it cannot start from the model of the sexist sexologists which only reflect and reproduce the practices and values of male supremacy (Stimpson and Person, 1980; Jackson, 1984b).
Rather, this could be information that women gather themselves. Shulman (1980) questions, and believes all women should question, the generalizations that have been made in the past about women and whose interests they have served. Knowledge, she claims, should be based on the experience and feelings of women (Shulman, 1980). Shulman further proposes that women need to take control of their lives and bodies themselves. She explains that men, by way of a male-ruled society, use laws, customs and other institutions to inhibit women and to justify the sexual exploitation of women by men (Shulman, 1980). Conventions such as the double standard, the cult of virginity, and the requirement that female sexuality find expression solely within monogamous, heterosexual marriages—control and hinder female sexuality (Person, 1980). These conventions are major supports for male dominance and patriarchy (Person, 1980) and must be rejected.

Another way to try and understand the degree of male control over women's sexuality is to consider the powerful impact of ideology (Smith, 1979; Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990) concerning sexuality, which has changed little over recent years (Llewelyn and Osborne, 1990). Women have been subordinated throughout history in most societies by men, with access to ideas, education, and independent thought restricted, mediated, or controlled by men. By looking at women's ideas of what they have in common and of what divides them, Ramazanoglu (1989, p. 139) suggests that we need to ask
how far male ideological dominance limits women's conceptions of their common interests with other women.

Patriarchal ideology will present women's subordination to men as natural, desirable, and legitimate (Ramazanoglu, 1989). New-wave feminists argue that sexuality is not private but rather a political issue. It has been a strength of feminist theory to reveal the existence of sexual politics, the extent of male control over women's bodies, and the prevalence of male sexual violence (Ramazanoglu, 1989). However, our knowledge of women's sexuality and of the differences that may exist between male and female sexuality are still limited (1989, p. 156).

The forms of thought and the means of expression which women have available to formulate their experience were made or controlled by men (Smith, 1979, p. 135). Smith (1979) contends that women have been absent from the common construction of a social reality where there is essentially an ideological construction. Women have been almost entirely excluded from the making of discourse, both written and spoken. The virtual exclusion of women from positions of influence in sociology has meant that we have been unable until very recently to give themes and topics to the sociological discourse. Women are largely silent in the discourse that develops the conceptual apparatus, the relevances, and the themes of disciplines such as sociology (Smith, 1979, p. 149). Women need to continue to draw on
women's experience as the primary source to correct the situation (1979, p. 147).

So in essence, women have been excluded from the making up of ideology and therefore of culture. Ideas are produced or controlled by men. Women have been deprived of the means to participate in the construction of this knowledge. A new discourse must begin in the experience of the everyday world, not in the discourse of sociology for it is institutionalized (Smith, 1979). Women need to speak for themselves, discover and organize their oppression, rediscover their discourse (Smith, 1979).

The subtle connection between how patriarchy interferes with female desire and how women experience their own passion is also emerging as a critical issue to be explored (Vance, 1984). Without a better language of women's own, everything is attributed to men, thereby inflating male power and impoverishing ourselves (Vance, 1984, p. 3). The denial of female sexual subjectivity in public discourse, and in bed, such as expressions of female voice, body, and sexuality are essentially inaudible when the dominant language and ways of viewing are male (Fine, 1988).

A women's perspective is therefore critically needed in the analysis of sexuality (Vance, 1984; Wine, 1985; Wolf, 1991). This is of course a crucial issue for feminism. Progress has been made towards the reclamation of female sexuality in the current wave of feminism (Wine, 1985). This
includes the women's health movement, and the impact of widespread literature such as *Our Bodies Ourselves*. This movement intended to foster the individual woman's knowledge of, respect for and rights over, her body and has had considerable impact (Wine, 1985). Women of course cannot settle with a limited number of victories, we must push forward to reclaim and celebrate our own sexuality.

This discussion has outlined some of the subliminal ways in which male control has dominated female sexuality for eons. This control and domination has sneakily solidified beginning with the socialization of the young. Males have foreclosed on women's rights, trivialized our bodies, stifled our sexual expression and concerns, and identified sex solely in male terms. Sexology and 'sexual-scientists' have aided and abetted in this takeover. Males have also dominated ideology concerning sexuality, as well as controlling female sexuality through moral, social and legal sanction.

These above facts remain relevant to the issue of teenage female sexuality for they inhibit the potential and growth for a female-identified, egalitarian sexuality for all women. This, coupled with the fact that many young women reject, or do not associate, with feminism, are discouraging dilemmas barring the way to sexual emancipation. Feminism offers an alternative view of female sexuality to the omnipresent male dominant version. The following section will examine how the teenage female approaches feminism.
FEMINISM'S BAD RAP

This section addresses how female teens approach feminism. This includes whether or not teenage females encompass the ideals of the women's movement, identify themselves as feminists, and what feminism means to them. These questions are of extreme relevance to the study at hand, for in order to establish an understanding of how current social constructions of female teenage sexuality come about and affect teenage women, we need to know the context in which these constructions are received and created. Are the young women of today presented with a feminist alternative to sexuality? If not, their social constructions might only be based on the narrow knowledge they have received concerning their own sexuality. This thesis focused on whether or not the young women in the study were profoundly affected by the dominant male controlled values and regulatory systems surrounding sexuality. Unfortunately, results have indicated that by and large they are affected in a way that inhibits control of their own sexuality in new and positive ways. Do the young women retreat from the traps of compulsory monogamy, the double standard, and pre-marital virginity? Again, the discovery is that the majority do not. But is this a choice among alternatives? It can be stated that the majority of young women in this study are not aware of, or do not choose to participate in, a feminist alternative to a more egalitarian sexuality. This could be due to the insufficient
knowledge young girls and young women receive regarding a female-centred alternative to sexuality. The present section will address these issues.

Recent literature has asked why so few women identify with the women's movement (Komarovsky, 1985; Richardson, 1988; Schneider, 1988). Studies addressing this concern report that although numerous women of all ages agree with, and endorse, many ideals of the women's movement, very few would label themselves feminist (Komarovsky, 1985; Renzetti, 1987; Wolf, 1991). This can be seen in the common statements of "I'm not a feminist but ..." and "I'm feminine, not a feminist" (Richardson, 1988; Schneider, 1988; Wolf, 1991).

The literature offers a multitude of reasons for this phenomenon. One reason may be the negative connotations that are assigned to what a "feminist" should be like. These encompass such attributes as physical traits, lifestyle and personality characteristics. Schneider (1988) notes that the feminist identity is stigmatized for its deviation from dominant gender norms. These include an 'unfeminine', hostile, aggressive, and tough presentation of the self. Feminists are also viewed by men and women alike as unattractive (Goldberg, Gottesdiener, and Abramson, 1975; Jacobson and Koch, 1978; Richardson, 1988; Schneider, 1988). Another stereotype of feminists is that they are all lesbian (Jacobson and Koch, 1978; Renzetti, 1987; Richardson, 1988; Schneider, 1988; Peirce, 1990; Naveau, 1992), and must
advocate lesbianism (Richardson, 1988; Schneider, 1988). Feminism is also condemned by many as equivalent to man-hating, with a desire to beat out men at all costs (Peirce, 1990). Being feminist has been labelled anti-family and anti-motherhood by defining male-dominant family and traditional motherhood as the norm. This labelling further excludes women who want to marry and have children (Richardson, 1988; Schneider, 1988). Unfortunately, traditional society has built up fear for those who wish to associate with the feminist movement. Classifications such as militant, radical activist, and angry, rabble rouser may in fact be aspects of certain feminists but they are portrayed in traditional culture as undesirable. Women are taught to dread the parallel between themselves and the ‘bra-burners’ (see Jacobson and Koch, 1978; Stage, 1989; Peirce, 1990) for fear of derogatory labels.

Many young women in this study, and elsewhere, have made reference to feminists as masculine beings who characteristically do not shave their legs and/or underarms (see also Wolf, 1991). Feminism is undeniably equated with being unsexy (Wolf, 1991), with the sacrifice of beauty and manners (Schneider, 1988) as the costs of association with it. This fact deters many young women from joining feminism, particularly those who are insecure about their looks and ‘femininity.’
Upon examination of the nine interviews it is apparent that the young women in this study also identify the above images as 'feminist.' All nine interviewees were first asked if they believed in equality for men and women. This was followed by asking whether they would consider themselves to be feminists, and further what being a feminist meant to them (See Appendix G, question 19). Interestingly, all respondents agreed that there should be equality for both sexes, but many denied any association with the word 'feminist.' Many respondents perpetuated the stereotypes found in the literature when they described what a 'feminist' is like.

This included the stereotype of the 'bra-burning', pushy, militant, anti-male feminist.

I: Do you think there should be equality for both sexes?  
Yes.
I: Would you consider yourself a feminist?  
Not a feminist, like a drastic feminist but I believe that all people were created equally and that we should live equal.
I: How would you describe a "drastic feminist"?  
Oh someone that at the slightest little thing would set them off into like fighting for a feminist thing. Basically women say "Oh men do this, and men do this but we're perfect" so they never do anything wrong. I know there's problems with both, so...

I: Would you consider yourself a feminist?  
To a certain extent but not the stereotype version of feminist I'm not.
I: What do you see as the stereotype version?  
Well you know the people that do picket lines and stuff. But basically on the issues I'd agree to most of them.

I: Do you believe in equality for both sexes?  
Oh ya, do you mean women's liberation and all that?  
I: Would you consider yourself a feminist?
No, I guess I consider feminists—when I think of feminists I see the raging, you know, with the burning the bra. I don’t think that we should be a priority when getting jobs. We should, everyone—equality means everyone having a chance of getting a job, and sure right now there’s more men in the system but I don’t think we should push our way in. The most qualified person should get it and that’s what equality is—not putting people in jobs because of their sex.

This type of characterization veils the fact that women are not on an even keel with men regarding work and economic independence.

I: Do you think women have an equal chance at getting jobs? Some jobs in some places ... and um, but I’m sure that there are some jobs that there is equal opportunity. You can’t expect the world to be perfect.

Being a feminist means denial of femininity and of family to some young women, who reject feminism for they do not want to accept the anti-motherhood stand that traditional culture threatens. This is critical to acknowledge for some young women anticipate marriage and motherhood as inevitable facts of life.

I: Is there an age you want to be married by? Ya 25. I want to get it over with early. My mom did that. She had me—got married and had me before she was 22, but she was pretty old a long time ago. They got married right from college. I think that would be easier to have your kids young. I don’t want to be 30 or 40, by then I’ll be too poop and tired to want to have kids.

I: Do you believe there should be equality for both men and women?

What does that mean, equality? Oh ya.

I: Would you consider yourself a feminist? Oh no. I’m one of the only girls who still thinks I should be at home in the kitchen having kids. That’s the way I always wanted to be when I grew
up, just the mom that stays home and takes care of the kids.

This representation leads to a denial of independence followed by a comfort in the thought of dependence on a man.

Let the dad make all the money. But all my friends think I’m really strange cause of that, but why should I go out and work when he can do it? I guess I’m lazy, but I like working. I like making my own money but I think if you’re gonna be a mom why put your kids through all that daycare. Why not stay home and raise them until they’re old enough to be on their own?

I’m planning on just getting out of grade 12 and then going to St. Clair College for my business or something to be a secretary, or something simple.

Like I never know, in the future maybe I’ll marry someone who can’t bring home all the money I want him to and then I’ll have to work too. Or if he doesn’t find a job later on then he’ll have to [stay home] and that’s okay.

A lack of association with feminist ideals shuts the door on the recognition that women do not have to be the sole caregivers of children, as well as shoulder all of the domestic responsibility. This attitude leads women to believe that the ‘man’ holds a more important role in society.

I: Do you believe in equality for males and females?
   Ya I think so.
I: In what ways?
   Well I’d like to work when I’m married but you know it’s not guaranteed because I will be having children and I have to spend time at home.
I: How many years do you think that would be?
   Well as many as needed.
I: Do you think you will put your partner’s career ahead of yours?
   Yes.
I: Do you think both careers will be of equal importance?
   I think if he’s going to be the one with the better job, he’s going to be getting more money than I should--than I will be, then his job will be more important than mine will.
I: What if you are making more money?
   I think I'd have to take time to think about it. I
don't know right now.

I: What if you have a great job and the job moves but your
partner has a job in Windsor?
   I don't think I would move...

I: Do you think your husband's career will be more important
than yours?
   Ya, I think it will be. I'd want not to worry
about my career so much so I could stay home and
stuff like that.

   Like if he's an executive you can't very well
expect him to stay home all the time.

I: Do you plan on having your own career?
   Ya, I plan on being like a secretary or something
so that I can work and save until I have my kids
and when they are old like nine or ten I can go
back to work, and they can just stay with the
babysitter until they're like 12 or 14 and then
they can just stay by themselves.

   It becomes obvious that the feminist movement has not
been overly successful in reaching teenage girls. Although
these next respondents identify many feminist ideals they are
nevertheless unsure of what a feminist is.

I: Do you believe there should be equality for both sexes?
   Ya, it doesn't make sense to me, sexism, because
like I've got just as much a brain if not more than
a lot of guys that I know and there are a lot of
real feelings going on inside of my head. So I
don't know. It just really bothers me and I don't
understand it all(126,400),(900,814). I can't see where they're
coming from. I can see what they're doing but I
don't know why you know, other than the fact that
we're physically weaker. Other than that I don't
think that there is that much difference in the
core of the human.

I: Would you consider yourself a feminist?
   I don't exactly know what that is.
Although the next respondents can describe a feminist, it is evident that they have received mixed messages on a feminist definition and therefore do not answer with confidence.

I: What do you think of when you hear the word feminist? I’ve heard--I don’t know is it an extreme or--I don’t know what it means. Before I thought of it as--like my own gut reaction would be that somebody who would stand up for themselves because they’re a woman and not get confused or whatever, but I’ve heard other people say that it’s for women power type thing but I don’t know what--like women are better than men but I don’t think that. I think we are equal so I don’t know. Personally, I think that it’s someone who would stand up for themselves but not go any further than equality.

I: Would you consider yourself a feminist? You mean like equal rights and all that--I don’t know, I don’t know--sort of.

One reassuring fact nevertheless, is that many young women express independence as an important aspect of their future. The significance of independence becomes evident when the interviewees talk about marriage, children and careers.

Marriage

Well (pause) I wouldn’t just go get married because "I’m not married, I have nobody, I’m alone." I wouldn’t just freak out like that cause frankly like there is a lot of bad choices out there and if I got married--it’s somewhat of a priority but if I don’t meet the right person I won’t get married cause if you make a bad choice you marry the wrong person and you’ve got a lot of trouble.

No, I wouldn’t get married at the drop of a hat. I see my mother, she’s single and she’s doing fine, and I haven’t had a boyfriend in like a year and a half and I’m fine and everyone seems to--well a few of my friends say they wish they could be like me cause they can’t go without a boyfriend. But I can be single but I might be lonely but if I have my friends, that’s more of what’s important to me.
Yes... but it's not a priority, I mean I do want a career and if I happen to get married great but it's not a big deal if I don't.

Children

Ya, I think I could [raise children by myself] but I'd have to get a good job to support my family.

As long as I was comfortable with it [having children without a permanent partner] ya. Like I wouldn't mind having a child by myself but just as long as I was ready myself.

Yes I want to have children whether I'm married or not.

Careers

Ya [a career is important] or otherwise you become a dependent. You become a dependent on your spouse, the government, and that's not the way I want to lead my life. I want to be in control of myself, not necessarily others but I don't want to be controlled by someone else.

No, his career is equally important to my career. Both parents can work or either can work it depends on money I guess. His job is just as important as my job. Like if we had to move because of someone's job it depends like how important his is. If I had some big opportunity to go somewhere else I'd expect him to move—to support me just as much as I'd support him with it.

Both careers are equally important cause both people are equally important in a relationship, no one person should be above the other.

It's [career] extremely important cause I grew up in a family where the females haven't always had that much careers and my mom she's a teacher and she used to be a lab technician and she traded over after she had the three kids.... I want a career. I don't want to have to put my life on hold for a child.

Um huh, I don't think I could sit around and do nothing, maybe when my children were first born I could take a couple of years off but I don't think I would be able to sit at home until they're grown.
Despite the negative characterizations and misrepresentations of feminism that were mentioned earlier, some young women do recognize feminism as a virtue and are proud to identify with, and be associated with, such a movement. From one respondent:

I: Do you believe in equality for both sexes?
   For sure.
I: Would you consider yourself a feminist.
   Yes.
I: How do people react to this?
   My parents think this is really good. My dad teases me about it but just to make me stronger. And the way I think, like he says "oh you can't play sports" but that's just to push me harder. I know they both really like the idea of me standing up for what I believe in and my friends are like that too--guys and girls, they think you should be standing up for rights.
I: Do you want to share being a feminist with your children?
   For sure!

From a second:

I: Do you think that there should be equality for both sexes?
   Ya--no women higher! I'm kidding. No um, ya both should be treated equality. It's like being lesbian. A person doesn't ask to be male or female that's the way they are and they're still the same person because of it. So they shouldn't be treated differently because they're one gender or another.

A third:

I: Do you believe in equality for women and men?
   Um huh.
I: Would you consider yourself a feminist?
   Um, ya.
I: How do other people react to this?
   Feminist? Well they consider it, some of the guys they bug me purposely and like my girl friends they are the same way.
I: Feminists?
   Ya feminists, some of them are worse than I am. They'd beat up a guy just for looking at them the wrong way.
I: What does being a feminist mean to you?
It means equality for women AND men. I get really upset when somebody puts you down cause you’re just a female. It really bothers me so—if it’s bad enough I’ll say something but if I just know they’re joking I’ll let it go.

and a fourth:

I: Do you believe that there should be equality for men and women?
   Definitely.
I: Would you consider yourself a feminist?
   Ya.

Several respondents noted that a feminist girl is a reasonably accepted entity in their school environment.

No we have girls around that are strong and they are popular just as much as everyone else if not more.

I don’t think they’d [guys from school] find it [a feminist girl] a problem cause most of them, at least my friends, their best friends are girls and they know that they are equal.

I think they [guys] believe in it [equality] too but they just make jokes about it so they can seem like macho and stuff like that but I really think that they do believe it.

I think most people today understand it [being feminist]. That it’s someone who stands up the rights of both sexes and I don’t know, well some people are really old fashioned and they don’t understand that girls have the same rights as boys. But I think most people understand it.

No not—well they agree that things should be equal and they’re not really saying “women are as good as men, and if you men don’t like it go away.” But I think that the guys in our age group don’t put anything down about us being girls. There are a few, but half the guys don’t like them anyway.

Well, they make jokes and everything, but they don’t really mean—basically now days I think it’s getting a little better.

Actually, I’m in the enriched program so they’re very, very feminist I guess cause most of the
outstanding students are females. Most of the guys--some of the guys can't handle it so the teachers don't think they can handle it either.

However, many are also aware that feminism and feminist identification can be met with ridicule and ignorance from the outside observer.

I: Do you think people at your age have a bad image of feminists?
Ya they think that they are like man beaters and stuff, and wacko.

There's still men out there who are pigs. I have some friends who are male chauvinists even though they deny it. I guess I've just recently started getting offended by it because some of it is starting to make me believe that they are chauvinists even though they deny it.

Most guys that are nice and everything wouldn't have a problem with it but some would.

A lot of guys make jokes about it, but that's pretty much it.

But I know there's gonna be problems in the future [being a feminist] like when I go into engineering and it's a male dominated area and they are looking for women and they are gonna get mad cause we are "stealing" their job positions and stuff.

Respondents who indicated that they would like to pursue a career in engineering realize that being a female in a traditionally 'male' occupied occupation is not necessarily an easy, uncomplicated role.

Engineering is looking for people. We are "in demand" especially females are cause there are so few of them but later I hear you've got to be careful because a lot of guys will be cruel because we are supposedly taking their jobs. Just like Americans say foreigners are taking their jobs away. Frankly I think everyone should have a right to do what they want to do.
Well a lot of my friends are going into engineering. Well that's the way it is. If there are only two females around there's only two females around. There may be some bitter feelings done to me because I am a female but I am what I am and I'm doing what I'm doing and that's my choice cause that's my life and I have the right to choose that for myself.

If that's what I want to do um, and if that's the path I've chosen, that's my life and what other people say about it or try to do about it, that's nosey and not really their business that I'm a women who decides to go into engineering. That's my decision and not anybody's to make for me. I'm not going to let society make it for me.

Unfortunately an anti-female attitude is perpetuated, either knowingly or unknowingly, in a classroom setting. In the classroom, literature indicates that teachers tend to call on boys more often than girls, as well as being more specific and intense in their interactions with boys (Sadker and Sadker, 1985). Also, teachers tend to reward boys for academic behaviour and girls for nonacademic behaviour (Fagot, 1984).

The respondents in this study were well aware of a marked difference in the treatment of male and female students, especially in 'traditional' male or female subjects.

They [teachers] just kind of look at the girls--like they just treat them like they are inferior. Some of them, they all--these are the male teachers, our school is mostly male and that really bothers me too. Like some of the teachers they just act differently. They don't like having females at the top of their class. You can tell in the math classes that the ratio of male to female is very low. Like there is half the amount of females as there are males and that bothers me too cause the females themselves think that they are not good enough but the teachers they just--I don't know they might just be a little harder. Some of
them might be a little easier because the females aren't good enough. Either way it annoys me, you can just tell some of them just don't like females cause of how they react to some of the grades.

They [teachers] go "oh, she got this (monotone)" but when they're going through the guys they go "OH! (excited) he got such and such a mark." Just the look on their face. You sit there and go "oh ya, right."

Ya, they think that [the girls] got them [good grades] from cheating. They think that they should be in sewing class. There are very few males in sewing class and that bothers me too.

I ENJOY IT! I enjoy getting good grades and the look on their faces. It's like "ha ha ha-ha ha," so I like that.

Some of them [guys] it really bothers them [that girls get better grades]. Some of them you can just tell cause they sit there and say "Oh damn, let me see your test" and they copy your answers. Some of them joke about it but they don't mean it and some of the guys they joke about it and they mean it. You can tell and you think "I'm gonna hit him."

I: Do you find girls don't take math and science as much? Well ya,...they don't want to take it because it's too hard, not just--I think that's individual. I don't think that just cause they are female they can't handle it. I don't think it's a female thing.

Throughout many of the above excerpts, as well as the literature, it becomes evident that the category of feminist is a stigmatized one for many but not all students. Richardson (1988) notes that this could be due to the fact that females and males are making judgements based on a taken-for-granted culture that has defined the terms of womanhood for them. Societal norms have been so deeply entrenched that women still see deviance from them as undesirable and
threatening. Both young and old women fear that change in their lives will be necessary if they identify with feminism (Richardson, 1988).

This lack of feminist identification, consciousness, and activity has been attributed to a myriad of reasons in current literature. These reasons include: the propagandizing caricature that feminists receive in society (Wolf, 1991); the new conservatism of the youth (Renzetti, 1987); the lack of a vision for the need of collective accomplishments (Komarovsky, 1985); "post-feminism" propaganda (Schneider, 1988); a lack of what Wolf (1991) labels "generational collaboration"; and a problem of terminology (Jacobson, 1981). Each of these reasons will be briefly discussed.

Young women, Wolf (1991, p. 209) notes, have been spoon feed a propagandized caricature of the "Ugly Feminist" so that they would reciprocate with responses to feminism in the terms such as those we have seen above. Young women are not encouraged to identify with earlier feminists for they are older women. Women are offered images to admire and emulate, but these are not of impressive, wise older women, but rather of girls their own age or younger, who are not respected for their minds. Wolf states that while men hand down traditions from generation to generation, women's generational link is weakened, for what came before is not promoted as worthwhile or admirable to women.
In a study by Jacobson and Koch (1978), when subjects were asked to attribute reasons for why a photographed woman would have chosen to be a feminist, more positive, flattering reasons were assigned to "attractive" women than to "unattractive" women. Goldberg, Gottesdiener, and Abramson (1975) also found a similar result. The authors found that both males and females perceive feminists as unattractive. This included both supporters and non-supporters of the feminist movement. Goldberg et al. believe these results could be attributed to an underlying misogynist attitude. Subjects may hold negative attitudes about women but vent these by putting down feminists. However, Jacobson and Koch (1978) believe that this occurs in two ways; people attribute unattractiveness to feminists as well as feminism to unattractive people.

Considerable attention has been given to the new conservatism of the youth in both the popular and scholarly press (Renzetti, 1987; Apple, 1990). An alleged lack of feminist consciousness as well as a lack of support for the women's movement are among the examples often reported (Renzetti, 1987). Is this lack of consciousness and support simply a rejection of liberalism or are there deeper, underlying structural flaws? It is believed by some scholars (Renzetti, 1987; Schneider, 1988) that these apparent deficiencies of the feminist movement could be due to a rejection of the need for a collective consciousness among the
youth as well as a lack of unity which is a residual from "post-feminism" propaganda.

Komarovsky (1985) found that many college women do not report an appropriation of a feminist consciousness until they are in their later years of college. From interviews conducted by Komarovsky, she found that the majority of entering first year female students simply saw no need for a collective effort at social reform. Many believed that they lived at time when women have all options open to them. The students believe that women can attain goals by showing worth in whatever venture they choose, not by marching in demonstrations. Komarovsky notes that the individualistic ethos of American society leads to a relative indifference to collective movements of social reform. All in all, the study concluded that a majority of female students who did acknowledge the existence of women's problems saw them as best addressed on an individual level.

In Renzetti's (1987) study of female undergraduate students, she found that the respondents were well aware of gender inequality and supportive of the women's movement without holding negative views of feminists. However, despite high levels of awareness and support, the respondents were clearly reluctant to identify themselves as feminists. Only 27.3% considered themselves to be feminists, while nearly half did not, and 23.4% were undecided. Renzetti, like Komarovsky (1985), also found that students in their final years of
college held less traditional views and more feminist attitudes and support for the women's movement than those just entering college. Students' support for feminism may increase during their college careers as their attitudes in general become more liberal. Contrary to what the author expected, women in traditional female majors held a stronger feminist approach to gender roles and a higher level of gender inequality awareness than those who defined their majors in non-traditional fields. Also women who had experienced sex discrimination held the same higher levels of awareness than those who had not personally experienced sex discrimination. Renzetti notes that these findings lend support to the position that contemporary feminism is entering a new stage, rather than disappearing due to the new wave of political conservativism.

Schneider (1988) notes that the term "post-feminist" is typically applied by the media to the younger generation of women, most often college students and professional women in their twenties. The use of this term implies that the women's movement in its active, public phase is dead (Schneider, 1988) and that all the battles have been won (Wolf, 1991). The spark of earlier generations is frequently reported as long extinguished. The "spark of agitation is equated with a lack of interest in the women's movement by its potential inheritors" (Schneider, 1988, p. 10). Wolf (1991) notes that young women must reject the fib called post-feminism, for
young women still face many of the same old problems. Wolf fears that this term strips young women of the weapon of theory and makes them feel alone. Also, Schneider (1988) indicates that the sociological literature does not offer much about young women's activism.

Ferree and Hess (1985) offer three viewpoints that young women may have about feminism and the women's movement. These include: new expectations from the movement to be specific to a younger generation; a lack of understanding about what the movement is about; and a lack of current young leaders and creators of new feminist agendas. This suggests that efforts at outreach have been impeded and some of today's young women may take earlier gains for granted (Stage, 1989). Wolf (1991) suggests the need for "generational collaboration." That is, mending the links between generations of women to save women's progress and avoid fighting the same old battles all over again. Wolf (1991, p. 283) warns that we must reject being "taken in by an unoriginal twenty-year campaign to portray the women's movement as "not sexy," a campaign aimed to help young women forget whose battles made sex sexy in the first place."

Jacobson (1981) reports that students' support for feminism also varies according to the specific terminology used in reference to it (e.g. equal rights vs women's lib). Additional research points to students' reluctance to identify themselves as feminists because of the negative connotations
they attach to that label (Jacobson & Koch, 1978). Komarovsky (1985:97) noted that the phrase "women's liberation movement" carried a negative connotation for many first year college women even if they would have endorsed the particular reforms it advocated. Jacobson and Koch (1978) noted that "feminism" and "women's liberation" connote different things to different people. To some, the terms refer to equal rights and less constrictive sex roles, to others communism, lesbianism, and/or radicalism. Jacobson (1981) reports that subjects evaluated the term "equal rights for women" on a list more positively, followed in descending order by "women's lib," "feminism," and "women's liberation." How respondents choose to label "it" while speaking differs from how they evaluate terms on a list. Jacobson found in her study that people who choose themselves to label "it" feminism will have generally positive attitudes toward "it," people who choose to label "it" women's lib. will generally have negative attitudes toward "it," and people who choose to label "it" women's liberation will fall somewhere in between.

One of the most powerful forces in shaping and energizing the women's movement during the 1960s and 1970s according to scholars (Renzetti, 1987; Ferree and Hess, 1985, p. 174) was consciousness raising. Renzetti describes this process as allowing women to see the inequality in their experiences and to understand them in political, rather than individual, terms. The findings of the above study by Renzetti (1987)
suggest that the future of the feminist movement may well rest on the willingness of its leaders to return to grassroots consciousness raising, especially among young women, as a recruitment strategy (Renzetti, 1987).

Wolf (1991) calls for a feminist third wave. She believes a third wave is in order to look however we want to look and to be heard as we deserve to be heard. Wolf states that she is convinced that there are thousands of young women ready and eager to join in. She believes that a peer driven feminist third wave could take on, along with the classic feminist agenda, the new problems that have arisen. This movement would need to address the ambiguities of assimilation, for Wolf reports that young women express feelings of being scared and isolated "insiders" as opposed to angry and united outsiders. McRobbie (1982) suggests that feminists must counter and undermine the ideological power of femininity that young women are indoctrinated with. This seemingly 'natural' ideology must be deconstructed by means of cultural intervention. But others (Richardson, 1988; Schneider, 1988) declare that the hardest changes and the most radical ones would be within the private domain. What is needed according to Schneider (1988), is a transformation from "I am a feminist" to "I am a feminist and here's what it means to me."

Whatever the strategy, be it change on the private level or cultural level first, the interviews in this study show the
need for feminism to be more far reaching as well as for the
need to dismantle barriers of traditional culture. Despite
support for feminist ideals, many young women still resist the
connection to feminism or the feminist movement. If young
women are indeed to be included in this movement, they are not
being reached soon enough. Young women are not outfitted with
adequate choices on how to approach sexuality, nor are they
taught how to enjoy pleasurable, equitable sex. An
egalitarian approach, defined for these young women in new and
positive ways, is not nearly as accessible as it need be. The
fact that droves of young women remain outside the women’s
movement could be attributed to the fundamental fact that
girl’s and women are acculturated within a male ideological
world-view. Male control in society permeates female
sexuality and must be challenged.
CONCLUSION

Premarital sexual relations are an undeniable component in the lives of countless young women. Sadly, numerous young women will experience sexual relations shrouded with guilt, shame, and secrecy. These sexual encounters, for the most part, are devoid of pleasure (Thompson, 1984), subject to the double standard (Lees, 1986), considered deviations from ‘good’ behaviour (Rubin, 1984; Kostash, 1987), and all too often unsatisfactory.

This study was primarily interested in uncovering the content of the social constructions that a local group of 15 and 16 year old young women currently held surrounding teenage female sexuality. This goal was accomplished by combining quantitative and qualitative methods. The Q sort and semi-structured, open-ended interview were used to achieve results. Q methodology aided in extracting ‘factors’ which represented certain groups of thought and discourse on the topic of female teenage sexuality for self and other. The research was designed to disclose how teenage females themselves make sense of their, and others’, sexual experiences. The research addressed the largely neglected terrain of teenage sexual experience from the viewpoint of the female teenager herself, as opposed to past, purely quantitative studies which have focused mainly on the sexual act, how it is performed, how often and with how many.
Literature on teenage sexuality was divided into two distinct camps. These were: the analysts of the paradigm of deviance, who depict teenage sexuality as wrong, dangerous, deviant, and in need of control; and the social constructionist view which questions these depictions. Social constructionism views sexuality as a socially constructed product learned from others and is interested in uncovering how constructions come about. Numerous studies (Riess, 1970; Kleinman, 1978; Jessar, Costa, Jessar and Donovan, 1983; Udry and Billy, 1987; Elliot and Morse, 1989; Rodgers and Rowe, 1990) have linked teenage premarital sex with "deviance." Little interest and attention has focused on issues of quality, pleasure, and the nature of teenage females' sexual initiations and relations (Thompson, 1990; Lees, 1986). Teenage girls are an understudied (Kostash, 1987), disadvantaged, (Lees, 1986) and unheard group on matters concerning their own understanding and meaning that they assign to teenage girls' sexual experiences.

I adopted social constructionism as the theoretical orientation for this study. I believe that sexuality is a learned and scripted phenomenon. Teenage females are socialized to acquire 'knowledge' about sex that has been handed down by different institutions in society. These institutions often impose traditional views of sex on girl's and young women that fit their own purposes (Laws and Schwartz, 1983). Feminism offers an alternative view to
female sexuality. This view promotes female-centred, female-empowered, egalitarian sex. Social constructionism was viewed as a useful tool to examine how teenage females find meaning in their sexual realities.

The methodology used to distinguish the construction of sexual realities was a combination of Q methodology and semi-structured, open-ended interviews. It was believed that the two methods would prove mutually informative (Kitzinger and Stainton-Rogers, 1985). Data from the Q sort study provided a means to extract ‘factors’ or groups of subjects that rank ordered the Q sort statements similarly. Three factors were extracted, identified, and analyzed. These factors represented three groups of thought on female teenage sexuality. These categories were supported and illuminated through the use of interview excerpts obtained from the tape recorded interviews of nine volunteers. The three factors included "liberal tolerance," "traditional-conservatism," and "romanticism." It was found that the predominate sexual value system among teenage females today was that of ‘sex with affection.’ This, nevertheless, was coupled with ambiguity and confusion for many of the respondents in the study. Sex was only accepted by many of the young women in the study when highly romanticized or in the confines of an exclusive, heterosexual relationship. Male and/or female homosexuality were minimally tolerated by some on a public (for others) level, totally condemned by other respondents, and completely
rejected on a private level for self. The young women in the study, when constructing and reconstructing sexual meaning for themselves and others, presented slightly different discourses that ultimately were more similar than different. All three discourses were variations on a theme of romantic, primarily heterosexual monogamy. Tension was found amongst the public (for others) and private (for self) discourses of those in the study. Versions of the self differed from that of the ‘other.’ Public tolerance was in contradiction with private acceptance. The private realm of the individuals in the study did not venture far from romantic, love-based, monogamous, heterosexuality. Pleasure was largely absent from the sexual discourses of all interviewees as well.

Five dilemmas of female teenage sexuality became manifest through each of the interviews. These were the double standard, fear of a bad reputation, an unfair grounds for bargaining with regard to sex, lack of pleasure concerning sex, and a lack of a sufficient language for sexual expression.

Male control was identified and analyzed as problematic to female sexuality. Interviewees reported a lack of association and identification with feminism or the women’s movement. Although many were quick to agree with, and endorse, the ideals of the women’s movement, almost all were reluctant to identify themselves as ‘feminist.’ Feminism, and feminists, were described by many in a negative, stereotypical
fashion. It was felt by the researcher that lack of identification, consciousness, and activity with regard to feminism and the women’s movement stifled young women’s chances at a female-empowered, egalitarian approach to sexuality throughout their current and future lives. Unfortunately, the overwhelming, powerful presence of male control of female sexuality limited young women’s ability to identify with feminism.

The young women in the study have formed social constructions of female sexuality within predominantly male-identified cultural bounds. Some reject a purely male-dominated, male-centred view but few espouse a female-centred, female-empowered, egalitarian sexuality. Due to the snarling of romance in their sexual discourses and the fear of negative sanctions for behaviour outside the prescribed ‘norm,’ these young women have not been able to feel free to pursue a more equitable vision of sexuality.

I believe that this study demonstrates the need for women to reclaim their sexuality and challenge the constraints of patriarchal ideology (Vance, 1984; Wine, 1985; Wolf, 1991). Females are largely confined to a pre-determined and male-controlled set of conditions for their sexual explorations. Women’s sexuality is a vital part of their empowerment in general.

This study has also illuminated the fact that the pretentious accusations of the media, conservatives, and the
New Right are unfounded. Girls, and young women in general, are not in the midst of a dangerous promiscuity ‘crisis’ (Petchesky, 1984). Rather, they tend to be by and large conservative concerning their own, and other girls’, sexuality. I believe that they need to separate the traps of romance and intimacy from sex in order to achieve a real sexual liberation. Romance and intimacy must be re-introduced on a more egalitarian plane.

Also, feminism and the women’s movement must be more effective in attempts to reach younger generations. Feminism needs a resurgence among this age cohort. It is imperative that females of all ages have the door to feminism wide open, without societal attempts to block it. Feminism is one of the keys to attainment of sexual empowerment among our female youth. Male control of female sexuality cannot be tolerated. This ideological takeover of our own sexuality must be dismantled.

Nonetheless, the results from the young women in this study cannot be quantified in terms of how common certain constructions are, nor can they be said to include all teenage females. They can, however, provide an understanding of the meaning and social constructions that are applied to sexuality by young women in the 1990s. They can also provide insight into the context that young women create such constructions. These findings are not readily available in quantitative analysis or popular sex literature.
Until women of all ages are free to speak, be heard, believed, and understood concerning their own sexuality, they will neither overcome the male and 'deviant' dominance that infiltrates their sexual freedom nor fully experience pleasurable sexuality on their own terms. This study has allowed the reader to become aware of some of the shackles that remain attached to the ankles of female teenagers and show cracks of light where hope remains for some young women. This study alone will not burst the dam to sexual equality, but a waterfall begins with a drop of water!
Appendix A.1

Q Sort Statements

Following are twelve statements obtained from the deviance perspective analysts in the literature review.

All Q sort statements will be randomly numbered and shuffled before given to respondents.

Six positively phrased statements (those that would elicit a positive response if agreeing with the "deviance" analysts).

1. There should be an age limit on how young someone should be to have sex for the first time.

2. Girls who have sex before 15 usually have delinquent friends.

3. The girls who do drugs are the ones most likely to be having sex.

4. There should be programs set up to prevent girls from having sex before marriage.

5. A teenage girl who goes to church would not have sex.

6. Teenage girls who have sex have different personalities than girls who do not have sex.

Six negatively phrased statements (those that would elicit a negative response if agreeing with the deviance analysts).

7. Girls who have sex are the least likely to drink alcohol.

8. A girl who has sex should not be thought of as delinquent.

9. Teenage girls should be able to have sex whenever they feel they are ready.

10. The kind of family a girl comes from has nothing to do with whether she chooses to have sex.

11. Teenage girls who have sex are just as smart in school as ones who do not have sex.

12. Being involved in bad behaviour has nothing to do with whether you have sex at an early age.
Appendix A.2

Q Sort Statements Continued

Following are twenty-eight statements derived from the social constructionist literature review.

Fourteen positively phrased statements (those that would elicit a positive score if the sorter accepts egalitarian female teenage sexuality).

1. Sex is okay even if the two people are not in love.

2. I enjoy the physical pleasure I can receive from having sex.

3. It should be okay to have protected sex with many different partners.

4. If two people both enjoy having sex with each other, it should not matter whether they are two girls, a guy and a girl, or two guys.

5. Girls have as much sex as guys do.

6. It is all right if a girl has sex just because it makes her feel good.

7. It is just as important for the girl to get pleasure out of sex as it is for the guy.

8. I would not find it wrong to have sex with another girl.

9. There is nothing wrong with protected casual sex.

10. I looked (look) forward to the first time I had (will have) sex.

11. It makes no difference whether my friends are virgins are not.

12. I had experimented with sex when I was younger.

13. You should not have to be married just to have sex.

14. It would not bother me if any of my friends were lesbian.
Fourteen negatively phrased statements (those that would elicit a negative score if the sorter did accept egalitarian female teenage sexuality).

15. I would have sex with a guy (or boyfriend) just to make him love me.

16. Any girl who has sex with someone she is not in love with is a slut.

17. A girl only gets a bad reputation when she deserves one.

18. I worry about my reputation.

19. It is more acceptable to me for boys to have sex than girls.

20. I do (would) feel guilty and ashamed for not being a virgin.

21. I do (would) regret losing my virginity.

22. I think sex is a big disappointment.

23. Every girl's 'first time' is basically the same.

24. You can tell a slut by the way she acts and dresses.

25. Sex before marriage is only okay if you are engaged.

26. I cannot see how sex between two females can be as satisfying as sex between a male and female.

27. There is a limit to how many people I will have sex with in my life.

28. I am disgusted by the thought of two females having sex.
Attention: *********, Executive Director; ***** Residence for Women

Researcher: Jennifer Airey
Faculty Advisor: Dr. B. Adam
Institution: University of Windsor

This is to request your permission to allow up to eight of your female residents to participate in a study conducted by the above researcher for a Masters Thesis at the University of Windsor. The general purpose of this study is to examine how a local sample of teenage girls understand and give meaning to teenage sexuality. The subjects involved in this study will participate in manually sorting 40 cards containing general statements about teenage sexuality. These cards are asked to be sorted along a continuum of "most agree" to "most disagree." The procedure should involve subjects for approximately 30 to 45 minutes. All data and information pertaining to subjects used in the study will be kept strictly confidential. At the completion of the study, results will be available to participants if they wish to contact the Department of Sociology at the University of Windsor.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary, subjects have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and/or refrain from answering whatever question they prefer to omit. This study has been approved by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee. Any complaint regarding a procedure that appears to violate subjects welfare may be reported to the Head of the Sociology Department for referral to the Ethics Committee (253-4232 extension 2190).

Dr. B. Adam
Faculty Advisor
University of Windsor

Jennifer Airey
Masters Candidate
University of Windsor

I, ____________________________, understand the information given above and agree to allow these students to participate in the study. I am aware that the students involvement is completely voluntary and they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

__________________________  __________________________
(signature)                  (date)
This is to request your permission to participate in a study to be conducted at **** Residence for Women by Ms. Jennifer Airey, under the guidance of Dr. B. Adam, from the University of Windsor. The general purpose of this study is to examine teenage girls' attitudes towards dating. You will be asked to rate general statements concerning dating from "most agree" to "most disagree." The study should take 30 to 45 minutes to complete. All information received from you will be kept strictly confidential. At the end of the study results will be available upon contact of the Sociology Department at the University of Windsor (253-4232, ext. 2191).

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to participate if you do not want to. You may withdraw from this study at any time and/or leave out any questions you do not wish to answer. This study has been approved by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee. Any complaint regarding how the study is done may be reported to the Head of the Sociology Department for referral to the Ethics Committee (253-4232, ext. 2190).

Ms. Jennifer Airey
University of Windsor

I, __________________________ understand the information given above and agree to participate in this study. I am aware that my involvement is completely voluntary and I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

________________________    __________________________
(signature)                 (date)
Attention: Ms. ********, Principal, ************* Secondary School

Researcher: Jennifer Airey
Faculty Advisor: Dr. B. Adam
Institution: University of Windsor

This is to request your permission to allow 30 to 40 of your 15 and 16 year old female students to participate in a study conducted by the above researcher for a Masters Thesis at the University of Windsor. The general purpose of this study is to examine how a local sample of teenage girls understand and give meaning to teenage sexuality. The subjects involved in this study will participate in manually sorting 40 cards containing general statements about teenage sexuality. These cards are asked to be sorted along a continuum of "most agree" to "most disagree." The procedure should involve subjects for approximately 30 to 45 minutes. All data and information pertaining to subjects used in the study will be kept strictly confidential. At the completion of the study, results will be available to participants if they wish to contact the Department of Sociology at the University of Windsor.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary, subjects have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and/or refrain from answering whatever question they prefer to omit. This study has been approved by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee. Any complaint regarding a procedure that appears to violate subjects welfare may be reported to the Head of the Sociology Department for referral to the Ethics Committee (253-4232 extension 2190).

Dr. B. Adam
Faculty Advisor
University of Windsor

Jennifer Airey
Masters Candidate
University of Windsor

I, ___________________________, understand the information (please print name)
given above and agree to allow these students to participate in the study. I am aware that the student's involvement is completely voluntary and they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

__________________________  ____________________________
(signature)  (date)
Appendix E

Dear Parent(s):

This is to request permission for your daughter to participate in a study to be conducted by ** Secondary School by Ms. Jennifer Airey, under the guidance of Dr. B. Adam, from the University of Windsor. Ms. Airey is a former graduate of **. The general purpose of this study is to examine teenage girls' attitudes towards dating. The principal, M* ******, has granted permission for this study to take place during school hours on May 11, 1992. Your daughter will be asked to rate general statements concerning dating from "most agree" to "most disagree." The study should take 30 to 45 minutes to complete and involves up to 40 teenage girls. At a later date ten girls will be asked to volunteer for an interview. All information received from your daughter will be kept strictly confidential. At the end of the study results will be available upon contact of the Sociology Department at the University of Windsor (253-4232, ext. 2191).

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and your daughter will not be penalized whatsoever if you or she chooses not to participate. Your daughter may withdraw from this study at any time and/or omit any questions she does not wish to answer. This study has been approved by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee. Any complaint regarding how the study is done may be reported to the principal M*. ****** (969-2530) or the Head of the Sociology Department for referral to the Ethics Committee (253-4232, ext. 2190). Please feel free to contact M*. ******, or myself (253-4232, ext. 2191) if you have any questions regarding this study.

M*. ******
Principal
*********** Secondary

Ms. Jennifer Airey
Masters Candidate
University of Windsor

I, _______________________, as legal guardian of _______________________, (print name) understand the information given above and agree to allow my daughter to participate in this study. I am aware that her involvement is completely voluntary and she has the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

(Parent/Guardian signature) _______________________
(Student’s signature) _______________________

(date) ________________________
(date) ________________________
Appendix F

Continuum Scale

A.) THE ELEVEN POINT QUASI-NORMAL DISTRIBUTION SCALE
(From MOST DISAGREE to MOST AGREE)
A.) -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5
B.) (1) (2) (3) (5) (6) (6) (6) (5) (3) (2) (1)

B.) THE NUMBER OF CARDS TO BE SORTED IN EACH POINT
Appendix G

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How did you learn about sex while you were growing up?

2. How influential do you feel your parents are now on your sex life?

3. Is there anything that has an influence on your sex life? What about religion? ... friends? ... boyfriend? ... reputation? ... AIDS?

4. What would be your motives (reasons) for having sexual intercourse? (love, pleasure, etc.)

5. What would be your primary reason for refusing to have sexual intercourse with someone?

6. Do you feel there should be emotional involvement between two people before having sex? (Why?)

7. How do you feel about sexual intercourse without love? What do you think about casual sex (sex between acquaintances/strangers with no serious relationship)?

8. For two people to have sex, does it matter what sex (m or f) the two partners are? (Why, why not?)

9. What was your most important reason for having sexual intercourse on the most recent occasion? (love, lust, pleasure, emotion...) OR any other sexual experience if no intercourse.

10. Tell me about the first time you ever had sex (intercourse or significant experience). How did you feel (before and after)? Were you drinking or on any drugs? Did you find this experience pleasurable (emotionally and physically)? Did you continue to have sex after this first time? Tell me about your first lover.

11. Do you feel you were ready for this experience? How would you describe someone who is ready?

12. Are you glad this happened or do you have regrets? (what regrets/ why glad?)

13. When in bed, or fooling around with a partner, have there been times when you would have liked to engage in a certain activity but did not because you were afraid to ask your
partner? (If yes what?)

14. Do you think there are things you will not do sexually because you are afraid of what others (friends, partner, parents etc.) might think of you? (Like what?)
   What would you do different if no one would ever find out or else no one would judge you?
   Should a teenage girl be able to have sex just because it feels good, she get physical pleasure? With whomever she wants? Would you?

15. Do you ever worry about your reputation? (Why?)
   Do you think teenage girls get bad reputations because they deserve them?

16. Is there such a thing as a slut?
   How would you describe a slut?
   Do you ever fear someone will think you are one?

17. Do you know anyone who is gay (male or female)?
   Who?
   How do you feel about this?
   How would you feel if you had a lesbian friend?
   A gay male friend?
   What about a family member?
   Someone you do not know?
   Is there a difference in how you feel about lesbian females or gay males? WHY?

18. Do you want to be married one day?
   How important is this?
   What if you could not find the right person?

19. Do you believe there should be equality for both sexes?
   IF YES- Would you consider yourself a feminist?
   How do people react to this?
   IF NO- How would you describe a feminist? (Do you think feminists possess different characteristics?)

20. Is your sex life a secret?
   Who knows about it?
   Who is it secret from?—will you ever tell them?
   Are you honest about your sex life to your friends, partners etc. (Why, why not)?

21. How do you think sex will be different for you when you are older (out of high school, married etc.)
THE PROJECT
This project is designed to receive a better understanding of how teenage girls' in the 1990s talk about, and feel about sex. This understanding can come from talking directly with teenage girls about their feelings, friends and relationships. The point of this project is to help others understand how today's teenage girl thinks about a topic like sex whatever her opinion might be. Through interviews with girls like yourself, your thoughts can be described. This can be used to help other people become more in tune with teenage girls in the 1990s.

THE RESEARCHER
Jennifer Airey is a student at the University of Windsor who is working toward a Masters Degree in Sociology. Jennifer graduated from **** in 1986.

SECRETS
All interviews will be kept strictly confidential. This means that what you discuss with Jennifer will not be discussed with anyone else. The interviews will be tape recorded, but your name will not be used. These tapes will be stored by number only. After this study is finished these tapes will be destroyed along with the list that you put your name and phone number on. Your name will not be used anywhere in the research, no one will be able to identify you.

Participation in this project is totally voluntary. The interview asks some personal questions which you are free not to answer if you prefer. You can quit the interview at any time you feel you would like to.

RESULTS
If you would like the results to this study you can contact Jennifer Airey as soon as the project is completed.

Also, if you have any questions whatsoever about this project please feel free to contact Jennifer at home or school.

HOME NUMBER: 254-5510
AT SCHOOL: 253-4232 extension 2191 (leave a message if I am not in)

I, ______________________, understand the information above and agree to participate in the interview. I understand that I can quit the interview at any time and/or refuse to answer any question that I choose.

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Appendix I

CORRELATION MATRIX

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Appendix J

Varimax Rotation Factor Loadings for Six Factors

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**Varimax Rotation Factor Loadings for Four Factors**

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* denotes a loading significant at .45

Note: \( h^2 \) = communality
Appendix L

Factor Summary

Summary of rotated factors:

Factor: Sort
A: 1 3 15 22 24 29 30 33
B: 4 8 9 12 20 23 27
C: 6 11 16 25 28
D: 10 14 17 21

Confounded sorts: 2 5 13 19 26 31 32

Not significant: 7 18

Sig. level = .45
Appendix M

Factor Arrays

Factor Array for Factor A

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Sorts with significant loadings:

1  +50
3  +74
15 +55
22 +73
24 +73
29 +46
30 +80
33 +76
**Factor Array for Factor B**

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**Sorts with significant loadings:**

4  +65
8  +62
9  +70
12 +85
20 +67
23 +87
27 +74
### Factor Array for Factor C

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### Sorts with significant loadings:

- 6   +67
- 11  +55
- 16  +56
- 25  +50
- 28  +45
Appendix N

Q Sort Statements Rank-ordered by Factor Group (Average Score)

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<th>Scores Factors</th>
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<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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<td>1. There is nothing wrong with protected casual sex.</td>
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<td>-2</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. The girls who do drugs are the ones most likely to be having sex.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. It should be okay to have protected sex with many different partners.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. It is just as important for the girl to get pleasure out of sex as it is for the guy.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>+4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. If two people both enjoy having sex with each other, it should not matter whether they are two girls, a guy and a girl, or two guys.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. I do (would) feel guilty and ashamed for not being a virgin.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. A girl only gets a bad reputation when she deserves one.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I think sex is a big disappointment.</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Any girl who has sex with someone she is not in love with is a slut.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. There is a limit to how many people I will have sex with in my life.</td>
<td></td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>+2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Factors  A  B  C
11. I enjoy the physical pleasure I can receive from having sex.  +2  +2  +3
12. It makes no difference whether my friends are virgins or not.  +5  +1  +2
13. Being involved in bad behaviour has nothing to do with whether you have sex at an early age.  +2  +1  -1
14. I would have sex with a guy (or boyfriend) to make him love me.  -3 -4  -4
15. Teenage girls who have sex have different personalities than girls who do not have sex.  -1  +1  0
16. You can tell a slut by the way she acts and dresses.  -3  +1  +1
17. You should not have to be married just to have sex.  +4  -5  +5
18. Teenage girls who have sex are just as smart in school as ones who do not have sex. +3  +2  +3
19. Teenage girls should be able to have sex whenever they feel they are ready.  +4  -1  +4
20. I had experimented with sex when I was younger.  -1 -3  0
21. I looked (look) forward to the first time I had (will have) sex.  +2  +3  +3
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<th>Factors C</th>
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<td>There should be programs set up to prevent girls from having sex before marriage.</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>I would not find it wrong to have sex with another girl.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-3</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>I do (would) regret losing my virginity.</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>+4</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>I worry about my reputation.</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>It is all right if a girl has sex just because it makes her feel good.</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>I cannot see how sex between two females can be as satisfying as sex between a male and a female.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+2</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>Girls who have sex are the least likely to drink alcohol.</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>Every girl’s ‘first time’ is basically the same.</td>
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<td>-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Sex before marriage is only okay if you are engaged.</td>
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<td>31.</td>
<td>It is more acceptable to me for boys to have sex than girls.</td>
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<td>32.</td>
<td>It would not bother me if any of my friends were lesbian.</td>
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<td>-1</td>
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<td>There should be an age limit on how young someone should be to have sex for the first time.</td>
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<td>+1</td>
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<td>34.</td>
<td>A girl who has sex should not be thought of as delinquent.</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>35.</td>
<td>Girls who have sex before 15 usually have delinquent friends.</td>
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<td>Sex is okay even if the two people are not in love.</td>
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<td>A teenage girl who goes to church would not have sex.</td>
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<td>38.</td>
<td>The kind of family a girl comes from has nothing to do with whether she chooses to have sex.</td>
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<td>I am disgusted by the thought of two females having sex.</td>
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<td>40.</td>
<td>Girls have as much sex as guys do.</td>
<td>+2</td>
<td>+2</td>
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WORKS CITED


