

FEMALE HOMOSEXUALITY: A SOCIAL
PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF
ATTITUDINAL AND ETIOLOGICAL
CHARACTERISTICS OF
DIFFERENT GROUPS

By

BRENDA KAYE VANCE

Bachelor of Arts
Central State University
Edmond, Oklahoma
1972

Master of Science
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma
1975

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
December, 1977

Thesis
1977D
V222f
cop. 2



FEMALE HOMOSEXUALITY: A SOCIAL
PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF
ATTITUDINAL AND ETIOLOGICAL
CHARACTERISTICS OF
DIFFERENT GROUPS

Thesis Approved:

Vicki Green

Thesis Adviser

B. A. Achen

K. J. Kiser

William C. Scott

Norman N. Durham

Dean of the Graduate College

1003696

PREFACE

This study investigates some of the differences between homosexual women in an attempt to negate the common assumption that they are a homogeneous group. A social psychological approach is taken to distinguish between homosexual role learning in childhood (socialization) and assumption of a homosexual lifestyle later in life (enculturation). The primary objective of the study is to determine, through individual interviews with homosexual women, if this distinction does in fact exist among them and, if so, how it influences their present lifestyles and interactions.

I would like to thank Dr. Vicki Green, my major adviser, for her careful guidance and assistance throughout this study and, more specifically, for her contributions in the area of female sexual development. I would especially like to thank her for her moral support and encouragement, without which completion of this study would not have been nearly as enjoyable. I extend this note of thanks to my other committee members as well, each of whom made unique contributions to the study. Dr. Bob Helm and Dr. William Scott provided suggestions during the planning stages of the study. Dr. Ken Kiser provided both his knowledge in the area of sexual behavior and his expertise with the interview technique, and I thank him for encouraging me to use this

technique in the study. All of these contributions proved to be invaluable in the development and completion of the study.

Special thanks is extended to Dr. Barbara Stewart who was an important source of inspiration and guidance during the initial stage of this study and who served as a statistical consultant throughout its entirety. Appreciation also goes to Mr. Richard Serkes, who spent many hours helping me in the computer analysis of the data, and to Mr. John Nichols, who served as a collaborator in reviewing the criterion responses and subsequently classifying subjects for further data analysis.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Ms. Iris Painter and Ms. Leota Horne for their constant encouragement and to Ms. Dorothy Watson for her assistance in obtaining the use of the computer facilities at Tulsa Junior College. In addition, I extend thanks to Ms. Dudlee Binford and Ms. Mary Selman for their assistance in preparing the data for computer analysis, to Ms. Iris McPherson for her assistance in computer programming, and to Ms. Arlene Pabon for typing this manuscript.

Finally, I would like to thank Mr. David Meek for being an understanding friend, and my family, students and many friends for their emotional support and concern. But the greatest thanks are extended to the women who unselfishly gave of their time by participating as subjects in this study and, in so doing, shared their lives with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Frequency of Homosexual and Bisexual Behavior	2
Developmental Differences	3
Biased Sampling	5
Assumption of Homogeneity	5
Sexual Identification, Sex-Role Behavior, and Sexual Preference	6
Homosexuality as a Pathological State	7
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.	10
Historical Overview	10
Physiological Theories of Lesbianism.	11
Psychological Theories of Lesbianism.	12
Psychoanalytic Theory.	13
Behavioristic Theory	18
Existentialistic Theory.	21
Empirical Evidence.	22
Psychological Pathology.	23
Personality Traits	25
Behavior	26
Etiological Factors Associated With Lesbianism.	27
Family Relationships	27
Other Hypothesized Causes.	31
Role-Learning Theory.	33
Statement of the Problem.	44
III. METHOD	49
Subjects.	49
Instruments	51
General Questionnaire.	51
Bem Sex Role Inventory	51
Childhood Sexual Behavior Questionnaire.	53
Social Attitude Scale.	53
The Attitudes Towards Women Scale.	53

Chapter	Page
Procedure	53
Classification of Subjects	54
IV. RESULTS	59
Hypothesis I.	60
Hypothesis II	62
Hypothesis III.	64
Hypothesis IV	65
Hypothesis V.	66
Hypothesis VI	70
Post Hoc Analyses	70
V. DISCUSSION	73
REFERENCES.	80
APPENDIXES.	88
APPENDIX A - DESCRIPTION OF TWO SUBJECTS WHO WERE ELIMINATED FROM THE DATA ANALYSIS	89
APPENDIX B - GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE	97
APPENDIX C - BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY.	103
APPENDIX D - CHILDHOOD SEXUAL BEHAVIOR QUESTIONNAIRE.	107
APPENDIX E - SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE	119
APPENDIX F - ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN SCALE	124
APPENDIX G - TABLE III: DESCRIPTION OF TOTAL LESBIAN SAMPLE	127
TABLE IV: MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR TOTAL LESBIAN SAMPLE.	132

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Frequency of Sex-Role Identities for Bem's Normative Female Sample, the Total Lesbian Sample, Socialized Lesbians, Enculturated Lesbians, and Unclassified Lesbians	63
II. Frequency of Current Role Enactment and Willingness to Assume a Different Role for Socialized and Enculturated Lesbians.	67
III. Description of Total Lesbian Sample	127
IV. Means and Standard Deviations for Total Lesbian Sample.	132

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Homosexuality has been a topic of concern for many years; a vast number of research studies have been devoted to this subject. Yet, there remains a remarkable shortage of empirically based theories on lesbianism. The limited information that is available is often biased and inconsistent. Many factors contribute to this lack of systematic knowledge. To begin with, the vast majority of homosexuals encountered in the literature are men, perhaps due to male domination of the psychiatric profession (Lyon & Martin, 1972), society's more lenient attitude toward female homosexuality (Socarides, 1963), or because lesbians seek psychiatric help less often because they are less disturbed than their male counterparts (Romm, 1965). Horney (1926) and Jones (1927) feel that female sexuality in general has been neglected because of the overly "phallogentric" culture in which we live. Regardless of the cause, current descriptive knowledge of homosexual women is clearly fragmented and sketchy. Female sexuality in general, and lesbianism in particular, is currently receiving attention largely as a result of the recent emphasis on women's rights.

One important reason that lesbians were neglected by

social scientists is that until recently it was assumed that the development of homosexuality was similar for males and females. Thus, there was no need to study female homosexuality separately. However, there are important differences, some predictably the consequences of the psychological and, perhaps, physiological differences that exist between the sexes (Hyde & Rosenberg, 1976). One example is that lesbians emphasize the emotional aspects of a relationship while homosexual males emphasize the sexual aspects (Hyde & Rosenberg, 1976). Freedman (1971) has pointed out that this is true for heterosexual men and women as well. Consequently, lesbians are usually not as promiscuous as are male homosexuals, forming more long-term relationships with another person of their sex. It has also been suggested (Freedman, 1971) that lesbians are better adjusted psychologically than are male homosexuals. A significant issue much discussed in the literature is the frequency of homosexual and bisexual behavior among adult men compared to women and differences between the sexes relating to the etiology of homosexuality.

Frequency of Homosexual and Bisexual Behavior

According to the Kinsey report, lesbianism* (defined

*Kinsey's sexual behavior rating scale: 0=completely heterosexual, 1=primarily heterosexual, 2=predominantly heterosexual, 3=relatively bisexual in experience and drive, 4=predominantly homosexual, 5=primarily homosexual, 6=completely homosexual

as a score of 4, 5, or 6 on Kinsey's scale) is less frequent (13%) than male homosexuality (37%) (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin & Gebhard, 1953; Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin, 1948). Daniel (1954) has speculated that lesbianism is less frequent because of the security a woman can find in marriage. Other investigators (Bergler, 1966; Rancourt & Limoges, 1967) feel that there may actually be more female than male homosexuals, suggesting a high ratio of visible to camouflaged lesbians. In addition, exclusive homosexuality is reported to be less frequent in women (1-3%) than in men (3-16%) according to the Kinsey report. This means that the ratio of bisexuality to exclusive homosexuality is greater among lesbians than among male homosexuals, perhaps because it is physiologically easier for a female to sexually accommodate members of either sex without actually experiencing sexual arousal. In contrast, the Daughters of Bilitis (a national lesbian organization) in 1959 found that 64% of the member respondents to their questionnaire claimed to be exclusively homosexual. These results may not be as incompatible with other reports as they seem, since it is very likely that women who are exclusively homosexual are more likely to identify themselves with the lesbian role and, hence, more likely to join a lesbian organization or respond to a questionnaire concerning lesbianism.

Developmental Differences

Although there has been very little research which

investigates the developmental differences between male and female homosexuals, it is predicted such differences likely exist. From her study of three lesbian patients, Zucker (1966) concluded that different factors and causes operate in male and female homosexuality. She says that there is a deeper and more complex feeling of parental rejection in the female. The sexual development of women is affected by traditions and customs not present for men. For women, homosexuality may be an escape. Another example is Bermant (1972) who has developed a behavioristic model which suggests that males of all species develop sexually before they develop cognitively and, hence, are more likely to engage in all forms of inappropriate sexual activity. In essence, they are unaware that their behavior is inappropriate. He believes this is not the case for females, however, perhaps explaining the less frequent incidence of lesbianism reported by Kinsey et al. (1953; 1948). In view of these findings and speculations, the study of lesbianism as a separate entity from male homosexuality seems justified.

A few studies have focused exclusively on lesbianism. These studies are found to be lacking in several aspects. Some of the general limitations of these studies include the problem of biased sampling, the assumption of homogeneity among lesbian subjects, the frequent lack of distinction between sexual identification, sex-role behavior, and sexual preference, and the assumption that homosexuality is necessarily a pathological state. These issues are now discussed.

Biased Sampling

Much of the difficulty encountered when studying lesbianism arises because investigators have to study lesbians who are both known to them and relatively cooperative. Thus, the typical lesbian subject is a clinical patient, a prison inmate, or perhaps, a member of a lesbian organization. Clearly, the basis of experimental research -- that of random sampling -- is violated. Seldom have the findings been restricted to that particular group, however; more often, the results have been generalized to the entire population of homosexuals. On the other hand, more recent research that selectively excludes disturbed homosexuals in order to subsequently argue that homosexuals are not disturbed are likewise restricted in the extent to which their results may generalize (Hooker, 1956, 1957). As stated by Jan Loney (1972, p. 64), "we must avoid having a theory based on superpathological homosexuals, and we must equally avoid having a theory based on supernormal homosexuals".

Assumption of Homogeneity

Another failure common to most theories of lesbianism is the assumption that lesbians are a homogeneous group. Much of the conflicting data on lesbians may be a reflection of the heterogeneity of lesbians. It is likely that individual lesbians are as different from one another as are heterosexual women. As such, there is probably no single cause of lesbianism, if indeed there are any causes at all,

just as there is no single lesbian personality.

Sexual Identification, Sex-Role Behavior,
and Sexual Preference

According to Hyde and Rosenberg (1976), most investigators have confused sexual identification (how I see myself) with sexual preference (desire for a same- or different-sex partner). Judging from the review of the literature, it seems that they also have confused these terms with sex-role behavior (how I behave). Common stereotypes suggest that lesbians are masculine women not well suited for a traditional feminine role. Hyde and Rosenberg claim that empirical research shows that lesbians usually have a feminine identity and may be either aggressive and competitive or passive and shy, just as heterosexual women. Lesbians could therefore be described as androgynous.*

While many investigators agree with their claim (Armon, 1960; Bergler, 1948; Dengrove, 1961; Simon & Gagnon, 1967a, 1967b), others maintain that lesbians are lacking in feminine identification (Days, Berl, Clare, Eleston, Gershwin, Gershwin, Kogan, Torda & Wilbur, 1957; Thompson, Schwartz, McCandless & Edwards, 1973). It is likely that some of these conflicting results are due to a confusion in terminology. Some investigators have found in lesbian relation-

* Androgyny, as defined by Bem (1974), is sex role behavior that allows the individual to be either masculine or feminine depending upon the situational appropriateness.

ships a butch/fem pair whereby one person in the relationship assumes an aggressive "masculine" role while the other assumes a passive "feminine" role (Sawyer, 1965; Rancourt & Limoges, 1967; Keiser & Schaffer, 1949; Kates, 1955; Howard, 1962; Hammer, 1965, 1968). Others (Hyde & Rosenberg, 1976) maintain that butch/fem roles are atypical of lesbian relationships, and when they do exist no psychological differences are found between the two (Giannell, 1966). It would seem that assuming either a "butch" or "fem" role in a lesbian relationship is more closely related to sexual identification than sex-role behavior, a distinction which has not as yet been made clear. Support for this idea comes from a study by Howard (1962) in which it was found that "butches" had a more masculine sexual identification than did "fems", and Hammer (1968) had described the etiology of the "butch" lesbian as different from that of the "fem" lesbian. It may be that "butch" and "fem" lesbians are similar to heterosexual women who perceive themselves as masculine or feminine and that their etiological differences are similar to the etiological differences of these heterosexual women. An alternative view (Sawyer, 1965) is that lesbians often switch roles, suggesting flexibility in sexual identification for at least some lesbians.

Homosexuality as a Pathological State

The assumption that homosexuality is necessarily a pathological state, as purported by psychoanalytic theories,

has been inherent in most research dealing with lesbianism. Unfortunately, this assumption was often given empirical support since the only available subjects were patients of therapists (Rosen, 1974). This assumption is now being challenged by a number of investigators (Riess, 1974; Saghir & Robins, 1973; Freedman, 1967; Thompson, McCandless, & Strickland, 1971). A degree of success was attained when the American Psychiatric Association in December, 1973 decided to delete homosexuality from its official list of mental disorders. The Association now differentiates between those homosexuals who are content with their homosexuality and those who are distressed by their sexual orientation and demonstrate some impairment in social functioning.

In conclusion, systematic, valid studies on lesbianism are clearly missing from the literature. Future studies which focus on the developmental and social aspects of lesbianism should treat the topic as a separate entity from male homosexuality. Care should be taken to allow for the diversity among homosexual women. Attempts should be made to overcome the problem of biased sampling, and generalizations from the data must be carefully limited to only those women for whom the findings are clearly appropriate. And finally, investigators should examine their own biases concerning homosexuality, carefully guarding against common stereotypes and assumptions of psychopathology. If these precautions are taken, it may well be that the data will suggest a theory of "homosexualities" instead of "homosexu-

ality", as has been suggested elsewhere (Hyde & Rosenberg, 1976; Aldrich, 1955).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Historical Overview

Although homosexuality has been repeatedly discussed in literature throughout the ages, little effort was made to understand its causes until the middle of the nineteenth century (Klaich, 1974). Before then, it was considered a sin or a crime; as such, lesbians were left in the hands of God and the courts.

In 1868 the first theory of homosexuality was advanced by Carl Heinrich Ulrichs, a German lawyer who protested his country's harsh laws against homosexuals (Caprio, 1954). Ulrichs believed that homosexuals had the body of one sex but the mind and soul of the opposite sex. His basic contention was that homosexuality was congenital and, as such, a "sickness". The majority of investigators who followed agreed with Ulrichs (e.g., Westphal, Montegazza, Charcot, Magnon, Chevalier, Kraft-Ebing, Albert Moll, Bloch, Hirschfeld, Ellis), though some of them (notably Ellis, Kraft-Ebing, and Chevalier) suggested factors other than a congenital disease as also important. Largely through the work of these individuals, lesbians began to pass out of the

hands of God and the courts and into the hands of the medical men where, according to Kalich (1974), they remain even today.

Physiological Theories of Lesbianism

Although homosexuality is no longer considered to be a congenital disease by the majority of theorists, studies investigating possible physiological differences between homosexuals and heterosexuals continue. The Physiological theories will be discussed below.

Physiological factors have usually been dismissed as possible causative factors associated with lesbianism. However, two recent studies (Loraine, Ismail, Adamopoulos & Dove, 1970; Loraine, Adamopoulos, Kirkham, Ismail & Dove, 1971) involving a small number of homosexuals suggest that abnormalities in endocrine function may occur in both male and female homosexuals. Another approach has been taken by Kallmann (1952) who theorized that homosexuality is a genetically transmitted disease. While he studied only male homosexuality, the results are interesting. Ninety-five male twin pairs were selected in which at least one member was known to be exclusively or predominantly homosexual. Of the 44 identical twin pairs studied, both members in every pair were found to be homosexual in only 40 percent of the cases. While this theory has not been entirely discounted, there are many good arguments that seem to negate it (Freedman, 1971). For one thing, if homosexuality is

carried via a recessive gene, this trait should have died out long ago, assuming that homosexually oriented persons marry and reproduce with less frequency than heterosexually oriented persons. Also, most hereditary diseases have a rate of prevalence of 1 in 10,000; the ratio of individuals whose predominant sexual outlet is homosexuality to the rest of the population in the United States is at least 500 in 10,000 (Freedman, 1971). Freedman continues:

Similarly, other hypothesized physiological differences have been negated. This is so with regard to endocrinal balance, chromosomes [or nuclear sex], and body build. With respect to endocrinal [or hormonal] balance, it has been established that hormones influence the individual's sex 'drive' but not the direction of his sexual behavior. . . Likewise, when individuals who are predominantly homosexually oriented are compared with heterosexually oriented individuals on the basis of chromosomes or nuclear sex, no differences are found. . . Similar lack of differences are found in comparisons of body builds in homosexually oriented and heterosexually oriented individuals. Thus, at present, biological theories of homosexual etiology have been largely discounted in favor of psychological and sociological theories. (p. 28)

It may be that while genetic factors may predispose an individual to a homosexual orientation, they actually play a small part in determining sexual orientation in adult life.

Psychological Theories of Lesbianism

There are three major psychological approaches to the study of lesbianism. They are: Psychoanalysis, Behaviorism, and Existentialism.

Psychoanalytic Theory

At the turn of the century, there began a shift in emphasis to a psychological explanation of homosexuality. Sigmund Freud is perhaps the best known of the pioneers in this area. According to Freud (1933, 1948), a female's libido at birth is composed of both heterosexual and homosexual possibilities. She is, in fact, potentially bisexual. While growing up, she must successfully pass through several stages of sexual development in order to become heterosexually oriented. Thus, there are different ways that a girl can become homosexual; how she does relates to Freud's concept of penis envy. This concept states that all women have an unconscious wish to have been born with a penis.

Initially, the female infant, like the male infant, is erotically focused on her mother and her sexual activity is centered on her clitoris. This is the phallic or pre-Oedipus phase. It is possible for the child to remain fixated at this stage by continuing to choose her mother as the love object, later projecting her erotic feelings for her mother onto other women. In so doing, she unconsciously has such an intense wish for a penis that she denies that she does not have one and is said to have a masculinity complex.

It is during the phallic phase, however, that most girls discover that they do not possess a penis, which results in a castration complex. In order to resolve this,

the girl must transfer her libidinal attachment from her mother to her father and her erotic sensitivity from her clitoris to her vagina. She realizes that her mother also does not have a penis and blames her for her own loss. Her identification with her mother is fused with contempt and rivalry. If she is unable to accept these feelings, she may turn to lesbianism as a defense against her hostility towards her mother. If not, she rejects her mother and adopts her father as a love object and wants to have a baby by him (a symbolic penis). In so doing, she enters the feminine Oedipus situation, a phase of passive sexuality. Since she cannot have a baby by her father, she resolves the dilemma by identifying with her mother while searching for a father-substitute male to be her object choice. This situation will eventually lead to overt heterosexuality. If, however, the girl's attachment to her father has been unusually strong, instead of projecting her need for a baby/penis onto other men she may project the fear of incest onto them, and thus reject all men. In this instance she is said to have an Oedipus complex, again resulting in a lesbian orientation.

It is also possible for a girl to work through all these various stages of sexual development and later experience a revival of the pre-Oedipus or Oedipus situation and consequently regress into homosexuality.

In any event, Freud viewed homosexuality as the result of fixation at an early stage of sexual development and,

hence, an expression of sexual immaturity. As such, he felt that it was basically a narcissistic expression of self-love, probably deriving from the mother's early profound love for the child. Recent investigators have suggested that this may be a positive aspect of lesbianism since most heterosexual women do not value themselves (Hyde & Rosenberg, 1976).

There are many variants of this basically Freudian theme, ranging from mother/father fixations and castration complexes (Ernest Jones, 1927; Deutsch, 1944, 1948; Fenichel, 1945; Bacon, 1956; Wilbur, 1965; Romm, 1965, cited in Rosen, 1974) to fears of pregnancy and childbirth (Rado, 1933; Kaye et al., 1967, cited in Rosen, 1974) and deprivation of oral gratification (Deutsch, 1944). Notably, Deutsch and Bacon, along with Freud, have stressed the enactment of the mother-child relationships they consider to be characteristic of lesbian relationships. Since many of these theorists have reformulated the basic Freudian framework of lesbianism, a detailed analysis of their theories will be omitted. Only those theories which differ significantly from that of Freud or which are of historical value will be considered.

Alfred Adler, a contemporary of Freud, suggested that lesbianism is one of many ways in which women react to their biological inferiority (Caprio, 1954). His masculine protest theory differs from Freud's theory in that it contends that women do not necessarily wish to possess a penis but,

instead, envy men for the many advantages they have over women. Lesbians particularly express their protest in the form of anti-male psychology which develops into a preference for their own sex.

In the first monograph ever written on female homosexuality, De Saussure (1929) concluded that lesbian women identify with their fathers and are unable to accept their womanhood because of "penis envy", again expounding a basic Freudian notion. More recently, Edmund Bergler (1951) has postulated a theory of oral regression whereby lesbians cannot cope with being weaned from the breast and therefore seek another woman's clitoris which they unconsciously identify with the nipple. He felt that lesbian women are masochists and that they cannot possibly be happy because a clitoris is not a nipple.

Frank S. Caprio (1954) wrote the first book devoted solely to lesbianism that was mass-marketed and read widely by the general public. In this book, entitled Female Homosexuality, he maintained that lesbianism is indeed a sickness, one which is capable of influencing the stability of our social structure. According to him, narcissism is the primary drive behind lesbianism. It is noteworthy that this classic book is based on data about a limited number of patients and prostitutes, including two cases taken directly from romance magazines (Klaich, 1974).

In an article entitled "Growing up Female", Bruno Bettelheim (1964) explained lesbianism as a result of the

incompatibility of the 19th century idea that women belong in the home and today's modern technological society.

Charlotte Wolff (1971) has presented a variant of the psychoanalytic model based on her study of more than 100 nonpatient lesbians who were matched with a control group of heterosexual women for family background, profession and social class. In keeping with Freud, she believes that both male and female infants are initially attracted to the mother. The girl soon realizes, however, that mother values males, not females. Since mother is the love object, the girl has two possible strategies for gaining her mother's love. She may try to become feminine like her mother in order to attract the superior male and outdo her depriving mother. Males are loved or manipulated only as a substitute. If this is her strategy, she is said to be heterosexually oriented. On the other hand, she may take a competitive, masculine strategy by trying to become like the superior sex to deal with the insufficiency of her mother's love. In this instance, she develops a lesbian orientation. According to Wolff, "Emotional incest with the mother is indeed the very essence of lesbianism" (p. 72). The lesbian is competing with males for her mother's love. Wolff also noted that men seem to be alienated from those lesbians whose fathers are often absent from the home, and many lesbians have such fathers according to her.

Irving Bieber (1962) has summarized the mass of psychoanalytic theories:

All psychoanalytic theories assume that adult homosexuality is pathologic and assign differing weights to constitutional and experiential determinants. All agree that the experiential determinants are in the main rooted in childhood and are primarily related to the family. (p. 18)

The bulk of experimental literature that deals with lesbianism from a psychoanalytic point of view is based on the case histories and clinical data of lesbian patients (Robertiello, 1959; LaDame, 1971; Khan, 1964; Caprio, 1954; Brody, 1943), information that is biased in terms of psychological pathology and difficult to refute. All would be suggestive of an early socialization process that differs from that of heterosexual women.

Behavioristic Theory

According to the Behaviorists, all animals, including humans, are inherently capable of homosexual activities. Environmental factors yield the greatest influence on choice of sex object.

According to Coleman (1972), there are five basic causes of homosexuality: 1) early homosexual experiences and their reinforcement, 2) negative conditioning of heterosexual behavior, 3) being reared as a member of the opposite sex, 4) pathogenic family patterns, and 5) blocking of sexual expression.

In support of the first of these, Donald Cory (1964) conducted an ethnographic study of lesbianism and concluded that it is a learned condition that is established when experimentation proves to be sufficiently pleasurable.

According to Coleman (1972), however, it is doubtful that early homosexual experiences lead to the later development of homosexuality except where they are reinforced by continual pleasurable repetition and/or meet emotional needs.

The second proposed cause, the negative conditioning of heterosexual behavior, may take many forms. These range from the girl being ridiculed when attempting to approach members of the opposite sex or parental punishment for heterosexual experimentation to unfortunate heterosexual relations (rape) or the experience of being accused of homosexuality by a significant person.

Consider the third hypothesized cause. It may be true that some homosexual women were reared as a member of the opposite sex, but this may also be true of some heterosexual women. It may be that this situation is more predictive of a masculine identification among heterosexual and homosexual women than an indication of later sexual preference.

Coleman's fourth factor, pathogenic family patterns, has been studied by Kremer and Ritkin (1969). Twenty-five lesbian girls between 12 and 17 years of age served as subjects. They report:

The most striking aspect of this study. . . was their family background. Not one of these girls had grown up in a nuclear-type family unit that maintained its stability over a substantial period of the girl's development. (p. 93)

Similar statements could be made regarding the family patterns of many heterosexual women as well.

The last proposed cause, the blocking of sexual ex-

pression, finds some support in the anthropological studies cited by Ollendorff (1966) that show sex-negating societies to have a much higher incidence of homosexuality than sexually permissive ones. Homosexual patterns also often develop during adulthood when individuals are placed in situations where heterosexual behavior is not possible, such as a prison or correctional institution. Since the only sexual role that is considered appropriate during early adolescence in this society is abstinence, and since the biological sex drive is intense during this period, it is likely that sexual tensions, coupled with curiosity, often lead to experimentation with members of one's own sex or to fantasies about such activities in connection with masturbation. In some instances such experimentation or fantasies may lead to pleasurable reinforcement and to the establishment of homosexual patterns.

Simply stated by the Behaviorists, sexual preference is learned. As such, it is assumed that the mechanisms of male and female homosexuality are developmentally similar. Hyde and Rosenberg (1976) feel that this is unlikely in view of the different experiences and status of men and women in our culture. In any event, since homosexuals are subject to special stresses that may precipitate psychopathology, behaviorists would very likely expect female homosexuals to be somewhat less well adjusted than female heterosexuals, perhaps engaging in escape behaviors more frequently.

Existentialistic Theory

The most prolific Existential writer to concern herself with the topic of lesbianism was Simone de Beauvoir (1952). Rather than delving into the past as an explanation of lesbianism, she emphasizes the importance of free choice. People can change their view of self and the world at any time. The important thing is that they be authentic, accepting full responsibility for their own actions. She feels that lesbians are probably superior to other women because it takes more emotional strength to make and maintain that kind of decision in the face of social oppression. Women feel inferior because the requirements of femininity actually belittle them (Beauvoir, 1963). Resenting their roles as sexual objects, lesbians refuse to accept the conditions of passivity and docility inherent in their feminine roles.

A recent book, Lesbianism: A Study of Female Homosexuality, by David Rosen (1974), summarizes the views of many of the above theorists by discussing many causal factors that have been related to lesbianism. These include: fear of growing up and assuming adult responsibilities; fear of dominance and destruction; fear of rejection; fear of the opposite sex; fear of castration and of the penis; the desire to conquer and possess the mother; neurotic dependency; heterosexual trauma (including rape); seduction in adolescence by an older female; first sexual experience with someone of the same sex and finding it pleas-

urable; tomboy behavior in early childhood; prolonged absence of the mother; masturbation with a resulting clitoral fixation; social factors (such as heterosexual taboos and unisexual, all female groups); and physical factors (genetic, constitutional, and endocrine abnormalities). These are predictions of the theoreticians. What information does the experimental evidence provide us with?

Empirical Evidence

As indicated earlier, most of the studies on homosexuality have been concerned with male homosexuals and the findings have been generalized to include females. Homosexuality in general has been assumed to be a pathological state as a result of these studies, but Freedman (1971) believes that women who engage in homosexual behavior are better adjusted psychologically than are homosexual men. Until recently the few studies that were done on lesbianism were usually centered on the patients of therapists (Rosen, 1974) and were, hence, negatively biased. These "studies" include the works of Freud (1948), Ernest Jones (1927), De Saussure (1929), Deutsch (1948), Fromm and Elonen (1951), Caprio (1954), Bacon (1958), and Kaye et al. (1967), and usually consisted of the patients' case histories. One is reminded of Ernest van den Haag's much quoted statement: when a colleague said to him, "All my homosexual patients are sick," he replied, "So are all my heterosexual patients." (cited in Kalich, 1974)

Kinsey et al. (1953) was perhaps the first to interview "normal", nonpatient women regarding their sexual behavior. According to these investigators:

The data indicate that the factors leading to homosexual behavior are 1) the basic physiologic capacity of every mammal to respond to any sufficient stimulus; 2) the accident which leads an individual into his or her first sexual experience with a person of the same sex; 3) the conditioning effects of such experience; and 4) the indirect but powerful conditioning which the opinions of other persons and the social codes may have on an individual's decision to accept or reject this type of sexual contact. (p. 447)

Studies which have investigated the possible psychological differences between homosexual and heterosexual women have focused on three areas: 1) psychological pathology, 2) personality traits, and 3) behavior. The findings in each of these areas will be summarized below.

Psychological Pathology

Studies investigating psychological pathology in relation to lesbianism have utilized both projective and non-projective techniques. The studies that have used projective psychodiagnostic instruments have focused upon possible evidence for the Freudian theory of homosexuality (Riess et al., 1974), but little support has been gained (Arman, 1960; Hopkins, 1970; Fromm & Elonen, 1951). In a review of this body of literature, Riess et al. (1974) conclude:

. . . there is evidence from projective test studies that female homosexuals have inhibited emotionality, disturbed maternal relations, and anxiety about the feminine role. However, their protocols cannot be easily distinguished

from those of heterosexual women. . . There is little from the projective literature to suggest that female homosexuality is a specifiable clinical entity. (p. 77)

In studies utilizing nonprojective techniques, several investigators have found no differences between groups of heterosexual and homosexual women in personal or psychological adjustment (Miller & Hannum, 1963; Freedman, 1967; Thompson et al., 1971; Wilson & Green, 1971). While two studies (Kenyon, 1968a; Eisinger et al., 1972) did find lesbians to be more neurotic than heterosexual controls, these studies have been criticized because of biased sampling. Both samples consisted solely of members of a homophile organization. It may be that the act of joining such an organization is in itself associated with neuroticism, though Freedman (1967) also investigated members of a homophile organization and found no difference between homosexual and heterosexual women on a scale of neuroticism. Siegelman (1972) has further criticized Kenyon's work on the grounds that he did not use a purely homosexual sample as defined by Kinsey and as is customary in the literature (subjects are usually classified as homosexual only if they have a score of 4 or above on the Kinsey scale). Siegelman has also pointed out that although the lesbians' mean scores on neuroticism were higher than his controls, they were lower than the scores of a mixed group of university students, and much lower than scores of a neurotic sample. Other investigators have studied nonpatient, volunteer lesbians and have not found lesbians to be more neurotic (Saghir, 1971; Siegelman,

1972; hopkins, 1969). Wilson and Green (1971) have even found heterosexual women to be more neurotic than homosexual women.

Thus, there is little evidence, either from studies utilizing projective or nonprojective techniques, to suggest that lesbian women are more neurotic or more psychologically pathological in any way than are heterosexual women. These findings are in direct opposition to the traditional psychoanalytic view that homosexuality is associated with deep regression and concordant limitations in personality functioning.

Personality Traits

If female homosexuality is not a pathological state, do personality traits differentiate homosexual and heterosexual women? Investigators have found lesbians to be higher than heterosexual women on such positive traits as autonomy, aggressiveness, independence, inner-directedness, work satisfaction, self-confidence, dominance, endurance, capacity for status, intellectual efficiency, resilience, self-sufficiency, composure, self-acceptance, goal-directedness, tender-mindedness and self-achievement (Giannell, 1966; Freedman, 1967; Hopkins, 1969; Thompson et al., 1971; Wilson & Green, 1971; Siegelman, 1972; Steinman, 1974). Lesbians are found to be lower than heterosexual women on such negative traits as depression and need for deference (Giannell, 1966; Siegelman, 1972). Many of these traits

would suggest rejection of the traditional feminine role thus being supportive of the Existential view that lesbians may actually be superior to heterosexual women because of the personal strength required to make and maintain the decision for a culturally deviant (non-feminine) life style.

Behavior

There are few experimental studies based on the behavioral differences that exist between homosexual and heterosexual women, though there is some indication that lesbians tend to be more self-concerned and engage in escape behaviors more often than do heterosexual women. In a study by Thompson et al. (1971), no differences in personal adjustment were found between heterosexual and homosexual women, but the lesbian subjects were significantly more likely to have been in psychotherapy. Likewise, there have been fairly consistent reports of more suicide attempts, alcohol abuse, and drug abuse among lesbians (Saghir et al., 1970; Saghir & Robins, 1971; Swanson et al., 1972). It may be that lesbians engage in escape behaviors and seek help more frequently than do heterosexual women because they must respond to societal pressures which are not often encountered by heterosexual women.

In summary, there is little evidence to suggest differences between homosexual and heterosexual women in terms of psychological pathology. Differences in personality traits have consistently favored homosexual women, sup-

porting an Existential rather than psychoanalytic viewpoint. Yet, while homosexual women are not "abnormal" per se, they may engage in escape behaviors and seek help more often in order to cope with situational stress and societal pressures.

Etiological Factors Associated with Lesbianism

Family Relationships

Of the many factors suggested as "causes" of lesbianism, family relationships are among the most frequent. Mozes (1952) has suggested that pre-homosexual female children either fear and hate their father while being overly attached to their mother or they completely identify with their father while being jealous of their mother. Wilbur (1965) believes that the fathers of lesbians are typically weak, unassertive, detached, and pallid while their mothers are typically domineering, hostile and antiheterosexual. Beyond these theoretical speculations, the empirical data are quite confounding. In a fairly recent study by Swanson et al. (1972), no major historic factors were found to be specifically related to homosexuality when comparing homosexual and nonhomosexual female psychiatric patients. Similarly, the Daughters of Bilitis Questionnaire (1959), which was reported in the Ladder, found that its respondents had fairly conventional family backgrounds. These studies are exceptional, however, in that most of the literature

which will be discussed is filled with data supporting the contention that family dynamics and childhood history are directly related to sexual orientation. This literature has focused on five areas: 1) the childhood of the daughter in relation to both parents; 2) the parental relationship; 3) the father-daughter relationship; 4) the mother-daughter relationship; and 5) sibling relationships.

The relationship of the child to the mother and father is particularly stressed. For instance, parent-child friction has been reportedly higher for lesbians than for heterosexual women in a college population (Loney, 1973), along with family inferiority and parental rejection of the child. Others have found that lesbians more often report an unhappy childhood (Kenyon, 1968b) and more often felt that their parents did not like them (Gundlach and Riess, 1967). They are also more likely to not be close to either of their parents and, likewise, not want to model themselves after either parent (Siegelman, 1974; Bene, 1965). But while one study found that almost all of their lesbian subjects had a strong preference for one parent over the other (about half preferred the mother and half the father) (Simon & Gagnon, 1967b), Loney (1973) found no difference between homosexual and heterosexual women for preferring one of their parents.

The parental relationship itself has been cited as a possible etiological factor. Unhappiness and inter-parental friction have been reported (Kenyon, 1968b; Loney, 1973; Siegelman, 1974), as well as a higher incidence of broken

homes (Kenyon, 1968b; Simon & Gagnon, 1967).

There is considerable evidence that the lesbian child had a negative relationship with her father (Loney, 1973; Thompson et al., 1973; Kenyon, 1968b), but the exact nature of this relationship is hard to depict. Much of the evidence supports the speculations of Mozes (1952) and Wilbur (1965). Fathers of lesbians have been reported as weak (Bene, 1965), hostile (Kremer & Rifkin, 1969), exploitative (Kaye et al., 1967; Kremer & Rifkin, 1969), neglecting and churlish (Loney, 1972), less loving and more rejecting (Siegelman, 1974). As would be expected, lesbians have reported that they are fearful of their fathers (Bene, 1965; Kaye et al., 1967) and feel hostile towards them (Bene, 1965), agreeing with Mozes' (1952) initial father image. On the other hand, lesbians have also reported that their fathers were close-binding and intimate (Kaye, 1971), as well as overly possessive, physically interested in them, and discouraging of adult development (Kaye et al., 1967). This description would coincide with Mozes' (1952) alternate lesbian father.

It is perhaps even more difficult to precisely describe the "typical" lesbian mother, though reports of poor mother-daughter relationships are frequent (Kenyon, 1968b; Loney, 1973). As mentioned earlier, Wilbur (1965) assumed that the mother would be domineering, hostile, and antiheterosexual. Empirical evidence does suggest that the mother was less loving (Siegelman, 1974; Kaye et al., 1967; Bene,

1965) and at least did not encourage femininity (Kaye et al., 1965), but the data is ambivalent concerning dominance. Two studies report consistently domineering mothers (Bene, 1965; Kaye et al., 1967), but two others report that the mothers were not dominant (Siegelman, 1974; Kremer & Rifkin, 1969). Instead, they were overburdened and ill-equipped for their responsibilities. The mothers have also been described as more demanding (Siegelman, 1974), martyred and preoccupied (Loney, 1973), and puritanical (Kaye et al., 1967). As a result, the lesbians report feeling hostility toward their mothers (Bene, 1965). Interestingly, Kenyon (1968b) has reported that the mothers of lesbian women were more likely to have died and were more likely to have had a positive psychiatric history. Much of this data seems to support a hostile relationship between mother and daughter, which is one of the alternate relationships described by Mozes (1952), but none is suggestive of the over attachment he suggests.

Sibling relationships have also been suggested as important, but little substantial information is available. In a nationwide survey by Gundlach and Riess (1967), it was found that lesbians were more likely to be "only" children than were heterosexual women. If they did have siblings, they were more likely to be the first-born and were least likely to be the last-born. They were also more likely to not have brothers. Kenyon (1968b) also investigated ordinal position in relation to lesbianism, however, and found that

it was not significant. Thus, more data is needed in this area. One factor that has appeared fairly consistently is that many lesbians report that their parents had really desired a son when they were born (Bene, 1965; Gundlach & Riess, 1967; Kenyon, 1968b). Whether this is a perceived or actual phenomenon is unknown.

Other Hypothesized Causes

Many other causative factors have been suggested by single investigators. Kaye et al. (1967) has pointed to a history of threats and punishment for sex play with boys as a prominent factor among his patient sample of lesbians. Hedblom (1972) reports that 95% of his subjects experienced homosexual fantasies before the age of 20. Other factors that have been found in studies are rape at a young age (Gundlach & Riess, 1967), fear of and/or aversion to the male sex organs (Kaye et al., 1967), struggle for independence (Loney, 1973), fear of pregnancy (Kaye et al., 1967), lack of sexual instruction from the mother, a rejecting family attitude toward sex, and a family history of homosexuality (Kenyon, 1968b). In addition to these, Dengrove (1961) has speculated that loneliness, sexual frustration, fear of men, and feelings of inferiority are also conducive to lesbianism in adulthood.

Another area of interest is that of religion. Atia and Muftic (1957) studied a patient population of lesbians and, as a result, have suggested a correlation between the

rigidity and strictness of religion and the rate of female homosexuality. This appears to be an area that has been largely neglected since that time, although Kenyon (1968b) has found a greater rejection of religion among lesbians.

The obscure and diverse results above are overwhelming. Many of the conflicting results will probably not become compatible until the differences that obviously exist among lesbians are explored.

As is evident from the above extensive review of the literature, there has been considerable interest in female homosexuality as it compares to female heterosexuality. Yet, little investigation has been given the differences that may exist among homosexual women. It is unlikely that they are a homogeneous group, and meaningful research in the area must consider differences that do exist before generalizations can be made. Most of the research has been either clinically oriented (examining "personality" characteristics) or developmentally oriented (examining etiological factors) and has compared homosexual and heterosexual groups as if each has been comprised of a homogeneous sample. While the clinical and developmental approaches have merit, they neglect an important point. Individuals are not only influenced by their personalities and the culmination of their past experiences, but they presently interact with other people to whom they respond. Thus, a social psychological approach that takes into account present functioning and interpersonal interactions is needed to examine differ-

ences that may exist among homosexual women. The theoretical implications of role-learning theory may have relevance for such an approach.

Role-Learning Theory

Individuals in a group are differentiated from one another by their respective role relationships which are a part of the normative structure of the group. The term "role" designates the functional behavior displayed by an individual as a product of the interaction between her* own personality and the situational position she occupies (Sarbin & Allen, 1968).

An important aspect of an individual's personality is her sexual identification. Traditionally, masculine sexual identification has implied such characteristics as aggressiveness, assertiveness, and independence, whereas a feminine sexual identification has been associated with more passive and dependent behavior. As a young girl develops, she presumably assumes a self identity that is more or less feminine in nature, and her feminine behaviors are reinforced by the significant people in her life, leading eventually to a feminine sexual identity (how I see myself) in adulthood. Since she has been socialized to play a feminine sex-role (how I behave), she will be well equipped to enact the traditional roles assigned to her as a wife and mother.

*As the proposal relates to female subjects, for the purpose of this paper only the feminine pronoun will be used.

It is possible, however, for a young girl to assume a masculine sexual identity, with the process for this opposite sex identity being similar in many respects. With reinforcement of masculine behaviors, the behavior will continue and will likely be incorporated into the girl's self image. As she matures, her self identity becomes more masculine than feminine, and adaptation to play a traditionally feminine role as an adult is difficult. Similarly, if the child is encouraged in and reinforced for both masculine and feminine traits, she will likely develop androgynous sex-role behavior as an adult. Thus, for women with masculine, feminine, and androgynous sex-role behaviors, it is the degree of overlap that exists between the requirements of their adult sexual roles and the characteristics associated with their sexual identification that determines the effectiveness of their role enactment. As contended by role learning theorists (Sarbin & Allen, 1968), certain individuals are best suited for certain roles, and the degree of role flexibility is directly related to the past social experiences of the individual.

Role differentiation in human groups is usually an emergent product of learned behavioral habits by each participant and the manner in which each one's behavior affects other members of the organized group or social system. There is an important distinction, however, between role learning that occurs in early childhood and that which occurs in later childhood and adulthood (Sarbin & Allen,

1968). During early childhood, learning consists primarily of learning ascribed roles, such as to act appropriately according to age and sex. The child is taught the role by others in society, both through imitation of appropriate models and reinforcement by significant others in the child's life. The child has little input concerning the desirability of learning the role. Thus, role learning in early childhood is largely involuntary and is accomplished through the subtle processes of socialization. By contrast, role learning in adulthood consists mostly of learning achieved roles, or roles that are not granted at birth nor are they necessary for the child's development; they are, instead, roles that are chosen by the individual who will assume the role. The adult has strong motivation to learn the role; thus, it is not necessary to teach her to want to learn it. A further distinction may be made by referring to learning during early childhood as the process of socialization, while referring to learning of social roles in late childhood and adulthood as enculturation (Sarbin & Allen, 1968). Thus, the difference between socialization and enculturation points to a distinction between kinds of learning that occur in two periods of a person's life. Socialization takes place primarily in early childhood, and its object is the acquisition of the elements of ascribed roles. Enculturation occurs in later childhood and in adulthood, and its object is the learning of achieved, nongranted roles.

With practice and the attainment of expertise, it is assumed that role enactment becomes more effective and less conscious on the part of the individual. Thus, when an individual consistently learns a particular role early in life (socialization), it is predicted that the person becomes increasingly adept in her role enactment and her identification with the role becomes less conscious. Thus, it is more difficult for the individual to change roles or to assume roles that are inconsistent with her self-identity.

As noted earlier, it is commonly accepted that both personality and situational factors contribute to the roles assumed by an individual (Sarbin & Allen, 1968). It is likely that personality factors, such as sexual identity, are more important for role enactment by some individuals (while motivating all individuals at some time), while situational factors, such as the stimulus person(s) with whom the individual is interacting, are more important for others (and all at some times). Bem's research (1972, 1975a, 1975b) in the area of sex-role behavior concurs with this idea that individuals tend to exhibit a preference for either personal or situational motives for behavior. She has found that individuals who assume either masculine or feminine role behaviors, but not both, are more behaviorally restricted across a variety of situations than are individuals who have androgynous role behaviors. Thus, androgynous people are more flexible in their responses to a variety of situational and role requirements, whereas masculine and

feminine people are more restricted by their sex-roles. That is, androgynous people are willing to assume a variety of roles and to perform a variety of behaviors which more conventional sex-typed and cross-sex-typed individuals consider inappropriate for themselves.

Another important point to be made here is that distinction can be drawn between one's sexual identification, sex-role behavior, and sexual preference. Sexual preference is not necessarily a direct result of sexual identification or sex-role behavior, although it does seem likely that they are related. If lesbians tend to assume a more masculine sexual identity than do heterosexual women, it is also true that there are heterosexual women who have a masculine sexual identity as well. It is likely that adaptation to the traditional feminine roles is difficult for these women, regardless of their sexual preference. Yet, it cannot be denied that some heterosexual women who have masculine sexual identities apparently achieve at least a minimally comfortable balance in their lives while maintaining a heterosexual lifestyle. Sexual identification and sexual preference are unrelated in such cases, perhaps due to more flexibility in sex-role behavior. That the two may be related for the lesbian might be explained by a hypothesis that sexual preference for lesbians develops either before or in conjunction with the development of sexual identification.

Consider the concepts of socialized and enculturated role learning. Based on information from interviews which

were conducted in preparation for the present investigation, there seem to be some homosexual women who believe that they were homosexual or had very definite homosexual tendencies at a very early age (4 or 5). These women reported that they could recall having fantasies of a homosexual nature at this time during their early childhood. Sarbin and Allen (1968) have pointed to the importance of children's imaginary play activities as a medium through which roles are practiced. Thus, it would appear that these women as very young children began assuming a homosexual role through the process of socialization. Again, this is distinct from simply exhibiting masculine behaviors or believing that they are masculine at that age. The reasons behind their preferences are obscure, but they are probably learned rather than innate preferences (perhaps as a result of early sexual experimentation with the same sex, resulting in a pleasurable experience). It is possible to speculate as to the outcome of such early feelings. As the child becomes aware of the inappropriateness of her feelings (it becomes obvious to her that females do not grow up to marry other females), this awareness may encourage her to assume a masculine sexual identity and adopt masculine behaviors so that she may be more like the males for whom attraction for females is acceptable. In other words, early attraction to the same sex may lead to an early rejection of feminine traits to the extent that all feminine interests are denied (or never learned) and there is a total acceptance of masculine

traits. The concept of role modeling is still important here for the development of sexual identification, but in this instance it is believed that the child is probably not imitating a same-sex model. In fact, masculine traits and behaviors may be learned in exaggerated form to compensate for her obvious biological difference from the male figures she imitates (thus, the term "mack-truck bull dyke", used in the gay subculture to describe a very "butch" individual). Once the cycle has begun it is easy to imagine the two reinforcing each other -- the more masculine her sexual identity and behavior, the more she prefers females, and the more she prefers females, the more masculine she becomes. Upon reaching adulthood, her preference for same-sex partners and her masculine sex-role behavior and sexual identity are firmly established and she will likely be uncomfortable or inept in assuming a sexual role other than that of a "butch" lesbian.

Not all lesbians consistently assume a "butch" role, of course. For those women who do not, the dynamics underlying their homosexuality may be very different from those that were tentatively hypothesized for the socialized lesbian above. These women very likely chose to assume a homosexual role after having completed the early socialization training which partially consisted of teaching them stereotypically feminine behaviors. Their early socialization training would be similar to the training received by heterosexual women, leading to a sexual preference for the oppo-

site sex, a feminine sexual identity, and predominantly feminine sex-role behaviors. It is very possible that they experienced a homosexual encounter or some type of exposure to gay life either in late childhood or adulthood and subsequently decided to pursue a homosexual lifestyle. Thus, opportunity for or exposure to a homosexual lifestyle/experience is an important determining factor in their eventual enactment of a homosexual role. Notice that the process of assuming a homosexual role for them is a very different one from that of the socialized lesbian in that they are making a decision themselves much later in life to assume a role that they have not been socialized to assume, as evidenced by their lack of sexual attraction to members of the same sex earlier in life. These lesbians may be said to have arrived at a homosexual lifestyle through a process of enculturation.

Lesbianism, by definition, implies a rejection of the traditional feminine roles in that a lesbian is not the wife of a man nor the mother of his children. Theoretically, this rejection occurred early in the lives of the socialized lesbians, too early, in fact, to allow them to adequately learn feminine behaviors, limiting them to a masculine sexual identity and masculine behaviors in adulthood. Enculturated lesbians would not have experienced this rejection of the traditional feminine roles until much later in their lives, after they had had ample opportunity to adequately learn feminine behaviors and traits. Their option for a

homosexual lifestyle may encourage them towards a more masculine orientation since their decision to become a homosexual implicitly implies some rejection of the feminine role, but they still have the benefit of their early training in a feminine orientation as well. Thus, they would be expected to be androgynous in sex-role behavior and more flexible in sexual identification, largely responding to the preferences of their current lesbian partners. If an enculturated lesbian has a partner who prefers the "butch" role (an indication of masculine sexual identification), she may accommodate her by assuming the "fem" role (an indication of feminine sexual identification) and, of course, she could just as easily adjust if the opposite situation were true. With the recent trends in the Feminist Movement, however, there is less pressure among gay women to maintain distinct role relationships; thus, it is probably becoming increasingly common for enculturated lesbians to assume neither the "butch" nor the "fem" role, but for each partner to be approximately equal in their dominance and submission towards the other. Assuming that the theory for socialized lesbians is true, however, women who have become homosexual through a process of socialization would be expected to consistently maintain a "butch" identity and resist alternatives presented by the Women's Movement. Although they may consciously agree with the ideas of equality for all women as proposed by the Women's Movement, it would probably be very difficult for them to assume a less dominant stance inter-

personally as they relate to their sexual partners.

This theoretical scheme suggests some other factors that may discriminate among lesbian women. Since the enculturated lesbian very likely decides to become homosexual after the occurrence of a definite external event (a sexual encounter with another woman or introduction into the gay community), she may be able to deny any personal attribution concerning her homosexuality, particularly if she has previously been fairly content living a "normal" heterosexual life. In other words, she can rationalize her homosexual behavior as a direct consequence of a concrete occurrence. While she undoubtedly must acknowledge her own voluntary participation, especially as her homosexual relationships continue, she may view her homosexuality as a small part of her self identity since her identity was probably established prior to the onset of her homosexual behavior. This would not be so for a socialized lesbian who can recall lesbian feelings very early in life and must consequently make a personal attribution concerning her homosexuality. The processes of socialization are, after all, often very subtle and are not easily discerned, either by the child when she tries to mentally recreate her early childhood experiences and feelings. Thus, it would be much more difficult for a socialized lesbian to pinpoint an external reason for her homosexual behavior and thereby externalize the blame. This reasoning suggests that another distinction between the two groups may be that enculturated lesbians make

impersonal attributions concerning their sexual behavior and present lifestyle, while the attributions made by socialized lesbians are very personal and their sexual practices are indeed a very vital part of their self-concepts. If so, enculturated lesbians would be more likely to readily engage in heterosexual activities than would socialized lesbians because the sexual behavior of enculturated lesbians remains distinct from their definition of self. Both her androgynous sex-role behavior, which allows her greater latitude behaviorally, and her impersonal attributions concerning her homosexual acts interact to suggest a greater tendency toward bisexuality instead of long-term exclusive homosexuality as would be predicted for the socialized lesbian. Bisexuality would not be expected of enculturated lesbians, however, if they have either had a history of disturbing and/or no enjoyable heterosexual experiences or have never had a heterosexual experience at all. It can at least be said that bisexual women are more likely to be enculturated instead of socialized into homosexual activity.

Sarbin and Allen's (1968) concept of role skills supports many of the main ideas incorporated in this role-learning theory of female homosexuality. According to them:

. . . Role skills, then, refer to those characteristics possessed by the individual which result in effective and convincing role enactment: aptitude, appropriate experience, and specific training. Most role skills are probably learned. Because all roles include some content from early socialization experiences, the learning conditions of early life are important for the acquisition of such skills, though one can enhance role skills, within limits, through ap-

propriate training in later life.

. . . some actors are expert in performing across a wide range of roles, while others' skills are more restricted. Likewise, not only do people seem to differ in their general aptitudes for enacting a role, but they seem to differ as well in the number of roles which they are able to enact convincingly.

. . . Implied in our conceptualization of role skills is the assumption that persons differ in basic attributes, in past experience, and in relevant training, all of which interact to influence role enactment. (p. 524)

Thus, individuals who become "butch" lesbians through socialization should have different, perhaps better, role skills for that particular role than do enculturated lesbians. Yet, enculturated lesbians should be better able to adapt across a wide range of situations; thus, they are more flexible in their responses to stimuli and can assume a larger number of roles more efficiently than socialized lesbians.

Statement of the Problem

As indicated in the Literature Review of this paper, society is becoming more aware of female homosexuals as separate from and different than male homosexuals. Investigations into the area are increasing, yet many questions remain unanswered. Complex problems often confront the researcher interested in female homosexuality, the most important of which is probably that of biased sampling. As long as current sexual values exist and known homosexuals continue to be the victims of ostracism and discrimination,

unbiased sampling can only be attempted. In previous research efforts, female homosexuals have been assumed to be homogeneous, lending credence to generalizations based on very limited samples. It is believed that contrary to this assumption, lesbians are probably very diverse in experiences and lifestyles. Also, while some lesbians may have a masculine sexual identity and may be more comfortable behaviorally in masculine situations, one's sexual preference for another female is not synonymous with either of these.

This study will seek to deal with some possible shortcomings of past research by including lesbians from a range of experience and focusing upon differences that may exist between them. While a random sample cannot be obtained, care will be taken to secure subjects from a variety of sources in an attempt to obtain a heterogeneous sample. The theoretical approach described above will be used to investigate some of the social psychological differences between them. An attempt will be made to distinguish between lesbians who learned a homosexual role early in life (socialized lesbians) and those who assumed the role much later (enculturated lesbians).

As noted earlier, some investigators have found a "butch/fem" distinction whereby one person in the relationship assumes an aggressive "masculine" role while the other assumes a passive "feminine" role (Sawyer, 1965; Rancourt & Limoges, 1967; Keiser & Schaffer, 1959; Kates, 1955; Howard,

1962; Hammer, 1965, 1968). Etiological factors have been found to differ between "butch" and "fem" lesbians (Howard, 1962; Hammer, 1968). These findings would tend to support "personality" factors (such as sexual identification) as predominant in lesbian role enactment, and the socialization process would appear to be of prime importance. Sawyer (1965), however, has pointed to the fact that lesbians often switch roles, suggesting that situational factors (stimulus persons involved in the interaction) are more important and that enculturation, rather than socialization, is the primary process involved. This paper suggests that both occur: Within the gay community for women there exists a circumscribed, rigid role, that of the "butch", which exemplifies total commitment to a homosexual lifestyle and which, if identified with strongly through early socialization, becomes sufficiently incorporated into the self image to the extent that other less dominant roles are considered inappropriate by the "butch" individual. Subsequently, "self" and "role" become fused and alternative roles are viewed as inconsistent with the individual's self identity. She is, in essence, locked into one mode of responding to the exclusion of alternative modes. There is also a less well defined group of lesbians who can switch roles. For this group of women who seemingly choose to become homosexual later in life, their role as a lesbian is likely assumed through an enculturation process whereby they seek out a homosexual lifestyle following the occurrence of some exter-

nal event in their lives. Because their role enactment can often be explained and externalized, the causal attribution is not a personal one and the role remains separate from the self, allowing them to respond more to situational cues and assume other roles when appropriate, possibly even a heterosexual role.

Six specific hypotheses were formulated to test the basic constructs of this theoretical framework. These are listed below:

1. There exists a distinction between enculturated and socialized lesbians as described in this paper.

2. Enculturated lesbians are more likely than socialized lesbians to be androgynous in sex-role behavior as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

3. Socialized lesbians are more likely to be masculine in sex-role behavior than are enculturated lesbians as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

4. Socialized lesbians are more likely than enculturated lesbians to consistently assume a "butch" role in lesbian relationships.

5. Enculturated lesbians are more likely than socialized lesbians to switch roles and may assume either a "butch" or "fem" role, or they may assume no role at all, depending upon their preferences and the preferences of their lesbian partners.

6. Women who presently consider themselves to be bisexual will tend to have engaged in homosexual activities

through the process of enculturation rather than through the process of socialization.

In addition to these specific hypotheses, enculturated and socialized lesbians will be compared on a number of etiological and attitudinal factors in an attempt to distinguish factors that were important in determining their eventual enactment of their homosexual roles, and what differences presently exist between them in the differential enactment of their homosexual roles.

In addition to existing instruments, data will be collected by use of a questionnaire which will be administered individually and verbally and will contain a number of open-ended questions. The observations obtained through these open-ended questions that are not part of the statistical analysis will be used in discussing the relative characteristics of socialized and enculturated lesbians.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Fifty-three homosexual women served as subjects. Of these, 45 completed all of the questionnaires and the personal interview. Two of these 45 subjects were not included in the data analysis as they were observed to be delusional and, thus the problem arose of interpreting their answers (a more detailed description of these two subjects may be found in Appendix A).

Potential subjects were recruited through the technique of friendship pyramiding. Only five refusals were reported. Subjects were selected from three cities in Oklahoma: five were living in Stillwater (11.63%), ten in Oklahoma City (23.26%), and 28 in Tulsa (65.12%). Seventeen subjects (39.53%) were contacted through a source in a gay bar, 11 (25.58%) were contacted in the Metropolitan Community Church (a nationwide church almost exclusively homosexual), and 15 (34.88%) were contacted individually or in a Feminist bookstore frequented by homosexual women.

Thirty-nine subjects (90.70%) were white, three (6.98%) were American Indian, and one Hispanic (2.32%). Subjects ranged in age from 18 to 53 years, with an average

age of 27.72 and a standard deviation of 7.33. Eight subjects (18.60%) were currently attending college, two of whom were in graduate school. Of those remaining, six had received bachelors degrees, two more had received graduate degrees, and 16 others had had some college or business school experience. Only three subjects had not completed high school.

The average score on Kinsey's homosexuality scale was 4.5 with a standard deviation of 1.08. The scores ranged from 1 to 6. While it is customary in the literature to include only subjects who indicate a score of 4, 5, or 6 on the Kinsey scale in a lesbian sample, all subjects were included in the data analysis since the focus of this study was to distinguish between different types of lesbians. Thirty-six subjects (83.72%) did obtain the usual required score, six subjects (13.95%) checked response 3 (relatively bisexual in experience and drive), and one subject (2.32%) chose response 1 (relatively little homosexual experience or drive). It may be recalled that the Kinsey scale measures overall sexual experience and drive. The subject who chose response 1 had only recently decided to assume a homosexual lifestyle (following divorce in a heterosexual marriage) and had not, at the time of the interview, had a sexual experience with another woman beyond light petting.

Instruments

Subjects were administered five instruments: a general questionnaire conducted as a personal interview, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), a questionnaire dealing with childhood sexual practices, the Social Attitude Scale (SAS), and a short version of the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS).

General Questionnaire (see Appendix B)

The general questionnaire was concerned primarily with etiological questions raised in the literature. Some questions were open-ended, and comments from the subjects were always encouraged. General topics included first sexual experiences, developmental information, and lesbian roles. Also included were the three criterion questions used to classify subjects as either Socialized, Enculturated, or unclassified (see "Classification of Subjects").

Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (see Appendix C)

The Bem Sex Role Inventory devised by Sandra Bem (1974) is a measure of sex-role behavior. It differs from the more traditional measures in that an individual need not necessarily be confined to stereotypic masculine or feminine behaviors, but may be androgynous (both masculine and feminine, depending upon the situational appropriateness), which Bem considers indicative of better adjustment. In addition, subjects may obtain an "undifferentiated" score if

they score below the median on both masculine and feminine items. This last categorization is believed to be the least adaptive of the four categories.

Bem's classification system is based on the frequency with which subjects engage in stereotypic masculine and feminine behaviors.* From her normative sample she derived median cut-off points for the average masculine and average feminine scores. Subjects whose average scores are above both medians are said to engage in androgynous sex-role behavior. Those scoring high on the masculine behaviors but low on the feminine behaviors are said to exhibit masculine sex-role behavior and vice versa. Subjects who score below the median cut-off points on both masculine and feminine behaviors are conceptualized as having undifferentiated sex-role behavior.

Bem suggests that investigators using the BSRI establish their own norms for their geographic location. In order to do this, 100 introductory psychology students (50 males and 50 females) were administered the BSRI and medians were found for their average masculine and feminine scores. The medians obtained were identical to the median cut-off points obtained by Bem's normative sample (Masculine = 4.9; Feminine = 4.8).

*Subjects obtained an average masculine and an average feminine score by rating themselves, on a scale of 1 to 7, on a list of masculine and feminine adjectives indicating how often the item was true of them.

Childhood Sexual Behavior Questionnaire (see Appendix D)

This questionnaire deals with sexual behavior (including masturbation, homosexual behavior, and heterosexual behavior) both before and after puberty and includes questions focused upon childhood environment and parenting practices.

Social Attitude Scale (SAS) (see Appendix E)

The Social Attitude Scale devised by Rambo (1971) is a measure of the liberalism-conservatism domain of attitude systems. There are 44 items which deal with basic assumptions about human functioning, such as the nature of man, social order, social permanence, and change.

The Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS) (see Appendix F)

This scale was devised by Spence and Helmreich (1972). It contains items relating to the vocational, educational and intellectual roles of women, and attitudes relating to the relative freedom and independence of women, as well as views of dating, courtship and etiquette, sexual behavior, and marital relationships.

Procedure

Data for all subjects were collected individually by the experimenter. Subjects who agreed to participate were tested privately with only the experimenter and subject present. Most interviews required approximately three hours to complete, though some extended to six or seven hours.

Each session began by informing the subject of her rights as a research subject: she could choose to not respond to a question without explanation, or she could terminate the session at any time and all of the materials she had completed would be given back to her. While a small number of subjects declined responding to one or two items, no one terminated the interview prematurely. Each subject was also assured anonymity from everyone except the investigator. Every attempt was made to allow the subject a feeling of control in the interview situation. Upon completion of the interview and questionnaires, the subject was thanked for her cooperation and told that the results of the study could later be obtained from the source who initially contacted her or from the investigator herself. Arrangements were made on an individual basis.

Classification of Subjects

Three items on the General Questionnaire were used as criteria to classify subjects as either Socialized, Enculturated, or unclassified. Subject responses to each of these items were carefully examined by both the investigator and a collaborator in an attempt to guard against experimenter bias. Each of the items used is presented below, followed by a discussion of subject responses.

Item 1. Please check one of the following:

_____ I knew that I was homosexual before I actually had a homosexual experience with another woman and/or exposure to gay life.

_____ I had a homosexual experience and/or exposure to gay life first and then realized that I was homosexual.

_____ I am unsure as to whether I knew that I was homosexual beforehand or if I discovered that I was homosexual after a homosexual experience and/or exposure to gay life.

The first response was assumed to be indicative of socialization, the second of enculturation, and the third as unclassified. Of the three criterion items, this proved to be the most difficult to accurately assess. Although the item itself is clearly objective, the comment section which followed provided an opportunity for interpretation by the subject, and the comments were not always congruent with the alternative chosen. The most common incongruency was choosing the first alternative (indicative of socialization) while making comments strongly suggestive of an enculturation process (alternative two). When both examiners agreed that enculturation, rather than socialization, was clearly implicated, the item was scored as an enculturated response.

Item 2. At what age did you experience your first homosexual fantasy?

_____ Before puberty

_____ After puberty

Generally, the first response was assumed to be indicative of socialization and the second response was assumed to be indicative of enculturation. The exact age that the fantasy occurred was recorded when possible. Comments in this section were examined to distinguish between fantasies of same-sex friendships and fantasies that actually in-

volved romantic and/or sexual activities with person(s) of the same sex. Fantasies of same-sex friendships were not regarded as homosexual fantasies. A minor problem was encountered for some subjects who had difficulty remembering the time of their first fantasy (often occurring around the time of puberty) or who report that they seldom fantasized at all. In such cases, it was necessary to also examine the age at which they initially experienced their first heterosexual fantasy. It was assumed that socialized lesbians would have experienced homosexual fantasies first, followed by any heterosexual fantasies they may have had, while the reverse would be true for enculturated lesbians.

Item 3. What is the earliest age you can recall being attracted to a female?

A distinction was made between emotional and sexual attraction, with sexual attraction constituting the criterion response. Subjects who indicated a sexual attraction for females prior to age 10 were classified as socialized on this item, while those indicating sexual attraction for their sex after age 12 were scored as enculturated.

On each of the three items it was sometimes, but not often, necessary to give an ambiguous rating. An ambiguous rating was given on the first item when there was some disagreement between the subject's chosen alternative and her comments concerning the item, but the comments were not elaborate enough to clarify the dilemma beyond all reasonable doubt. Similarly, an ambiguous rating was given on the second item for those subjects who reported no fantasies at

all or for whom recall of their first sexual fantasies was so vague that they were unable to adequately respond to the item. Item 3 was given an ambiguous rating when the subject reported that she was first attracted to females at either the age of 10, 11, or 12. If a subject received an ambiguous rating on one of these items but scored in the socialized or enculturated direction on both of the remaining items, she was given a socialized or enculturated classification by the examiners. If she received more than one ambiguous rating (which occurred only once) or if there was a definite inconsistency between two of the responses (a rating of enculturated on one and a rating of socialized on another), then she was placed in the "unclassified" category.

Twelve lesbians were classified as socialized. Ten of them received a socialization rating on all three items and two (16.67%) received a socialization rating on two items and an ambiguous rating on one item (both ambiguous ratings were given on the third item).

Nineteen lesbians were classified as enculturated. Fifteen of them received an enculturation rating on all three items and four (21.05%) received an enculturation rating on two items and an ambiguous rating on one item (three ambiguous ratings were given on the second item and one was given on the third item).

The examiners were unable to classify 12 subjects due to a disagreement in ratings on two of the criterion items

(one item received a rating of enculturation while another received a rating of socialization). There is one exception to this rule, however. One of the 12 subjects received an ambiguous rating on all three criterion items. Careful examination of these "unclassified" subjects on the three items revealed no systematic trend for deviating on any particular item.

The unclassified subjects were not included in any of the statistical analyses that were performed to test the proposed hypotheses, nor were they included in the post-hoc analyses. Their data were included in any correlations presented, however, as well as in the descriptive statistics for the sample.

A variety of statistical tests were used to analyze the data depending upon the appropriate level of analysis. When dealing with ordinal, interval, or ratio data, t-tests were performed. When nominal data was analyzed, chi-square tests were used unless the number of subjects who responded to that item was less than the number of subjects required to appropriately use a chi-square test. In that case, Fisher's Exact Test was used.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

A description of the entire sample on selected variables can be found in the tables presented in Appendix G. Some of these items will be discussed below to give an overall view of the sample.

Two attitudinal measures were utilized, neither of which yielded significant differences between socialized and enculturated lesbians. The average score on the Social Attitude Scale (SAS), which provides an overall measure of liberalism-conservatism, was 136.72. There are no established norms for this scale, but the overall score indicates the total sample could be described as slightly conservative. The Attitudes Towards Women scale (AWS) provides a measure of commitment to a Feminist ideology. The average score on this scale was 65.91. Although norms for the original scale are available, they are not available for the shortened version used in this study. Since a score of 75 would reflect complete endorsement of feminist ideals, it is safe to assume that this sample, as a whole, supports the basic principles of the Women's Movement.

While many investigators suggest adverse family relations as a "causative" factor associated with lesbians, the

majority of subjects report fairly stable (75.07%) and happy (72.09%) childhoods. Perhaps the most informative data comes from the area of sexual behavior. While 70.07% of the subjects report their first sexual experience was with a male, there is some indication of negative conditioning of heterosexual activity. Only 33.33% report their first sexual experience with a male as pleasurable, and only 40% report that their overall sexual experiences with males have been pleasurable. In addition, almost half (46.51%) of the total lesbian sample have been raped by a male, some more than once. In contrast, 92.86% report their first sexual experience with a female as pleasurable, and all subjects report their overall sexual experiences with females as pleasurable, suggesting positive reinforcement of homosexual activity. Further support for an avoidance of male-female sexual activity in conjunction with a preference for female-female sexual activity is gained by examining the types of sexual fantasies reported. While only three subjects (6.98%) report that they have never had a homosexual fantasy (because they never fantasize at all), 41.86% (18) report that they have never had a heterosexual fantasy. It is not surprising that 79.07% now consider themselves to be exclusively homosexual.

Results of the specific hypotheses are as follows.

Hypothesis I

There exists a distinction between enculturated and

socialized lesbians as described in this paper.

This hypothesis has received tentative support as a result of the present study. Of the 43 subjects tested, 31 were classified as either socialized ($N = 12$) or enculturated ($N = 19$) by the two examiners according to the proposed criteria.

Although statistical significance on the criterion items is hardly surprising, it is interesting to note the differences between the two groups on each of these variables. All 12 socialized lesbians indicated awareness of their homosexuality prior to either a sexual experience with another woman or exposure to the gay subculture. Each of the enculturated lesbians had had some exposure to gay culture or had an actual sexual experience of a homosexual nature prior to adopting a homosexual lifestyle.

In reference to the second criterion variable, all socialized lesbians had had a homosexual fantasy, and most of them (83.3%) had experienced such fantasies prior to puberty. In contrast, three (15.8%) enculturated lesbians have never had a homosexual fantasy and of those who have experienced such a fantasy, none did so prior to puberty. Almost the opposite situation exists for heterosexual fantasies. Two-thirds (8) of the socialized group report that they have never had a heterosexual fantasy, and of those who have experienced such fantasies, none did so prior to puberty. Only 26.3% (5) of the enculturated group have never experienced a heterosexual fantasy, 42.1% (8) did so before

puberty, and 31.6% did so after puberty.

There was a similar distinction between the groups in regard to the age at which they were first attracted to females. The average age for socialized lesbians to be attracted to a female was 7.83 with a standard deviation of 2.55. The average age for enculturated lesbians to be attracted to a female was 19.05 with a standard deviation of 7.02. Thus, not only is there a substantial difference in age of initial attraction, but there is also an indication of more variation among enculturated lesbians as to when they first became attracted to women.

Hypothesis II

Enculturated lesbians are more likely than socialized lesbians to be androgynous in sex-role behavior as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

A chi square test was performed but failed to support the above hypothesis, $\chi^2 (1) = .012, p > .10$. Examining the number of enculturated lesbians in each of Bem's four sex-role categories (Table I), it is apparent that the majority were either androgynous (36.8%) or feminine (42.10%). This would indicate that most of these women (78.9%) had developed effective feminine behaviors, as predicted, but only 36.8% had also developed sufficient masculine skills to

produce* an androgynous rating.

TABLE I

FREQUENCY OF SEX-ROLE IDENTITIES FOR BEM'S NORMATIVE FEMALE SAMPLE, THE TOTAL LESBIAN SAMPLE, SOCIALIZED LESBIANS, ENCULTURATED LESBIANS, AND UNCLASSIFIED LESBIANS

Sex-Role Identity	Bem's Sample (N=290)	Total Lesbians (N=43)	Socialized Lesbians (N=12)	Enculturated Lesbians (N=19)	Unclassified Lesbians (N=12)
Feminine	34%	(13) 30%	(2) 16.70%	(8) 42.10%	(3) 25.00%
Undifferentiated	20%	(3) 7%	(2) 16.70%	(1) 5.26%	(0) 0.00%
Androgynous	29%	(20) 47%	(5) 41.70%	(7) 36.80%	(8) 66.67%
Masculine	16%	(7) 16%	(3) 25.00%	(3) 15.80%	(1) 8.33%

When comparing the total lesbian sample with Bem's normative sample (see Table I), it is interesting to note that the percentages for the masculine category are identical (16%) for the two samples, and that the percentages for the feminine category are very similar (Bem = 34%; Lesbian sample = 30%). These figures would suggest that, contrary to common stereotypes, lesbians are not more likely than heterosexual women to be masculine in sex-role behavior. Interestingly, the largest discrepancies in percentages between Bem's sample and the obtained lesbian sample occur

*Subjects whose average masculine and average feminine scores fall above the median cut-off points are classified as androgynous, regardless of the relative magnitude of each score.

within the undifferentiated and androgynous categories. Lesbian women are more likely to be androgynous and less likely to be undifferentiated in sex-role behavior, suggesting that lesbians on the whole are better able to adapt in a wide range of situations than are heterosexual women. It is also interesting, and perhaps not surprising, that the group of lesbians who were not easily classified as either socialized or enculturated were the most likely to be androgynous in sex-role behavior (66.67%), suggesting a great deal of behavioral flexibility.

Hypothesis III

Socialized lesbians are more likely to be masculine in sex-role behavior than are enculturated lesbians as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

A chi square test with 1 d.f. was performed. The results failed to support the above hypothesis, $\chi^2 (1) = .027$, $p > .10$. Only three subjects in the socialized group were masculine in sex-role behavior as measured by the BSRI (see Table I).

In light of the scoring procedure used to classify subjects on the BSRI it is important to note that the difference between socialized, $\bar{M} = 5.32$, and enculturated, $\bar{M} = 4.79$, lesbians did approach statistical significance, $t (22.65) = 1.79$, $p < .08$, on the average BSRI masculine score. This would indicate that while lesbians as a group tend to be sufficiently effective in not only masculine but

also feminine situations, socialized lesbians may tend to be more effective and comfortable in masculine situations than are enculturated lesbians. There is no support for the earlier notion that socialized lesbians failed to develop adequate feminine behaviors early in life.

One must clearly distinguish here between sexual identity and flexibility in sex-role behavior. An analysis of the "masculine" adjective* on the BSRI revealed that socialized lesbians, $M = 4.83$, did rate themselves as significantly more masculine, $t(22.06) = 2.35$, $p < .02$, than did enculturated lesbians, $M = 3.16$. Together, these results would suggest that although socialized lesbians see themselves as more masculine than do enculturated lesbians and are somewhat more effective and comfortable in masculine situations than are enculturated lesbians, they would be described as androgynous on the BSRI because they can assume both masculine and feminine characteristics as the situation dictates.

Hypothesis IV

Socialized lesbians are more likely than enculturated lesbians to consistently assume a "butch" role in lesbian relationships.

A t -test was performed to compare the overall role behavior of socialized and enculturated lesbians, and the re-

*One item on the BSRI asked subjects to rate themselves on a scale of 1 to 7 indicating how often they were masculine.

sults support the above hypothesis, $t(26.95) = 3.39$, $p < .002$. Socialized lesbians, $M = 5.75$, were more likely to have consistently assumed a more "butch" role in all their lesbian relationships than were enculturated lesbians, $M = 3.89$.

Hypothesis V

Enculturated lesbians are more likely than socialized lesbians to switch roles and may assume a "butch" or "fem" role, or they may assume no role at all, depending upon their preferences and the preferences of their lesbian partners.

A chi square test was performed and yielded support for the contention that enculturated lesbians are more likely to switch roles than are socialized lesbians, $\chi^2(1) = 4.18$, $p < .05$. Table II presents the frequency of subjects in each group who were assuming each of the role possibilities, the number who were willing to assume a different role, and which, if any, of the remaining two roles they were willing to assume.

While half of the socialized lesbians would not consider assuming a role different from the one they were currently assuming, only 3 (16%) enculturated lesbians were unwilling to consider such a change. It would appear that as a whole enculturated lesbians do perceive themselves as more flexible in their lesbian relationships. The correlation between current role behavior (the role they were assuming

TABLE II
 FREQUENCY OF CURRENT ROLE ENACTMENT AND WILLINGNESS
 TO ASSUME A DIFFERENT ROLE FOR SOCIALIZED
 AND ENCULTURATED LESBIANS

		CURRENT ROLE				
		FEM	NEITHER	BUTCH		
GROUP	NUMBER & PERCENT					
		N	1	4	7	
		%	8.3	33.3	58.3	
	SOCIALIZED	WOULD YOU CONSIDER A DIFFERENT ROLE?				
			NO	0	3	3
			YES	1	1	1
	SOCIALIZED	WHICH ROLE WOULD YOU ASSUME?				
			FEM	---	0	0
			NEITHER	1	---	4
			BUTCH	1	1	---
		NUMBER & PERCENT				
			N	5	9	5
	%	26.3	47.4	26.3		
ENCULTURATED	WOULD YOU CONSIDER A DIFFERENT ROLE?					
		NO	0	2	1	
		YES	5	7	4	
ENCULTURATED	WHICH ROLE WOULD YOU ASSUME?					
		FEM	---	7	1	
		NEITHER	5	---	4	
		BUTCH	1	5	---	

at the time of the interview) and overall role behavior (their score on a scale of 1 to 7 indicating their role behavior since the time they first became involved in a homosexual lifestyle) was $r = .90$, $p < .001$, however. Jointly, these findings would suggest that while enculturated lesbians are more willing to switch roles than are socialized lesbians, both groups of women tend to maintain a fairly constant role behaviorally.

A distinction was also found to exist between the two groups in reference to the type(s) of role(s) which would be acceptable to them. Socialized and enculturated lesbians did not differ significantly in their willingness* to assume a "butch" role, $\chi^2 (1) = .95$, $p > .10$, (Socialized = 9 or 75%, Enculturated = 11 or 57.89%) or to assume no role at all, $\chi^2 (1) = 2.53$, $p > .10$, (Socialized = 9 or 75%, Enculturated = 18 or 94.74%). However, there was a significant difference in their willingness to assume a "fem" role, $\chi^2 (1) = 10.73$, $p < .01$. Thirteen (68.42%) enculturated lesbians were either currently assuming or willing to assume a "fem" role. As would be predicted, the enculturated lesbians, $M = 5.05$, also rated themselves as significantly more feminine on the BSRI "feminine" adjective than did socialized lesbians, $M = 3.25$, $t (27.45) = -3.09$, $p < .005$. In comparison, only one (8.3%) socialized lesbian was assuming a "fem" role at

*Willingness in this case indicates that the subject was either currently assuming or would consider assuming the role in question.

the time of the interview and she expressed some desire to assume either a "butch" role or no role at all in future relationships. None of the remaining socialized lesbians would consider a "fem" role in future interactions. Their preferences were clear: Those who were amenable to change would do so only if the relationship involved equal dominance for both partners or more dominance on their part. A statistical analysis of the "dominance" adjective on the BSRI revealed that socialized lesbians, $\bar{M} = 5.17$, rated themselves as significantly more dominant than did enculturated lesbians, $\bar{M} = 3.74$, $t(24.09) = 3.74$, $p < .01$.

As would be expected, a quite different picture emerged for enculturated lesbians. While the highest percentage of socialized lesbians were currently assuming a "butch" role at the time of the interview (58.3%), the highest percentage of enculturated lesbians were assuming no role at all (47.4%). Most enculturated lesbians who were assuming no role were willing to assume either a "butch" or a "fem" role. Of the remaining 10 enculturated lesbians who were assuming a role, half of them were assuming a "fem" role and half were assuming a "butch" role, again suggesting flexible sexual identity. While all enculturated "fems" and most (4 out of 5) enculturated "bitches" were willing to assume no role at all, only one from each group was actually willing to take the opposite role, and both expressed a preference for not doing so.

Thus, while socialized lesbians expressed a strong

preference for either an equally dominant or more dominant role, enculturated lesbians appear to be much more flexible. As a group, they are willing to be "fem", "butch", or assume no role at all, but individuals within the group may be unwilling to make dramatic role changes.

Hypothesis VI

Women who presently consider themselves to be bisexual will tend to have engaged in homosexual activities through the process of enculturation rather than through the process of socialization.

A chi square test with 1 d.f. was performed and the results of this analysis support the above hypothesis, $\chi^2 (1) = 3.80, p < .05$. Seven women in this study presently consider themselves to be bisexual, and all seven of them were in the enculturated group.

Post Hoc Analyses

In reference to the enculturation/socialization distinction outlined in this paper, different developmental patterns emerged for the two groups with regard to sexual behaviors.

During childhood, socialized lesbians, $\underline{M} = 1.17$, examined their sexual parts earlier than did enculturated lesbians, $\underline{M} = 1.94, \underline{t} (25.19) = -3.32, p < .003$; and, there was a tendency for more socialized lesbians (83.3%) to have played the "doctor/nurse" game with a member of the same sex than

for enculturated lesbians (47.4%) to have done so, $\chi^2 (1) = 2.64$, $p < .10$. Also, while half of the socialized lesbians engaged in homosexual activity prior to puberty, only one enculturated lesbian did so before puberty, $t (5) = 6.71$, $p < .001$.

A similar pattern emerged in the two groups for adolescent sexual behaviors. Socialized lesbians, $M = 2.75$, engaged in petting with the same sex significantly more often per month than did enculturated lesbians, $M = 1.5$, $t (18.72) = 2.50$, $p < .02$, while enculturated lesbians, $M = 2.95$, engaged in petting with the opposite sex significantly more often per month than did socialized lesbians, $M = 2.00$, $t (21.47) = -2.81$, $p < .01$. Beyond petting, socialized lesbians, $M = 4.42$, also engaged in more extensive sexual activities with the same sex more often per month during adolescence than did enculturated lesbians, $M = .33$, $t (11.95) = 3.06$, $p < .01$.

As would be predicted from the above, socialized lesbians, $M = 15.58$, engaged in sexual activity with a same-sex partner at an earlier age than did enculturated lesbians, $M = 21.50$, $t (25.21) = 3.22$, $p < .004$. And while all of the enculturated lesbians had their first sexual experience with a male, half of the socialized lesbians had their first sexual experience with a male and half of them had their first sexual experience with a female, $\chi^2 (1) = 8.79$, $p < .003$. When asked to describe their overall sexual relations with males, 55.6% of the enculturated lesbians described these

heterosexual relationships as pleasurable, while only two (22.2%) of the socialized lesbians who had had sexual relations with males described these relationships as pleasurable, Fisher's Exact Test, $p = .10$. While this difference only approaches statistical significance, it may still be an important difference and is reported here because Fisher's Exact Test has relatively little power in comparison to other statistical tests of significance.

In light of these behavioral differences, it is hardly surprising that while the majority (73.7%) of enculturated lesbians report that they have been in love with a male at some time in their lives, only three (25%) socialized lesbians have ever been in love with a male, $\chi^2 (1) = 5.21$, $p < .02$.

Generally speaking, then, socialized lesbians report a higher incidence of homosexual behavior while enculturated lesbians report a higher incidence of heterosexual behavior, and these differences begin in childhood. These developmental differences would suggest that socialized lesbians, $\bar{M} = 5.17$, should obtain a higher score on Kinsey's scale of homosexuality than enculturated lesbians, $\bar{M} = 4.05$. An analysis of Kinsey's scale supported this contention, $t (28.11) = 3.62$, $p < .001$.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

There does appear to be a distinction between lesbian women in relation to the developmental sequence of assuming a homosexual orientation, although this distinction is not easily discerned. Some lesbians were apparently socialized into a homosexual lifestyle at an early age as evidenced by an early preoccupation with same-sex sexual activities, both in behavior and fantasy. These early learning experiences continue to affect behavior in later life, their influence being reflected in a more rigid sexual identity in adulthood and a strong preference for equally-dominant or more-dominant role-taking. For other lesbians, their early socialization experiences were apparently very similar to those experienced by heterosexual women and they arrived at a homosexual orientation through a process of enculturation whereby they chose a homosexual lifestyle in preference to the heterosexual lifestyle to which they were accustomed. The result of this change is a more flexible sexual identity and more options for role-taking, allowing them to respond more freely to the preferences of their sexual partners.

Perhaps the degree of flexibility in role-taking constitutes a major distinction between socialized and encul-

turated lesbians. Their comments concerning role behavior and the possibility of assuming a different role reflect their own self-images as well as their interaction perceptions. Typical comments from socialized lesbians often suggest a "macho" self-image:

I don't think I could find a woman more dominant than me, or I would consider it, but my gosh I can't imagine anyone being more aggressive than me. Someone would kill them if they were.

More flexibility in both self-perception and perception of the interaction situation is typically reflected in the comments of enculturated lesbians. One enculturated "butch" expressed the situation as follows:

It swings with the personality of the person you are with. If my partner wants to play the 'butch' role, I'll go 'fem' or vice versa. My preference is 'butch' . . . When any two persons get together, one personality is going to be stronger than the other so roles always exist. We can switch back and forth but we are always playing a role.

Another commented, "If I met someone I really cared about, I think I could make any adjustment they wanted. I would try".

For some enculturated lesbians, this flexibility in identity extends to more flexibility in sexual preference, allowing them to experience and enjoy both same-sex and opposite-sex sexual activities. Comments from subjects who presently consider themselves to be bisexual reflect this sexual flexibility:

I haven't had any heterosexual experiences in a long time, but I'm not against it. It's totally a personality thing, not a sex thing. If I ran into a man that I got along well with I would

not hesitate to have a sexual relationship with him. It just hasn't happened lately.

I'm around girls more, so I usually go with them. If I found a guy that I liked . . . I would go with him.

I'm more homosexual than heterosexual now, but I don't want to restrict myself.

Contrary to common stereotypes, most lesbians are not restricted to masculine sex-role behaviors. In fact, the majority (77%) of the lesbians sampled are either feminine or androgynous. While socialized lesbians scored higher on masculine behaviors than enculturated lesbians, many of them also had adequate feminine skills and were thus more likely to be androgynous. It is likely that while their early socialization training prepared them for masculine roles, as predicted, it did not preclude the development of feminine behaviors. On the other hand, most enculturated lesbians had very effective feminine behaviors, as predicted, but some were lacking in effective masculine skills. It was predicted that enculturated lesbians would incorporate these masculine skills into their behavioral repertoire after assuming a homosexual lifestyle. It may be that some of these women only recently made the decision to become homosexual and, thus, have not yet completed the enculturation process. While this is purely speculative, there is some evidence from the interviews that an enculturation process does exist for "new" lesbians. The comments below illustrate this process:

I started out trying to be a 'fem' and never did find out what that was. I was never 'butch',

but I was 'baby butch' for about one and one-half months. It's a definite stage. It helped me a great deal. I don't have to be a half person. I'm a total person. I can accept the more aggressive part of myself now. Once you accept it you can be neither, or kai-kai, because there is nothing else to prove. She [present lover] is 'baby butch' now, but it's just a stage. She's trying to prove to herself and everyone that she can be aggressive and assertive. It's a growing period. They're cuter than hell. Sometimes they go on to be a real 'butch', but usually they turn out like me [neither role]. They're sharp dressers, they wine and dine and court other women. It's a lot of fun.

I went through a 'butchy' stage, like most of us do . . . Everyone I've ever talked to has done that . . . Sometimes I've seen it take people like 10 years to change from the 'super-butch' image.

It should be noted here that while the BSRI purports to be a behavioral measure, it actually only measures the subject's description of her behavior and, as such, is more of an attitudinal measure. The instrument fails to measure specific stereotypic acts, such as washing the dishes or carrying out the garbage, which might yield even more of a distinction between socialized and enculturated lesbians.

While it does seem that the proposed socialization/enculturation distinction is an important one and should be considered by other researchers in the area, it was sometimes difficult to classify lesbian subjects according to the criterion questions used in this study. The main problem encountered is that of memory, which is a major problem in most areas of developmental research. The human memory system does not simply store and retrieve experiences as they occur, but it actually plays an active, creative role,

involving both reconstruction and distortion of details.

According to Bartlett's (1932) research findings:

Remembering is not the re-excitation of innumerable fixed, lifeless and fragmentary traces. It is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organized past reactions or experience . . . It is thus hardly ever really exact, even in the most rudimentary cases of rote recapitulation (p. 213).

Several comments from subjects during the interview sessions indicate that memory lapses were indeed a problem for them. This is particularly true for the first criterion item which dealt with prior awareness of homosexual feelings. Even when there was strong indication of an enculturation process, subjects seemed to reconstruct evidence from their childhoods to indicate "unconscious" homosexual feelings:

I went with a straight friend to gay bars for kicks. I didn't consider myself to be homosexual. I got attached to my present lover, so I went gay. But looking back, I can see I was different even in childhood.

Some of my friends that I had grown up with finally told me that they were gay. I felt attracted to females before this, but didn't realize it was sexual. I now think it was a sexual attraction.

I think I knew I was homosexual. I just always really grooved on women, whether it was a girlfriend, teacher, aunt, etc. I'd be super close to an aunt and wouldn't like my uncle.

I didn't know until after my first experience, but looking back I must have felt sexual desires for females much earlier.

As far as thinking about having sex with a woman, it's been within the last three years, but ever since I was a little girl I liked to look at pictures of nude women in Playboy.

I think I knew before I was married and I met this girl. I worked in a hospital and a lot of the people I worked with were gay. I knew she was gay and I put myself in the position for her to make advances to see if I was gay or not. I was curious and also I was unhappy in my marriage.

It would seem that once subjects have identified themselves with a lesbian lifestyle, they sometimes tend to reorganize past experiences as they logically should have been. The degree of discrepancy between actual experiences and what they remember experiencing because that is what they logically should have experienced cannot be determined at this point. It may be that studying a younger group of lesbians, and perhaps focusing upon specific sexual behaviors, would yield more clear-cut results. The optimum approach, of course, would be a large-scale longitudinal study investigating the sexual development of many women, some of whom would presumably opt for a homosexual lifestyle eventually.

The results of the present study would indicate that lesbians are not a homogeneous group, as has been assumed in former research, and that the process through which they came to assume a homosexual lifestyle is perhaps one important distinction between them. It may be that many of the conflicting results in the literature, particularly research which has focused upon etiological factors, may be due to a failure to allow for the diversity among homosexual women. Whether etiological and personality factors differ for socialized and enculturated lesbians is not presently known,

but the findings of the present study would suggest that researchers who continue to work in this area should consider this distinction, and perhaps investigate other differences before comparing homosexual and heterosexual women.

REFERENCES

- Aldrich, A. We walk alone. New York: Faucett Publications, 1955.
- Armon, V. Some personality variables in overt female homosexuality. Journal of Projective Techniques, 1960, 24(3), 292-309.
- Atia, I. M., & Juftic, M. K. Hypnosis in the psychosomatic investigation of female homosexuality. British Journal of Medical Hynotism, 1957, 2(1), 41-46.
- Bacon, C. L. A developmental theory of female homosexuality. In S. Lorand & M. Balint (Eds.), Perversions: Psychodynamics and therapy. New York: Random House, 1956.
- Bartlett, F. C. Remembering: A study in experimental and social psychology. New York: MacMillan, 1932.
- Beauvoir, S. de. The second sex. New York: Knopf, 1952.
- Beauvoir, S. de. The lesbian. In H. M. Ruitenbeck (Ed.), The problem of homosexuality in modern America. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1963.
- Bell, R. R. The female homosexual. In R. Bell, Social Deviance: A substantive analysis. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1971.
- Bem, S. L. Psychology looks at sex roles: Where have all the androgynous people gone? Paper presented at UCLA Symposium on Women, May, 1972.
- Bem, S. L. Sex-role adaptability: One consequence of psychological androgyny. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975a, 31(4), 634-643.
- Bem, S. L. Androgyny vs. the tight little lives of fluffy women and chesty men. Psychology Today, September, 1975b, 58-62.
- Bene, E. On the genesis of female homosexuality. British Journal of Psychiatry, 1965, 111(478), 815-821.

- Bergler, E. Lesbianism, facts and fiction. Marriage Hygiene, 1948, 1(4), 197-202.
- Bergler, E. Neurotic counterfeit-sex. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1951.
- Bergler, E. Homosexuality: Disease or way of life?. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1966.
- Bergmann, M. S. Homosexuality on the Rorschach test. Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, 1945, 2, 78-84.
- Bermant, G. Behavior therapy approaches to modification of sexual preferences: Biological perspective and critique. In J. Bardwick (Ed.), Readings on the psychology of women. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- bettelheim, B. Growing up female. In H. M. Ruitenbeck (Ed.), Psychoanalysis and contemporary American culture. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964.
- Bieber, I. Homosexuality: A psychoanalytical study. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.
- Brody, M. W. An analysis of the psychosexual development of a female: With special reference to homosexuality. Psychoanalytic Review, 1943, 30(1), 47-58.
- Caprio, F. S. Female homosexuality: A psychodynamic study of lesbianism. New York: Citadel Press, 1954.
- Coleman, J. C. Abnormal psychology and modern life. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1972.
- Cory, D. W. The lesbian in America. New York: Citadel Press, 1964.
- Daniel, S. The homosexual woman in present day society. International Journal of Sexology, 1954, 7(4), 223-224.
- Dengrove, E. Homosexuality in women, In I. Rubin (Ed.), The third sex. New York: New Book Co., 1961. (Originally published, 1957).
- de Saussure, R. Homosexual fixations in neurotic women. Rev. Fran Psychanal, 1929, 3, 50-91.
- Deutsch, H. The psychology of women. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1944.

Deutsch, H. On female homosexuality. In The psychoanalytic reader (Vol. 1). New York: International Universities Press, 1948.

DOB Questionnaire reveals some facts about lesbians. Ladder, 3(12), 1959, 4-26.

Eisinger, A. J., Huntsman, R. C., Lord, J., Merry, J., Polani, P., Tanner, J. M., Whitehouse, R. H., & Griffiths, P. D. Female homosexuality. Nature, 238(5359)106, 1972.

Fenichel, O. The psychoanalytic theory of neurosis. New York: Norton, 1945.

Freedman, M. J. Homosexuality among women and psychological adjustment. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1967.

Freedman, M. J. Homosexuality and psychological functioning. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971.

Freud, S. The psychology of women. In New introductory lectures on Psychoanalysis. New York: Norton, 1933.

Freud, S. The psychogenesis of a case of homosexuality in a woman. In The Collected Papers (Vol. 2). London: Hogarth, 1948.

Fromm, E. O., & Elonen, A. S. The use of projective techniques in the study of a case of female homosexuality. Journal of Projective Techniques, 1951, 15(2), 185-230.

Giannell, A. S. Giannell's crimosynthesis theory applied to female homosexuality. Journal of Psychology, 1966, 64(2), 213-222.

Goodhart, C. B. Female homosexuality. Nature, 239(5368) 174, 1972.

Gundlach, R. H., & Riess, B. F. Birth order and sex of sibling in a sample of lesbians and non-lesbians. Psychological Reports, 1967, 30(1), 61-62.

Hammer, M. Homosexuality in a women's reformatory. Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Social Therapy, 1965, 11(3), 168-169.

Hammer, M. Homosexuality and the reversed oedipus complex. Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Social Therapy, 1968, 14(1), 45-47.

- Hedblom, J. H. Social, sexual, and occupational lives of homosexual women. Sexual Behavior, 1972, 2(10), 33-37.
- Hooker, E. A preliminary analysis of group behavior of homosexuals. Journal of Psychology, 1956, 42, 217-225.
- Hooker, E. The adjustment of the male overt homosexual. Journal of Projective Techniques, 1957, 21, 18-31.
- Hopkins, H. H. The lesbian personality. British Journal of Psychiatry, 1969, 115, 1433-1436.
- Hopkins, J. Lesbian signs on the Rorschach. British Journal of Projective Psychology and Personality Study, 1970, 15, 7-14.
- Horney, K. The flight from womanhood: The masculinity complex in women, as viewed by men and women. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 1926, 7, 324-339.
- Howard, S. J. Determinants of sex-role identification of homosexual female delinquents. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1962.
- Hyde, J. S., & Rosenberg, B. G. The psychology of women: Half the human experience. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976.
- Jones, E. The early development of female sexuality. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 1927, 8, 459-472.
- Kallmann, F. J. A comparative twin study on the genetic aspects of male homosexuality. Journal of Neurosis and Mental Disorders, 1952, 115, 283-298.
- Kates, E. M. Sexual problems in women's institutions. Journal of Social Therapy, 1955, 1(4), 187-191.
- Kaye, H. E. Lesbian relationships. Sexual Behavior, April, 1971, 80-87.
- Kaye, H. E., Berl, S., Clare, J., Eleston, M. R., Gershwin, B. S., Gershwin, P., Kogan, L. S., Torda, C. & Wilbur, C. B. Homosexuality in women. Archives of General Psychiatry, 1967, 17, 626-634.
- Keiser, S., & Schaffer, D. Environmental factors in homosexuality in adolescent girls. Psychoanalytic Review, 1949, 36(3), 283-295.

- Kenyon, F. E. Studies in female homosexuality: Psychological test results. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1968a, 32(5), 510-513.
- Kenyon, F. E. Studies in female homosexuality, IV. Social and psychiatric aspects, V. Sexual development, attitudes and experiences. British Journal of Psychiatry, 1968b, 114, 1337-1350.
- Kenyon, F. E. Studies in female homosexuality, VI. The exclusive homosexual group. Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica, 1968c, 44(3), 224-237.
- Khan, M. R. The role of infantile sexuality and early object relations in female homosexuality. In Ismond Rosen (Ed.), The Pathology and treatment of sexual deviation: A methodological approach, London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., & Martin, C. E. Sexual Behavior in the human male. Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948.
- Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., Martin, C. E., & Gebhard, P. H. Sexual behavior in the human female. Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953.
- Klaf, F. S. Female homosexuality and paranoid schizophrenia: A survey of 75 cases and controls. Archives of General Psychiatry, 1961, 4(1), 84-86.
- Klaich, D. Woman + woman: Attitudes toward lesbianism. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1974.
- Kremer, M. W., & Rifkin, A. H. The early development of homosexuality: A study of adolescent lesbians. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1969, 126(1), 91-96.
- LaDame, F. G. Reflexions sur quelques cas d'homosexualite feminine. (Thoughts on several cases of female homosexuality.) Annales Medico-Psychologiques, 1971, 2(4), 527-546.
- Loney, J. Family dynamics in homosexual women. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 1973, 2(4), 343-350.
- Loney, J. Background factors, sexual experiences, and attitudes toward treatment in two "normal" homosexual samples. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1972, 38, 57-65.

- Lorraine, J. S., Ismail, A. A. A., Adamopoulos, D. A., & Dove, G. A. Endocrine function in male and female homosexuals. British Medical Journal, 1970, 5732, 406-409.
- Lorraine, J. A., Adamopoulos, D. A., Kirkahm, K. E., Ismail, A. A. A., & Dove, G. A. Patterns of hormone excretion in male and female homosexuals. Nature, 1971, 234(5331), 552-555.
- Lyon, P., & Martin, D. Lesbian/woman. San Francisco: Glide Urban Ctr., 1972.
- Miller, W. G., & Hannum, T. E. Characteristics of homosexually involved incarcerated females. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1968, 27(3), 227.
- Mozes, E. D. The lesbian. Sexology, 1951, 18(5), 294-299.
- Ollendorff, R. The juvenile homosexual experience. New York: Julian Press, 1966.
- Rado, S. Fear of castration in women. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 1933, 2, 425-475.
- Rancourt, R., & Limoges, T. Homosexuality among women. Canadian Nurse, 1967, 63(12), 42-44.
- Riess, B. New viewpoints on the female homosexual. In V. Franks (Ed.), Women in therapy. New York: Brunner-Mazel, 1974.
- Riess, B. F., Safer, J., & Yotive, W. Psychological test data on female homosexuality: A review of the literature. Journal of Homosexuality, 1974, 1(1), 71-85.
- Robertiello, R. C. Voyage from Lesbos: The psychoanalysis of a female homosexual. New York: Citadel Press, 1959.
- Romm, M. E. Sexuality and homosexuality in women. In J. Marmor (Ed.), Sexual inversion. The multiple roots of homosexuality. New York: Basic Books, 1965.
- Rosen, D. H. Lesbianism: A study of female homosexuality. Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1974.
- Saghir, M. T., Robins, E., Walbran, B., & Gentry, K. Homosexuality. IV. Psychiatric disorders and disability in the female homosexual. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1970, 127(2), 65-72.

- Saghir, M. T., & Robins, E. Male and female homosexuality: Natural history. Comprehensive Psychiatry, 1971, 12(6), 503-510.
- Saghir, M. T., & Robins, E. Male and female homosexuality. Baltimore: William & Wilkins, 1973.
- Sawyer, E. A study of a public lesbian community. Unpublished Master's thesis, Washington University, 1965.
- Siegelman, M. Adjustment of homosexual and heterosexual women. British Journal of Psychiatry, 1972, 120(558),
- Siegelman, M. Parental background of homosexual and heterosexual women. British Journal of Psychiatry, 1974, 124, 14-21.
- Simon, W., & Gagnon, J. H. Femininity in the lesbian community. Social Problems, 1967a, 15(2), 212-221.
- Simon, W., & Gagnon, J. H. The lesbians: A preliminary overview. In J. H. Gagnon & W. Simon (Eds.), Sexual Deviance, New York: Harper & Row, 1967b.
- Socarides, C. W. The historical development of theoretical and clinical concepts of overt female homosexuality. Journal of American Psychoanalytic Association, 1963, 11, 386-414.
- Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. The attitudes toward women scale: an objective instrument to measure attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 1972, 2, 66.
- Steinmann, A. Personal communication of unpublished data, 1974.
- Swanson, D. W., Loomis, S., Lukesh, R., Cronin, R., & Smith, J. A. Clinical features of the female homosexual patient: A comparison with the heterosexual patient. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 1972, 155(2), 119-124.
- Thompson, N. L., Jr., McCandless, B. R., & Strickland, B. R. Personal adjustment of male and female homosexuals and heterosexuals. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 1971, 78(2), 237-240.
- Thompson, N. L., Jr., Schwartz, D. M., McCandless, B. R., & Edwards, D. A. Parent-child relationships and sexual identity in male and female homosexuals and heterosexuals. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1973, 41(1), 120-127.

- Wilbur, C. B. Clinical aspects of female homosexuality. In J. Marmor (Ed.), Sexual inversion: The multiple roots of homosexuality. New York: Basic Books, 1965.
- Wilson, M. L., & Greene, R. L. Personality characteristics of female homosexuals. Psychological Reports, 1971, 28(2), 407-412.
- Wolff, C. Love between women. New York: St. Martin's, 1971.
- Zucker, L. J. Mental health and homosexuality. Journal of Sex Research, 1966, 2(2), 111-125.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF TWO SUBJECTS WHO WERE ELIMINATED FROM THE DATA ANALYSIS

Two subjects were eliminated from the data analysis because several things that occurred during the interview situation indicated a certain amount of delusional thinking, and it was impossible to ascertain the delusional from non-delusional information they presented. Some of these occurrences will be discussed below.

The two women were living together in a sexual relationship. There were many similarities in the life stories they presented, and many of these factors were not found in the autobiographical material reported by any of the other subjects. Both women were devoutly religious and were very fundamental in their religious beliefs. In fact, one of the women reported that she is an ordained minister in a prominent fundamental church and claimed that all of the female ministers in that church are lesbians. She further stated that while the church directors officially believed homosexuality to be a sin, they were secretly aware that the female ministers were actively homosexual and unofficially condoned their sexual behavior.

There were many similarities in their childhoods.

Both subjects were adopted and both had mothers who were alcoholics and were unloving towards them. Their fathers are now dead. Both subjects expressed strong resentment for their mothers and strong admiration and love for their fathers. More surprising is the frequency with which each of these women experienced unusual sexual experiences. They reported strong histories of very sadistic and often incestuous relationships beginning in childhood.

The "butch" of the pair claimed to have been sexually abused by her father every night from the age of six to age twenty-three. She stated, "Up until about seven years ago my father kept me in turmoil and bondage. He would chain me to the bed at night. . .". According to her, their sexual relationship consisted of brutal beatings, and her father would sometimes take obscene pictures of her which her relatives found after he died. Although she talked about how horrifying these experiences were for her, she repeatedly proclaimed her love for him and blamed his behavior on her mother. "I don't hold it against him because it was really my mother's fault. I loved him just as much, even though I didn't love what he did to me."

Her mother, she stated, also sexually abused her but with less frequency (three or four times per month). She drank to excess and was concerned only with the Country Club to which she belonged and the man and woman with whom she was having an affair. Her mother would beat her when she was drunk and her father protected her from these beatings.

Although her father was a so physically brutal, he only beat her in relation to sex, never as a form of punishment, which seemed to be an important distinction to the subject. According to the subject, if her mother had loved her father as she should have, her father would not have been forced to abuse his own daughter. Another peculiar aspect of this father-daughter relationship occurred after the subject had left home and was living with a lesbian lover. Her mother had died and her father was very ill so she returned home periodically to care for him because it was her "Christian duty". Her lover did not understand how she could do such a thing, so she consequently left. The subject tearfully related how she would go home to care for him on his death bed and he would chain her to the bed again and resume the sexual relationship which she detested. Yet, she returned each time because he needed her and it really was not his fault; her dead mother was to blame. Many of her comments throughout the interview suggested this same "Good Samaritan" or "martyr" self-image.

The "fem" also reported some incestuous relationships which occurred when she was eleven years of age (she would not designate the family member, only that he was male), plus she reported an amazing list of sadistic relationships. In the sixth grade she was repeatedly seduced by her gym teacher, who was female, and the same situation occurred in junior high school with another female gym teacher who would stand her in a corner and brutally beat her. In order to

escape, she went to camp in the summer but, alas, her camp counselor was also a sadistic lesbian. In addition to these incidences, she made reference to "baseball bats and things stuck in places they shouldn't be" but did not elaborate on this statement. In contrast to the "butch", who was a very large and boisterous woman, the "fem" was a small, child-like girl who sat quietly and almost expressionless. When she did speak it was often difficult to comprehend her message. Throughout the interview she was referred to by the "butch" as "This One" rather than by her name, perhaps reflecting her lack of distinction as a separate person. The relationship between them seemed to be one of extreme dominance on the part of the "butch" and submission on the part of the "fem".

Both subjects reported that they have been raped by males several times, some of whom were not members of their family. In fact, they had both been raped by men fairly recently, the "fem" only six months ago. The "butch" was raped within the last few years by a group of black men who hit her in the head with a pipe on her way home from work. Again, she "does not hold this against them". In addition to her other poor relationships with men, the "butch" had also married a gay guy to "keep him out of jail on a sodomy charge". She became pregnant and her husband tried to kill the child out of jealousy, resulting in a complete hysterectomy for her.

While other subjects in the sample reported incidences

of rape by males, these subjects were the only two who also reported having been raped by a female. For the "fem", this occurred when she was 18 years of age and in jail for public drunkenness, assault and battery, resisting arrest, and assaulting a police officer. She had known the woman who sexually assaulted her on the streets because she was her connection for "speed". The "butch" had been raped by a woman (in addition to having been raped by her mother) two years ago. She related the incident as follows:

Two years ago a woman in San Antonio who worked in a gay bar and her boyfriend tied me up and put me in the trunk and took me home. She kept hitting me in the head with a bottle.

It is interesting to note that these women were the only subjects who reported any sadistic relationships at all, and they supplied a wide variety of such incidences. In addition to their more bizarre life histories, their behavior during the interviews also distinguished them from the other subjects. Of all the subjects tested, these women were the only two who insisted upon remaining in the room with each other while the individual interviews were being conducted. The "butch" was the most insistent, saying that she would complete the questionnaire during the interview with her lover and would pay no attention to what was being said. At one point during the interview with the "fem", when she was relating a particularly gruesome and brutal sexual encounter, the "butch" turned around in a rage, denying that she had ever done such things to her. She was quickly reassured that she was not the person being dis-

cussed, but this incidence demonstrated the presence of paranoid ideas and suggested that she was not nearly as inattentive to the "fem's" interview as she had claimed.

There were many other times when paranoia seemed apparent. The pair frequently discussed other women in the church who were trying to break up their home. As evidence against the accused, they cited instances of other women calling them "honey" or asking the "fem" to go shopping with them while the "butch" was at work. When asked if these behaviors were not true of most interactions among women, they agreed and proceeded to say that most women were in fact trying to destroy the relationships of others, and, therefore, should not be trusted. While revealing these occurrences, the "butch", in particular, repeatedly insisted that she loved these women and only went to that church to try to help them. She then explained that she had once gone to a psychiatrist at the suggestion of friends, and within five minutes he told her that she was so much better adjusted psychologically than anyone he had ever known that she should be practicing therapy rather than seeking it. He then asked her to go out and find people who really needed help and counsel with them. Her behavior during this revelation was perhaps even more revealing than the actual words she said. When reporting the "seductive" behavior of other women, she paced the floor and spoke very loudly and very dramatically, as if feeling almost uncontrollable rage. Then she would stop suddenly and spend several minutes ex-

plaining that she did not hate these women, she actually loved them and wanted only to help them stop behaving so sinfully. She talked at length about the countless women who were begging her for counseling and were literally lined up outside her door many nights. Again, these behaviors would suggest a "martyr" role of self-sacrifice for the good of others, even though others are apparently "no good". It is interesting to note here that a woman from her church had earlier reported that several women had stopped attending that particular church because this subject incessantly cornered them, telling them that she could tell that they were psychologically disturbed and should come to her for counseling.

Assessing the validity of autobiographical material for the "fem" was not an easy task since her behavior during the interview was extremely withdrawn. Due to the great frequency with which she reportedly experienced bizarre sexual experiences, there is some question as to whether she actually experienced these occurrences as reported or, perhaps, imagined some of them or at least distorted the details of these experiences. There is little doubt that these experiences were indeed very real to her, but in developmental research accuracy of external events is essential. Because the validity of at least some of her experiences was questionable, it was decided that her data would not be included in the data analysis for the sample.

The "butch", on the other hand, was loudly domineering

throughout the session and her extreme behavior suggested delusional thinking which involved seeing herself as a persecuted "savior" who must redeem the world even if the world did not wish to be redeemed. This paranoid ideation was coupled with a denial of her own anger (which was readily observed in her behavior) which she projected onto others, particularly the other women in her church. This denial was perhaps best exemplified towards the end of the interview. In response to the question, "Did you have a happy childhood?" she quickly replied, "Oh, yes!" She continued by explaining that she was thankful for every horrible thing that had happened to her and that she would not change any part of her life because God had allowed her to experience these things so that she would be able to understand and help people as Christ did.

APPENDIX B

GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please circle one of the following which is indicative of your overall sexual activity:
0 - Completely heterosexual
1 - Primarily heterosexual (little homosexual experience and drive)
2 - Predominantly heterosexual (considerable homosexual experience and drive)
3 - Relatively bisexual in experience and drive
4 - Predominantly homosexual (considerable heterosexual experience and drive)
5 - Primarily homosexual (little heterosexual experience and drive)
6 - Completely homosexual

2. Please check one of the following;
 I knew that I was homosexual before I actually had a homosexual experience with another woman and/or exposure to gay life.
 I had a homosexual experience and/or exposure to gay life first and then realized that I was homosexual.
 I am unsure as to whether I knew that I was homosexual beforehand or if I discovered that I was homosexual after a homosexual experience and/or exposure to gay life.

Comments:

3. At what age did you experience your first homosexual fantasy?
 Before puberty
 After puberty

At what age did you experience your first heterosexual fantasy?

- Before puberty
 After puberty

Comments:

4. When you compared yourself to other females, how were you similar to them? Age?

How were you different from them? Age?

5. Please check one of the following:

 I now consider myself to be exclusively homosexual.

 I now consider myself to be bisexual. (What percent? Would you consider sex with an opposite sex partner?)

Comments:

6. Complete a or b, whichever applies to you:

a. First sexual experience with another person was with a male

- 1) Check one: The experience was pleasurable
 The experience was not pleasurable
- 2) Check one: He initiated the experience
 I initiated the experience
 Initiation of the experience was mutual
- 3) How old were you?
 How old was he?

Describe the nature of the relationship:

- 4) Check one: My first sexual experience with a female was pleasurable
 My first sexual experience with a female was not pleasurable
 I have had no sexual experience with females
- a) How old were you?
 How old was she?
- b) Check one: She initiated the experience
 I initiated the experience
 Initiation of the experience was mutual

Describe the nature of the relationship:

b. First sexual experience with another person was with a female

- 1) Check one: The experience was pleasurable
 The experience was not pleasurable
- 2) Check one: She initiated the experience
 I initiated the experience
 Initiation of the experience was mutual

- 3) How old were you? _____
 How old was she? _____

Describe the nature of the relationship:

- 4) Check one: _____ My first sexual experience
 with a male was pleasurable
 _____ My first sexual experience
 with a male was not pleasurable
 _____ I have had no sexual experience
 with males
 a) How old were you? _____
 How old was he? _____
 b) Check one: _____ He initiated
 the experience
 _____ I initiated
 the experience
 _____ Initiation of
 the experience
 was mutual

Describe the nature of the relationship:

7. Overall, my sexual experiences with males have been
 _____ Pleasurable
 _____ Not pleasurable
 _____ I have had no sexual experiences with males

Comments:

8. Overall, my sexual experiences with females have been
 _____ Pleasurable
 _____ Not pleasurable
 _____ I have had no sexual experiences with females

Comments:

9. How do you presently feel toward gay males?
 _____ like _____ indifferent _____ dislike
 How do you presently feel toward straight males?
 _____ like _____ indifferent _____ dislike

Comments:

10. How do you presently feel toward gay females?
 _____ like _____ indifferent _____ dislike
 How do you presently feel toward straight females?
 _____ like _____ indifferent _____ dislike

Comments:

11. What is the earliest age you can recall being attracted to a female? _____

Comments:

12. Check the appropriate response for each item below:
- a. Do you feel that your parents wanted a boy or girl when you were born?
 _____ Boy _____ Girl _____ Wanted no child at all
 _____ Wanted a child, but child's sex was unimportant
- b. Were you a tomboy when growing up? _____ Yes
 _____ No
 If so, how did your parents react to your masculine behavior?
 _____ Accepted it _____ Discouraged it _____ Indifferent
- c. What kinds of clothes did you wear when growing up?
 _____ Boy's clothes _____ Girl's clothes _____ both
 boy's and girl's clothes
- d. Do you feel that you were raised as a member of the opposite sex?
 _____ Yes _____ No
- e. Have you ever wished that you were a boy?
 _____ Yes _____ No
- f. Do you now wish that you were a man?
 _____ Yes _____ No
- g. As you were growing up, were you closer to your mother or father?
 _____ Mother _____ Father _____ Neither _____ Equally
 close to both of them
- h. Do you feel that you identified mainly with your mother or your father?
 _____ Mother _____ Father _____ Neither _____ Identified
 equally with both
- i. As a child did you identify more with males or females?
 _____ Males _____ Females _____ Identified with
 neither males or females _____ Identified equally
 with both males and females
- j. Did you have more male or female friends in childhood?
 _____ Male _____ Female _____ Equal number of male
 and female friends _____ No friends at all
- k. Did you have more male or female friends in adolescence?
 _____ Male _____ Female _____ Equal number of male
 and female friends _____ No friends at all
- l. Do you feel that you were rejected by your mother?
 _____ Yes _____ No
- m. Do you feel that you were rejected by your father?
 _____ Yes _____ No

Comments:

13. Have you ever been raped or molested by a male?
 Yes No
 If so, did you at the time of the assault consider yourself to be homosexual? Yes No
 Have you ever been raped or molested by a female?
 Yes No
 If so, did you at the time of the assault consider yourself to be homosexual? Yes No

Comments:

14. Which of the lesbian roles do you currently assume?
 Butch Fem Neither
 Circle the number which best describes your role behavior since the time you first became involved in a homosexual lifestyle:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Always Fem	Usually Fem	Sometimes Fem	Equally Butch & Fem	Sometimes Butch	Usually Butch	Always Butch

Would you consider assuming a different role from the one you presently assume in another relationship? (For example, if you now play a fem role but became attracted to someone who was also fem, do you think you would be able to assume the butch role in that relationship? If you presently assume no role, would you consider assuming a role if you became involved with a woman who preferred to maintain a butch/fem role distinction?)

Yes No

Comments:

15. How do you feel about your present life situation?
 Happy Unhappy Amgiguous

Comments:

16. Did you have a happy childhood? Yes No

Comments:

17. Overall, would you describe your childhood as stable or unstable?
 Stable Unstable

Comments:

18. Are your mother and father divorced? _____ Yes
 _____ No

Comments:

19. Were both your parents living at your home from the time of your birth until the time that you left home? (reached adulthood) _____ Yes _____ No

Comments:

20. Approximately, with how many males have you had sexual relations? _____

Comments:

21. Approximately, with how many females have you had sexual relations? _____

Comments:

22. Have you ever had a close, meaningful, and romantic relationship with a male (Been in love)?

_____ Yes _____ No

If so, was this prior to your initial involvement in a homosexual lifestyle? _____ Yes _____ No _____ Had such a relationship both before and after I became involved in a homosexual lifestyle

Comments:

23. Have you ever had a close, meaningful, and romantic relationship with a female (Been in love)?

_____ Yes _____ No

Comments:

24. Have you ever been married to a man? _____ Yes

_____ No

If so, describe the relationship:

25. Do you have any children? _____ Yes _____ No

If so, how many? _____

Do they know that you are gay?

INTERVIEWER ONLY

Observations during interview:

Place of interview:

Medium of contact:

APPENDIX C

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

On the following page, you will be shown a large number of personality characteristics. We would like you to use those characteristics in order to describe yourself. That is, we would like you to indicate, on a scale from 1 to 7, how true of you these various characteristics are. Please do not leave any characteristic unmarked.

Example: sly

Mark a 1 if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE that you are sly

Mark a 2 if it is USUALLY NOT TRUE that you are sly

Mark a 3 if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE that you are sly

Mark a 4 if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE that you are sly

Mark a 5 if it is OFTEN TRUE that you are sly

Mark a 6 if it is USUALLY TRUE that you are sly

Mark a 7 if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE that you are sly

Thus, if you feel it is sometimes but infrequently true that you are "sly", never or almost never true that you are "malicious", always or almost always true that you are "irresponsible", and often true that you are "carefree", then you would rate these characteristics as follows:

Sly	3
Malicious	1

Irresponsible	7
Carefree	5

DESCRIBE YOURSELF

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NEVER OR USUALLY ALMOST NEVER TRUE	USUALLY NOT TRUE	SOMETIMES BUT IN- FREQUENTLY TRUE	OCCASION- ALLY TRUE	OFTEN TRUE	USUALLY TRUE	ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE

Self reliant		Reliable		Warm	
Yielding		Analytical		Solemn	
Helpful		Sympathetic		Willing to take a stand	
Defends own beliefs		Jealous		Tender	
Cheerful		Has leadership abilities		Friendly	
Moody		Sensitive to the needs of others		Aggressive	
Independent		Truthful		Gullible	
Shy		Willing to take risks		Inefficient	
Conscientious		Understanding		Acts as a leader	
Athletic		Secretive		Childlike	
Affectionate		Makes decisions easily		Adaptable	
Theatrical		Compassionate		Individualistic	
Assertive		Sincere		Does not use harsh language	
Flatterable		Self-sufficient		Unsystematic	
Happy		Eager to soothe hurt feelings		Competitive	
Strong personality		Conceited		Loves children	
Loyal		Dominant		Tactful	

Unpredictable		Soft-spoken		Ambitious	
Forceful		Likable		Gentle	
Feminine		Masculine		Conventional	

APPENDIX D

CHILDHOOD SEXUAL BEHAVIOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Since publication of Kinsey's work in 1948, there have been few scientific attempts to study sexual behavior. Within the past several years research has increased in this field. However, there continues to be a tremendous lack of understanding of human sexual behavior specifically with regard to childhood and adolescence. As sexual development is an essential part of total development, it is necessary to chronicle typical behavior and assess its influence on other developing behaviors. Currently there is little known regarding sexual behavior in childhood or adolescence.

The attached questionnaire focuses upon gathering information regarding sexual behavior in childhood and adolescence. We would like to have you fill out the questionnaire. It is to be emphasized that filling out the questionnaire is strictly on a voluntary basis. Although it may be difficult for you to remember specific information, we appreciate your trying to answer the questions honestly and with some effort. Your answers will remain anonymous.

Thank you for your help. If you have any questions, you may contact one of the following persons:

Brenda K. Vance
 Department of Psychology
 Oklahoma State University
 Stillwater, Oklahoma 74074
 (405) 624-6024

Vicki Green-Nealey, Ph. D.
 Department of Psychology
 Oklahoma State University
 Stillwater, Oklahoma 74074
 (405) 624-6027

1. Race
 - White
 - Black
 - Native American
 - Other
2. Sex
 - Male
 - Female
3. Year in school (if currently attending)
 - Freshman
 - Sophomore
 - Junior
 - Senior
 - Graduate
- 3a. Educational level (if not currently attending)
 - post graduate degree professional degree
 - college graduate
 - some college, business school
 - high school
 - some high school
 - grades 7 and 8
 - grammar school to and including 6th grade
4. Age _____ (List age to nearest year)
5. Dominant religion of family during childhood
 - No religious belief, atheist or agnostic
 - Unitarian, Quaker
 - Protestant (Fundamentalist, Pentecostal, Baptist, Sectarian, etc.)
 - Protestant, all others (Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, etc.)
 - Roman Catholic
 - Eastern Orthodox
 - Jewish
 - Eastern Religions

6. Dominant religious activity of family during childhood.

1	2	3	4	5
very inactive	inactive	moderate	devout	very devout

7. Did the religion that you grew up with teach you that everything the Bible says is to be taken literally?
_____ If yes, check here.

8. Socio-Marital Status

Unattached, Casual Dating
 Steady Dating with one person
 Engaged, Pinned
 Married, Living with someone (where sexual relationship is involved)
 opposite sex
 same sex

9. Location of home during childhood (list the place you lived the longest)

rural address
 (Town or city)
 under 2,500
 2,500 - 10,000
 10,001 - 30,000
 30,001 - 100,000
 100,001 - 500,000
 500,001 - and above

9a. Roughly, how many times did you move during your childhood? _____

10. Education - Head of Household during childhood

post graduate degree professional degree
 college graduate
 some college, business school
 high school graduate
 some high school
 grades 7 and 8
 grammar school to and including 6th grade

11. Education of mother during childhood (If mother was head of household repeat answer here)

post graduate degree professional degree
 college graduate
 some college, business school
 high school graduate
 some high school
 grades 7 and 8
 grammar school to and including 6th grade

12. Was mother in home the majority of time during your childhood period?
 _____ If yes, check here.
13. Number of siblings (brothers and sisters, including step and/or half brothers and sisters if they were in the home with you) _____.
 If you have siblings are they
 _____ same sex
 _____ different sex
 _____ both same and different sex
14. Describe the amount of contact you had with your siblings.
- | | | | | |
|------|---------|------|--------------|-----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| none | minimal | some | much contact | extensive |
15. Would you describe your household as patriarchal (father dominated) or matriarchal (mother dominated).
 _____ Patriarchal
 _____ Matriarchal
16. How many fathers have you had? _____ (answer all questions pertaining to father with regard to the one you spent the most time with and/or the one who had the most influence on you).

 How many mothers have you had? _____ (answer all questions pertaining to mother with regard to the one you spent the most time with and/or the one who had the most influence on you).
- 16a. Define your father as you remember him when you were a child (Circle appropriate number).
- | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| warm | | | | cold |
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Difficult to
communicate
with | | | | Easy to
communicate
with |
17. Define your mother as you remember her when you were a child.
- | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| warm | | | | cold |
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Difficult to
communicate
with | | | | Easy to
communicate
with |

18. Describe how often you were disciplined by your:

Mother

1 2 3 4 5
 never sometimes always

Father

1 2 3 4 5
 never sometimes always

19. What style of discipline was most used by your father when you were a child?

1 2 3 4 5
 Physical Verbal

What style of discipline was most used by your mother when you were a child?

1 2 3 4 5
 Physical Verbal

20. As a child, did your parents make you feel guilty when you were bad? How much?

1 2 3 4 5
 never rarely sometimes usually always

21. My parent's interaction with each other while I was growing up was

1 2 3 4 5
 Compatible interaction Incompatible interaction
 (did not fight-could relate (fought-could not relate
 to each other) to each other)

22. How often did your parents talk with you and listen to your opinions?

1 2 3 4 5
 never sometimes always

23. Describe how you, as a child, responded to orders or commands from your parents?

1 2 3 4 5
 Giving in Not giving in

24. How much were your opinions on sex influenced by those of your parents?

1 2 3 4 5
 Total influence No influence

25. How freely was sex discussed by your parents during childhood?

1	2	3	4	5
never openly discussed		sometimes openly discussed		always openly discussed

26. How freely was sex discussed among your siblings?

1	2	3	4	5
never openly discussed		sometimes openly discussed		always openly discussed

27. How freely was sex discussed among your peers/friends?

1	2	3	4	5
never openly discussed		sometimes openly discussed		always openly discussed

For Following Questions

(NOTE: Puberty is defined as start of menstruation for females and first wet dreams for males)

28. At what age were you aware of your sex as different from the opposite sex?

- Prior to 9 years old
- 9 to puberty
- Puberty to end of high school
- after high school

29. At what age did you first observe the opposite sex nude in printed material?

- Prior to 9 years old
- 9 to puberty
- Puberty to end of high school
- After high school

30. At what age did you observe the opposite sex nude in real life?

- Prior to 9 years old
- 9 to puberty
- Puberty to end of high school
- after high school

31. At what age did your first examine the sexual parts of your body?

- Prior to 9 years old
- 9 to puberty
- Puberty to end of high school
- after high school

32. During childhood did you examine the sexual parts of another person (the "let me see" or "doctor/nurse game")
 _____ If with the same sex check here
 _____ If with the opposite sex check here
33. Did your parents ever discourage you from touching your genitals or examining your body?

1	2	3	4	5
never	rarely	sometimes	often	always

Early Childhood Practices - Prior to Puberty

34. During childhood, at what age did you first touch or play with (other than for functions as urinating) your genitals producing a pleasurable sensation?
 _____ Prior to 9 years old
 _____ 9 to puberty
35. How frequently was this done in childhood?

1	2	3	4	5
never	rarely	sometimes	often	very frequently

36. Did you engage in sexual intercourse with a member of the opposite sex prior to adolescence?
 _____ If yes, check here.

At what age?

_____ Prior to 9 years old
 _____ 9 to puberty

- 36a. Did you have sexual relations of a homosexual nature prior to adolescence?
 _____ If yes, check here.

At what age?

_____ Prior to 9 years old
 _____ 9 to puberty

Adolescence - Puberty to and Including

37. Did you engage in petting, "making out" during adolescence with a member of the opposite sex?

1	2	3	4	5
never	rarely	sometimes	often	frequently

44. Did you have sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex in adolescence?

Yes
 No

At what age did you first have sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex? _____

How often did you have sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex in adolescence?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
 or more times
 per month

- 44a. Did you have sexual relations with a person of the same sex in adolescence?

Yes
 No

At what age did you first have sexual relations with a person of the same sex? _____

How often did you have sexual relations with a person of the same sex in adolescence?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
 or more times
 per month

45. Did you feel guilty about having sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex?

1 2 3 4 5
 not guilty very guilty

- 45a. Did you feel guilty about having sexual relations with a person of the same sex?

1 2 3 4 5
 not guilty very guilty

46. Did you feel anxious about having sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex?

1 2 3 4 5
 not anxious very anxious

46a. Did you feel anxious about having sexual relations with a person of the same sex?

1	2	3	4	5
not				very
anxious				anxious

47. Through what source were you first sware of masturbation, sexual intercourse, and homosexual relationships?

Masturbation

Self discovery
 Parents
 Siblings
 Friends
 Sex Education in School
 Religion/The Bible
 Books/Magazines
 Other - Specify _____

Sexual Intercourse

Self discovery
 Parents
 Siblings
 Friends
 Sex Education in School
 Religion/The Bible
 Books/Magazines
 Other - Specify _____

Homosexual Relationships

Self discovery
 Parents
 Siblings
 Friends
 Sex Education in School
 Religion/The Bible
 Books/Magazines
 Other - Specify _____

48. Did your parents ever discover you masturbating?
 _____ If yes, check here.

Did your parents ever discover you engaged in sexual intercourse?
 _____ If yes, check here.

Did your parents ever discover you in a homosexual relationship (engaged in sex)?
 _____ If yes, check here.

49. Was masturbation discussed at home?
 _____ If yes, check here.

Was sex discussed at home?
 _____ If yes, check here.

Was contraception discussed at home?
 _____ If yes, check here.

Was homosexuality discussed at home?
 _____ If yes, check here.

50. The prevailing attitude about sex in my house was

1	2	3	4	5
sex is for marriage only, no mistakes accepted				sex is seen as belonging to a mature rela- tionship in or out of marriage

51. Currently how often per month do you masturbate?
 (by yourself)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
											or more times per month

Currently how often per month do you mutually mastur-
 bate with a person of the same sex?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
											or more times per month

Currently how often per month do you have sexual inter-
 course with a person of the opposite sex?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
											or more times per month

Currently how often per month do you have sexual rela-
 tions with a person of the same sex?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
											or more times per month

For Females: 52a. Are you currently taking a:
 Butch Role _____
 Fem Role _____

Would you take the opposite role?

Yes _____

No _____

For Males: 52b. Are you currently taking:

A Passive Role _____

An Active Role _____

Neither _____

Or Both _____

APPENDIX E

SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE

Instructions

The purpose of this questionnaire is to survey your attitudes toward a number of social topics. Read each statement on the following pages, and indicate the extent of your agreement with the attitudes expressed by filling in the appropriate space on the answer sheet. In each row of the answer sheet there are five spaces which are defined as follows:

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Undecided
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

In marking down your response to a statement, make sure the row number on the answer sheet corresponds with the number of the statement to which you are responding.

There are no right or wrong answers to these statements. We are interested in attitudes relating to topics about which people hold a wide variety of positions. Therefore, your attitudes are just as valid as anyone else's.

Work rapidly; do not spend a great deal of time on any one statement. Occasionally you may find a statement that appears incomplete, unclear, or self-contradictory. Since these statements attempt to embrace fairly general attitudes, they may, at times, only approximate your understanding of the topic under consideration. You may find yourself reacting to a statement "that depends on other circumstances." Whenever this happens, let impulse determine your response to the statement. Select the response category that, under the circumstances, best approximates your reaction to the statement, and then move on to the next one.

DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE ANSWER SHEET.

1. There should be no authority that has the right to determine the type of reading material that is available in the community.
2. I firmly believe that this country has been built on a foundation of truth and righteousness.
3. If a child is ever to learn self-discipline he must first be exposed to firm discipline at home.
4. Many of our current social problems could be solved if there was a fairer distribution of wealth in this country.
5. As a general rule, how a man behaves is the result of reason and choice; he is not forced to act in a certain way by the circumstances under which he lives.
6. There are many times when I feel we are changing things much too rapidly in this country.
7. A person born to the most humble circumstances can succeed in this country if he has the ability and ambition to get ahead.
8. Many of our most difficult social problems cannot be solved unless the Federal Government becomes more involved with individual communities.

9. Our society should place much more emphasis on the importance of private property and ownership as an essential condition for freedom.
10. Many of our so-called intellectuals get so wrapped up in complicated ideas that they overlook the basic truths that apply to man and his world.
11. I'm sure that environmental factors exert some influence in determining a man's social achievements, but what he inherits in the way of character and ability plays a much more significant role.
12. Many governmental programs are nothing but poorly veiled handouts to the lower classes who, in turn, keep the politicians in office.
13. The basic structure of our society is built upon a religious heritage.
14. Although our jails should attempt to return a man to a man to a productive life in the community, they should also serve as a strong reminder that when a man breaks a law, he will be punished.
15. We must experiment with social affairs just as we experiment with physical and biological matters.
16. Although a good break is sometimes important, I believe that men rise in a society largely through their own efforts.
17. There are natural leaders and natural followers, and the country would be better off if more people really accepted this idea.
18. There are many aspects of our country that are unfair and should be changed.
19. He is not much of a person who does not feel great love, gratefulness, and respect for his parents.
20. In times of great national trouble the people and their leaders should turn to God for guidance.
21. Much of the trouble in our country could be avoided if our schools would return to the teaching of patriotism and Americanism.
22. One can never justify breaking the law by claiming that he is following the dictates of his conscience.

23. I know that man has progressed far through science and reason, but I also know that there are many important truths that man will never completely comprehend.
24. It seems that the real power in this country has been shifting from the practical, hard-headed business leaders to fuzzy-thinking, ivory tower intellectuals who know very little about the real world.
25. Finding fault with this country generally comes from those people who lack the skill or ambition to make something of themselves.
26. I believe that truth endures, hence ideas that withstand the test of time are more likely to be closer to the truth than are ideas that are new.
27. If the lower classes would not let their houses run down so, perhaps they would be more acceptable as neighbors.
28. A man who manages to succeed in business is likely to possess the sound judgement, practical intelligence, and personal characteristics that are required by public office.
29. When I look about at Nature, I see a well ordered plan. The family and all human groups can best secure happiness when they conform to this natural ordering.
30. Many social reformers feel that it is acceptable to destroy both the good and the bad aspects of the society in order to achieve their objectives.
31. I think we are moving away from a time when people were happier and life was simpler.
32. As a general rule, poor people are just as happy as rich people.
33. Labor unions have demonstrated the benefits people may expect when they join together in the pursuit of their own interests.
34. The decent people of this country, the ones who work for a living and have respect for the law, are not the ones we see agitating for social change.
35. God's laws are so simple and beautiful that I do not understand why man has turned away from them to a set of fuzzy ideas that are constantly changing.
36. The saying, "Mother knows best," still has more than a grain of truth.

37. Very few people today seem to be willing to do hard work. I see this as a fundamental weakness in our country.
38. There is an absolute truth that is revealed to man through his belief in God.
39. There is greater leadership potential in the business community than is generally found in other sectors of the society.
40. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents or else he will lose respect for them.
41. Today we pamper our children, keep our lower classes on the dole, and neglect the traditions that made this country great.
42. During the recent past this country has been undergoing a steady decay in national character and morality.
43. Despite all the recent criticism and attacks, I still feel that this country is basically good and decent.
44. I believe that religion and patriotism are among the highest virtues a man can display.

APPENDIX F

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN SCALE

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the role of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly. Please indicate your opinion by marking A, B, C, or D, whichever corresponds to the alternative which best describes your personal attitude on the blank line preceding each statement. Please respond to every item.

- A - Agree Strongly
- B - Agree Mildly
- C - Disagree Mildly
- D - Disagree Strongly

- _____ 1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.
- _____ 2. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.
- _____ 3. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.
- _____ 4. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.
- _____ 5. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.

- _____ 6. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.
- _____ 7. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.
- _____ 8. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.
- _____ 9. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.
- _____ 10. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.
- _____ 11. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.
- _____ 12. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.
- _____ 13. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.
- _____ 14. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.
- _____ 15. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.
- _____ 16. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of the children.
- _____ 17. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiances.
- _____ 18. The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.
- _____ 19. Women should be concerned with their duties of childrearing and houstending, rather than with desires for professional and business careers.
- _____ 20. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

- _____ 21. Economic and social freedom are worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set by men.
- _____ 22. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contribution to economic production than are men.
- _____ 23. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.
- _____ 24. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.
- _____ 25. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy.

APPENDIX G

TABLE III

DESCRIPTION OF TOTAL LESBIAN SAMPLE

Variable	Total N	Number of "Yes" Responses	Percentage of "Yes" Responses
Were you a Fundamentalist?	43	20	46.51
Did you play "Doctor/Nurse" with the same sex?	43	26	60.46
Did you play "Doctor/Nurse" with the opposite sex?	43	25	58.14
Did you engage in sexual intercourse before adolescence?	43	11	25.58
Did you engage in homosexual sex before adolescence?	42	10	23.81
Did you engage in homosexual sex during adolescence?	43	16	37.21

TABLE III (Continued)

Variable	Total N	Number of "Yes" Responses	Percentage of "Yes" Responses
Was homosexuality discussed in your home?	42	6	14.28
Were you aware of your sexual preference before your first homosexual experience?	43	17	39.53
Have you ever had a homosexual fantasy?	43	40	93.02
Have you ever had a heterosexual fantasy?	43	25	58.14
Are you now exclusively homosexual?	43	34	79.07
Was your first sexual experience with a male?	43	31	72.09
Was your first sexual experience with a male pleasurable?	39	13	33.33
Was your first sexual experience with a male initiated by him?	39	32	82.05

TABLE III (Continued)

Variable	Total N	Number of "Yes" Responses	Percentage of "Yes" Responses
Was your first sexual experience with a female pleasurable?	42	39	92.86
Was your first sexual experience with a female initiated by her?	42	20	47.62
Have your overall sexual experiences with males been pleasurable?	35	14	40.00
Have your overall sexual experiences with females been pleasurable?	42	42	100.00
Did your parents want a boy when you were born?	42	12	28.57
Were you a tomboy when growing up?	43	39	90.70
Have you ever wished you were a boy?	43	28	65.12
Were you rejected by your mother?	43	9	20.93

TABLE III (Continued)

Variable	Total N	Number of "Yes" Responses	Percentage of "Yes" Responses
Were you rejected by your father?	43	16	37.21
Have you ever been raped by a male?	43	20	46.51
Have you ever been raped by a female?	43	0	0.00
Are you currently assuming a "fem" role?	43	9	20.93
Are you currently assuming a "butch" role?	43	15	34.88
Are you currently assuming no role at all?	43	19	44.19
Are your parents divorced?	43	13	30.23
Have you ever been in love with a male?	43	20	46.51
Have you ever been in love with a female?	43	42	97.67
Have you ever been married to a man?	43	17	39.53
Do you have any children?	43	14	32.59

TABLE III (Continued)

Variable	Total N	Number of "Yes" Responses	Percentage of "Yes" Responses
Did you have a happy childhood?	43	31	72.09
Did you have a stable childhood?	43	34	79.07
Was your childhood home patriarchal?	43	20	46.51
Was your childhood home matriarchal?	43	17	39.53

TABLE IV
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR TOTAL LESBIAN SAMPLE

Variable	Key	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Define your father	1=Warm, 5=Cold	38	2.76	1.26
Define your father	1=Difficult to Communicate with 5=Easy to Communicate with	38	2.66	1.48
Define your mother	1=Warm, 5=Cold	43	1.91	.99
Define your mother	1=Difficult to Communicate with 5=Easy to Communicate with	43	2.95	1.48
What style of discipline was used by your father?	1=Physical, 5=Verbal	38	3.05	1.66
What style of discipline was used by your mother?	1=Physical, 5=Verbal	43	3.30	1.37
How often did your parents talk with you?	1=Never, 5=Always	42	2.74	1.21

TABLE IV (Continued)

Variable	Key	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Parent's Influence on sex	1=Total Influence 5=No Influence	41	3.49	1.05
Discussion of Sex by Parents	1=Never openly discussed 5=Always openly discussed	42	2.00	1.19
Discussion of Sex by Siblings	1=Never openly discussed 5=Always openly discussed	40	2.02	.95
Discussion of Sex by Friends	1=Never openly discussed 5=Always openly discussed	43	3.42	.90
At what age did you first examine your sexual parts?	1=Prior to 9 4=After high school	42	1.64	.82
Frequency of touching genitals in childhood	1=Never 5=Very frequently	41	2.58	1.20
Did you engage in petting during adolescence with the opposite sex?	1=Never 5=Frequently	42	2.64	1.12

TABLE IV (Continued)

Variable	Key	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
At what age did you first masturbate to orgasm?		43	12.02	5.74
At what age did you first engage in sexual intercourse with the opposite sex?		31	15.42	3.96
What was the attitude toward sex in your home?	1=Sex is for marriage only; no mistakes accepted. 5=Sex is seen as belonging to a mature relationship in or out of marriage.	41	1.98	1.25
Currently, how often per month do you masturbate?		41	1.54	3.05
Currently, how often per month do you have sexual intercourse?		40	.70	2.54

TABLE IV (Continued)

Variable	Key	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Time of homosexual sex before adolescence	1=Prior to 9 2=9 to puberty	10	1.60	.52
How often did you engage in petting during adolescence with the same sex?	1=Never 5=Frequently	42	2.12	1.31
Age of first homosexual sex		42	18.24	5.28
How often per month did you have homosexual relations during adolescence?		39	2.38	3.78
Currently how often per month do you mutually masturbate with the same sex?		39	3.95	4.69
Currently how often per month do you have sex with the same sex?		42	6.52	3.83
Social Attitude Scale	44=Liberal, 220=Conservative	43	136.72	17.63

TABLE IV (Continued)

Variable	Key	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Attitudes Towards Women Scale	0=Sexist, 75=Feminist	43	65.91	7.70
Average Masculine Score on BSRI	1=Never true,7=Always true	43	5.12	.80
Average Feminine Score on BSRI	1=Never true,7=Always true	43	5.22	.50
Dominant adjective on BSRI	1=Never true,7=Always true	43	4.63	1.54
Masculine adjective on BSRI	1=Never true,7=Always true	43	3.95	1.99
Feminine adjective on BSRI	1=Never true,7=Always true	43	4.42	1.93
Kinsey Scale	0=Completely heterosexual 6=Completely homosexual	43	4.56	1.08
Your age - first sex with male		39	15.51	3.73
Your age - first sex with female		42	18.48	5.38
Her age - first sex with female		42	22.21	7.77
Age you were 1st attracted to a female		41	14.24	7.04

TABLE IV (Continued)

Variable	Key	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Overall Role Behavior	1=Always fem,7=Always butch	43	4.63	1.85
How many males have you had sex with?		43	8.95	17.14
How many females have you had sex with?		43	17.35	41.65
How many times did you move during childhood?		43	3.14	2.59
How many fathers did you have?		43	1.28	.71
How many mothers did you have?		43	1.09	.37

VITA

Brenda Kaye Vance

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: FEMALE HOMOSEXUALITY: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL
EXAMINATION OF ATTITUDINAL AND ETIOLOGICAL
CHARACTERISTICS OF DIFFERENT GROUPS

Major Field: Psychology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Wynnewood, Oklahoma, June 15,
1951, the daughter of Mr. George Vance and
Ms. Susie Vance.

Education: Graduated from Byng High School, Ada,
Oklahoma, in May, 1969; received Associate of
Arts degree in Psychology from Oklahoma City
Southwestern College in 1971; received Bachelor
of Arts degree in Psychology from Central State
University in 1972; received Master of Science
degree in Social Psychology from Oklahoma State
University in 1975; completed requirements for
the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Oklahoma State
University in December, 1977.

Professional Experience: Graduate research assistant,
Oklahoma State University, 1972-1975; graduate
teaching assistant, Oklahoma State University,
1975-1976; Research Consultant in Psychology,
Federal Reformatory in El Reno, 1976; Psychology
Instructor, Tulsa Junior College, 1976-1977;
member of Oklahoma Psychological Association,
1977; member of Oklahoma Women's Studies Associa-
tion, 1977; member of National Women's Studies
Association, 1977; member of Association for
Women in Psychology, 1977.