

## Parameters of Sexual Contact of Boys with Women

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*The incidence of sexual contact with boys by women was found more prevalent than had been contended in the clinical literature. Male penitentiary inmates reported higher heterosexual contact as children than did college men. The effects upon the boy and his later adult sex life were generally reported as not traumatic, although coercion by the woman tended to be associated with a bad feeling about the experience at the time and a negative effect upon adult sex life. The majority of women were friends, neighbors, baby sitters, and strangers to the boy. Intercourse and genital touching were the predominant forms of sexual activity. Prison women who reported having such contact were significantly higher than the prison women who did not report contact on the Mini-Mult Schizophrenia and Hypomania scales and significantly lower on the Lie scale. Educational levels of the men and their parents were inversely associated with history of sexual contact.*

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**KEY WORDS:** pedophilia; heterosexual molestation; molested boys; molesting women.

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research was to determine the parameters of heterosexual contact of boys. A number of authors have offered the clinical impression that the incidence of male child sex abuse is rare (e.g., Finkelhor, 1979; Meiselman, 1979; Stoller, 1975). However, some clinicians have maintained that it occasionally occurs, and case reports have appeared in the

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literature (e.g., Shengold, 1980; Sarrel and Masters, 1982; Groth, 1979). Opinions regarding the effects of such molestation and regarding the characteristics of the women who have molested have been offered (Sarrel and Masters, 1982; Kempe, 1980).

Unfortunately, all of the above opinions and reports are based upon clinical impression rather than systematic investigation. There have apparently been only two articles that are based upon what could be described as research. A serendipitous finding of Petrovich and Templer (1984) was that 49 (59%) of 83 prisoners convicted of rape as adults reported heterosexual experiences before the age of 16 with a female at least 5 years older. The boys were a mean age of 11.5 years at the time of the sexual activity. The acts were primarily sexual intercourse and usually occurred on more than one occasion. Petrovich and Templer (1984) stated that they did not know whether the high prior sexual experience rate of convicted rapists was a function of their socioeconomic status (SES), being rapists, being sex criminals more generally, or being criminals in general.

Fritz *et al.* (1981) administered a questionnaire to 952 college students regarding sexual molestation as children and found that 7.7% of the women and 4.8% of the men reported they had been molested. The ratio of heterosexual to homosexual molestation for the men was 3:2. However, the inferences permitted from the Fritz *et al.* (1981) findings and the Petrovich and Templer (1984) findings are limited by the scope of these investigations and by the restricted nature of the subjects used.

Our purposes were (i) to further extend the gross perspective with respect to incidence of heterosexual sexual contact of boys, (ii) to explore the nature of this experience, (iii) to explore the characteristics of women who have sexual contact with younger males, and (iv) to explore the apparent effects of the early experience upon the boys.

## METHOD

### Subjects

There were a total of 571 male subjects in the study. Three-hundred fifty-nine were male college students at three state universities and one community college. The other 212 male subjects were inmates in a medium-security prison. The group of 212 inmates comprised three separate groups: (i) 65 convicted rapists, (ii) 92 convicted child-molesters, and (iii) 55 inmates convicted on nonsex crimes. There was a total of 797 female subjects in the study. Six-hundred twenty-five were college students in three state universities and one community college. The other 172 female subjects were

medium-security prison inmates who had been convicted of various crimes. Table I displays the subjects' age, education, and ethnicity.

### Procedures

The male and female college subjects were obtained by speaking to the various instructors in universities and colleges, obtaining permission to address their classes and administer the questionnaires. The male prison sample was selected by reviewing the records of 1200 prisoners in a medium-security prison. Men were selected who had been convicted of either rape, child molestation, or nonsex crimes, but not a crime in one of the other two categories. The child-molesters were selected because they constitute the largest sex-offense group next to the rapists. Also, men who had participated in the Petrovich and Templer (1984) study were not selected, so as to utilize a completely different subject pool. Four-hundred fifty men were selected, and requests were sent to them to appear at a classroom during a specified time. When the men arrived, they were informed of the nature of the study, assured of anonymity, and given the opportunity to decline to participate. Three-hundred men came to the classroom, and 86 declined to participate.

The female prison population was notified of the research through an organization of politically active prisoners, by visitation of the senior author to the classrooms, and by a notice posted in the library. The women were assured of anonymity. One-hundred seventy-two prison women participated in the study.

All subjects were administered anonymous questionnaires pertaining to demographic information and the phenomenon under consideration. The key question for the males was: "Before you were 16 years old, did you ever have sexual contact with a woman or girl who was 5 years or more older than yourself, and at least 16 years of age?" The key question for females was: "Did you ever have sexual contact with a boy before he was 16 years old, when you were 5 years or more older than he, and at least 16 years old?" Both male and female subjects were asked how many times such an experience occurred, with how many partners, the age of the two involved persons at the time, the nature of the sex act (intercourse, oral sex, or genital touching), the relationship of the two participants, and the type of coercion used to initiate the sexual activity. The females were also asked, "Did you have sex with a man or boy at least 5 years older than you and 16 years of age before you were 16? If that answer was affirmative, the relationship of the man or boy to the subject, plus her age and his age at the time were asked. The female inmates were also asked to complete the 71-item Mini-Mult, an abbreviated form of the MMPI (Kincannon, 1968).

Table 1. Age, Education, and Ethnicity of Subjects

Group	Age				Education				Ethnicity							
	N	$\bar{X}$	SD		$\bar{X}$	SD	Asian		Black		Hispanic		Am. Indian		White	
							n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
College men	359	24.30	7.05		14.29	1.02	25	7.0	23	6.4	51	14.2	4	1.1	256	71.3
Prison men	212	35.05	10.71		11.85	2.66	2	0.9	50	23.5	28	13.2	6	2.8	126	59.4
Rapists	65	29.65	7.63		11.44	3.01	0	0	25	38.5	10	15.4	1	1.5	29	44.6
Child molesters	92	41.12	13.70		11.78	2.58	2	2.2	8	8.7	7	7.6	3	3.3	72	78.2
Non sex offenders	55	34.38	10.61		12.36	2.38	0	0	17	30.9	11	20.0	2	3.6	25	45.5
College women	625	25.34	6.88		13.87	1.59	25	4.01	56	9.0	132	21.1	4	.6	408	65.3
Prison women	172	30.68	7.37		12.43	2.02	2	1.2	52	30.2	36	20.9	6	3.5	70	44.2

**Table II.** Number and Percentage of Males Who Reported Early Sexual Contact and Females Who Were Involved in Early Sexual Contact with Younger Males

Subjects	N	Reporting early sexual contact		Reporting > 1 sexual contact		Reporting > 1 partner	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
College Men	359	57	15.88	45	78.95	28	49.12
Prison Men	212	97	45.75	85	87.63	69	71.13
Convicted rapists	65	37	56.92	35	94.60	31	83.78
Convicted child-molesters	92	34	36.96	26	76.47	22	64.71
Convicted nonsex offenders	55	26	47.27	24	92.31	16	61.54
College women	638	3	0.48	1	33.33	0	0
Prison women	172	13	7.56	8	61.54	6	46.15

## RESULTS

Table II shows the numbers and percentages of the male subjects who reported sexual contact before the age of 16 with an older female. There was a trend ( $\chi^2 = 5, 84, p < .06$ ) for the rapist to report more sexual contact than the nonsex offenders who reported more than the child-molesters. Table II also shows the numbers and percentages of the female subjects who reported sexual contact with a boy. In addition, Table II indicates, for the subjects who reported sexual contact, the numbers and percentages of those subjects who reported more than one experience, and the numbers and percentages of those subjects who reported more than one partner.

Table III displays the mean age at which the boys were first sexually involved. For the male reports there is only one "case" per subject. If there was more than one incident, the age of first occurrence is used. For the female subjects, in Table III, there is also as many cases as number of boys. The age of first incident with each boy is used. Table III also displays the mean age of the women at the time of first contact for each boy. The means reported by the females are not completely analogous to the means reported by the males, since a boy could conceivably have had contact with a woman prior to the first contact reported by the female subject. The frequency distribution of ages that the 154 men reported at time of contact was 1 for age 3, 5 for age 5, 3 for age 6, 4 for age 8, 5 for age 9, 9 for age 10, 10 for age 11, 15 for age 12, 27 for age 13, 37 for age 14, and 38 for age 15. It is apparent that the distribution is skewed toward the higher ages. The median age is 13 and the mode is 15.

Table IV pertains to the activities at the time of the sexual experience. Table IV shows the nature of the sex acts, including (i) intercourse, (ii) oral sex, and/or (iii) genital touching, as reported by the sexually involved male

**Table III.** Age of Boys and Women At Time of First Sexual Contact of Boy as Reported by the Males and as Reported by the Females

Subjects	N	Mean age of boy at time first sexual experience occurred			Mean age of women at time first contact occurred		
		$\bar{X}$	SD	Range	$\bar{X}$	SD	Range
College men	57	12.53	2.59	6-15	22.60	6.18	16-46
Prison men	97	12.63	2.60	3-15	25.24	5.83	16-61
Rapists	37	13.16	2.26	5-15	26.27	5.23	16-48
Child molesters	34	11.35	3.01	3-15	24.80	6.08	16-43
Non Sex offenders	26	13.54	1.77	8-15	24.35	6.32	16-61
College women	3	14.67	0.58	14-15	26.00	11.27	19-39
Prison women	13	13.70	0.80	13-15	19.44	2.64	18-32

Table IV. Nature of the Sex Acts and Type of Coercion as Reported by Male and Female

Subjects	N	Nature of sex act						Type of coercion					
		Intercourse			Oral sex			Genital touching			Female wanted to male agreed		
		n	%		n	%		n	%		n	%	
College men	57	39	68.42	30	52.63	48	84.21	38	66.67	28	49.12	8	14.04
Prison men	97	80	82.47	60	61.86	79	81.44	80	82.47	53	54.64	11	11.34
Rapists	37	33	89.19	21	56.76	29	78.38	30	81.08	21	56.76	7	18.92
Child-molesters	34	23	67.65	22	64.71	28	82.35	29	85.29	14	41.18	4	11.76
Non sex offenders	26	22	84.62	16	61.54	20	76.92	19	73.08	18	69.23	0	0
College women	3	3	100.00	0	0	2	66.67	3	100.00	3	100.00	0	0
Prison women	13	11	84.62	11	84.62	13	100.00	7	53.85	11	84.62	2	15.38

Table V. Relationship of Sexually Involved Female to Sexually Involved Male

Subjects	N	Mother		Aunt		Cousin		Sister		Grandmother		Friend		Neighbor		Teacher		Baby sitter		Stranger	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
College men	57	3	5.26	6	10.53	1	1.75	1	1.75	2	3.51	29	50.88	21	36.84	4	7.02	14	24.56	12	21.05
Prison men	97	3	3.09	5	5.15	18	18.56	4	4.12	2	2.06	63	64.95	40	41.24	12	12.37	23	23.71	20	20.62
Rapists	37	1	2.70	2	5.40	8	21.62	1	2.70	0	0	26	70.27	12	32.43	5	13.51	8	21.62	7	18.92
Child molesters	34	2	5.88	3	8.82	7	20.59	1	2.94	2	5.88	20	56.62	15	44.12	5	14.71	11	32.35	6	17.65
Non sex offenders	26	0	0	0	0	3	11.54	1	3.85	0	0	16	61.54	12	46.15	2	7.69	3	11.54	7	26.92
College women	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	66.67	1	33.33	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prison women	13	0	0	0	0	1	7.69	0	0	0	0	10	76.92	6	46.15	0	0	0	0	2	15.39



and the sexually involved female. As can be seen, intercourse and genital touching were reported more often by all groups than oral sex. The total percentages add to more than 100% in Table IV and V because the categories or responses are not mutually exclusive.

Table IV displays the type of coercion used to instigate the sexual contact, as reported by female and male. The four categories are female wanted to, male agreed; male wanted to, female agreed; female forced male; and male forced female.

Table V shows the relationship of the sexually involved female to the sexually involved male as reported by both the male and female populations. Ten relationships are listed: mother, aunt, cousin, sister, grandmother, friend, neighbor, teacher, baby sitter, and stranger. The largest categories of relationships are those of friend and neighbor. Next are the categories of babysitter and stranger.

Table VI shows the number and percentages of the sexually involved male population that reported feeling "good," "bad," or "mixed," about a sexual experience with an older female. The categories of response for the reported effect on their adult sex life were "good," "bad," "no effect," and "mixed." These percentages do not add up to 100% as these categories are not mutually exclusive, and men with multiple experiences reported varied reactions to each experience. Some subjects reporting a single incident indicated they felt both good and bad about the experience, while others did not indicate how they felt about the experience at all. It is apparent that the good feelings were reported as more prevalent than the bad feelings at the time of the incident. It is also apparent that with the exception of the child-molesters, the experience was regarded as having more of a good than a bad effect on their adult sex lives.

**Table VI.** Feelings About the Experience and Effect on Adult Sex Life as Reported by Involved Men

	College men ( <i>n</i> = 57)		Total prison men ( <i>n</i> = 97)		Rapists ( <i>n</i> = 37)		Child-molesters ( <i>n</i> = 34)		Non sex offenders ( <i>n</i> = 26)	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Feelings										
Good	29	50.88	64	65.98	25	67.57	17	50.00	22	84.62
Bad	14	24.56	6	6.19	1	2.70	3	8.82	1	3.85
Mixed	7	12.28	24	24.74	11	29.73	10	29.41	3	11.54
Effect on adult sex life:										
Good	21	36.84	42	43.30	17	45.95	6	17.65	19	73.08
Bad	9	15.79	21	21.65	6	16.22	13	38.24	1	3.85
None	16	28.07	21	21.65	8	21.62	7	20.59	5	19.23
Mixed	5	8.77	10	10.31	6	16.22	4	11.76	0	0

**Table VII.** Point Biserial Correlations Between Type of Coercion and Feeling At Time and Effect on Adult Sex Life<sup>a</sup>

Variables at time of molestation	Feeling at time	Effect on adult sex life
Age of boy	-0.11	-0.19
Coercion		
1. Male wanted to, female agreed	-.15 <sup>b</sup>	-.22 <sup>b</sup>
2. Female wanted to, male agreed	-.23 <sup>b</sup>	-.23 <sup>b</sup>
3. Male forced female	-.02	.09
4. Female forced male	.30 <sup>c</sup>	.40 <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>1 = good effect; 2 = mixed effect (both good and bad checked); 3 = bad effect.

<sup>b</sup> $p < 0.05$ .

<sup>c</sup> $p < 0.01$ .

<sup>d</sup> $p < 0.001$ .

Table VII provides the point biserial correlations of feeling at the time of the incident and of effect upon adult sex life with age at the time and with type of coercion used. Age was not significantly related to either effect variable, although there was a trend ( $p = 0.07$ ) for experience at a younger age to be associated with a negative effect on adult sex life. It is apparent that both the condition of "female wanted to, male agreed" coercion and "male wanted to, female agreed" coercion were associated with reported favorable feelings at the time and reported favorable effect on adult sex life. If the boy was forced the feeling at the time and the effect on adult sex life were reported as unfavorable.

The feeling at time of contact was reported as positive if the relationship to the boy was friend ( $t = 2.42$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). The feeling was reported as negative if the relationship was that of mother ( $t = 2.47$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), aunt ( $t = 2.16$ ,  $p < .05$ ), or sister ( $t = 2.21$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Feeling at the time was not significantly related to other relationships.

The effect on adult sex life was reported as negative if the relationship to the boy was that of aunt ( $t = 2.41$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). The reported effects on adult sex life were not significant for the other relationships.

Table VIII shows the Mini-Mult means and standard deviations for the female prisoners who reported contact and those who did not report contact. The sexually involved women were significantly higher than the nonsexually involved women on the Schizophrenia and Hypomania Scales, and significantly lower on the Lie Scale.

The women who had contact with boys were more likely to have had early sexual experiences themselves. Specifically, 13 (81%) of the 16 women reporting contact, had early heterosexual experiences as children, and 115

**Table VIII.** Mini-Mult Scale Means of Prison Women Reporting and Those Not Reporting Sexual Involvement

Mini-Mult scale	Women who reported involvement ( <i>n</i> = 13)			Women who did not report involvement ( <i>n</i> = 101)		
	Mean			Mean		
	T score	Raw score	SD	T score	Raw score	SD
L (Lie)	46	2.92 <sup>a</sup>	1.04	53	5.11 <sup>a</sup>	2.05
F (Infrequency)	62	7.62	2.73	60	7.37	4.16
K (Correction)	48	11.08	2.53	49	12.15	3.47
Hs (Hypochondriasis)	54	15.08	5.19	52	14.37	4.69
D (Depression)	63	25.77	5.82	57	22.96	5.36
Hy (Conversion Hysteria)	57	22.85	5.01	54	21.25	6.96
Pd (Psychopathic deviate)	76	29.77	4.75	69	27.21	6.84
Pa (Paranoia)	62	12.08	3.43	62	12.22	7.50
Pt (Psychasthenia)	58	30.08	6.47	53	26.88	7.46
Sc (Schizophrenia)	72	37.00 <sup>a</sup>	8.51	64	31.82 <sup>a</sup>	8.07
Ma (Hypomania)	68	24.23 <sup>a</sup>	4.90	63	21.58 <sup>a</sup>	3.35

<sup>a</sup>Significant difference,  $p < .05$ .

(21%) of the 558 noninvolved women were sexually involved as children ( $\chi^2 = 29.60$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). The mean age of the woman when she was sexually involved was 13.01 (SD = 7.6, range 3–15). The mean age of her sexual partner was 23.54 (SD = 7.6, range 16–60). For the college women, friends accounted for 87% of the experiences, while neighbors, strangers, fathers, cousins, and brothers accounted for 7–10%. The relationship of the male to the sexually involved prison women was somewhat different, although, as with college women, friends accounted for 96% of the contact. Fathers, neighbors, and strangers accounted for 9–12% of the contact, somewhat higher than reported by college women.

Table IX displays the point biserial correlations between involvement status of the male subjects and number of years formal education of themselves and their parents.

**Table IX.** Point Biserial Correlations Between Involved Status of Males and Years of Formal Education<sup>a</sup>

Male subjects	<i>N</i>	Education		
		Self	Father	Mother
College men	359	.11 <sup>b</sup>	-.00	-.01
Prison men	212	.15 <sup>b</sup>	.10	.15 <sup>b</sup>
Rapists	65	.11	.22	.13
Child-molesters	92	.22 <sup>b</sup>	.11	.24 <sup>b</sup>
Non sex offenders	55	.03	.02	-.14
Total	571	.28 <sup>c</sup>	.16 <sup>c</sup>	.16 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>1 = involved; 2 = not involved.

<sup>b</sup> $p < 0.05$ .

<sup>c</sup> $p < 0.0001$ .

The number of college females who reported involvement ( $n = 3$ ) was too small for meaningful correlations with education. However, the differences in mean education between those who molested and those who did not were not significant for the college women ( $t = 0.86$ ), their mothers ( $t = 1.25$ ), or their fathers ( $t = 1.56$ ). The comparable mean differences for the prison women and the total female group did not approach significance.

## DISCUSSION

The findings indicate that heterosexual activity among boys does not appear to be the rarity that some sexology authorities had previously believed (Barry, 1965; Diamond and Karlen, 1980; Finkelhor and Russell, 1984; Halleck, 1965; Kubo, 1959; Lukianowicz, 1972; Malinowski, 1927; Meiselman, 1978; Paulson, 1978; Sarafino, 1979; Stark, 1984; Stoller, 1975). Although the difference among the incidence in the three types of male prisoners approached significance, the important finding is that a higher incidence of reported heterosexual contact is not confined to rapists. In the present study, sexual involvement was also high in child-molesters and inmates with crimes that are not of a sexual nature. It appears that such reported contact is high in inmates in general. One author (Glueck, 1956) maintained sex offenders reported older women had been their first heterosexual partners. However, this was a clinical impression. Furthermore, the age of the prisoner at the time of the sexual activity was not mentioned or whether or not the males were minors.

In every category of respondent in this study, for those subjects who reported sexual contact with a female, in at least half of the sexual encounters intercourse was involved. The nature of the sex acts of older females with boys appears not to have been addressed previously in the literature, except by Petrovich and Templer (1984). They noted that the high incidence of intercourse contrasts to the usual absence of penetration when the heterosexual child-molesters are male. The reason for the different incidences of intercourse are not clear, but could be related to various factors. There may be differences in personality between male and female involved or differences in their interpersonal interaction with the contacted children. Possibly relevant is the positively skewed age distribution for the molested boys. It is here conjectured that the psychological nature of heterosexual contact by females could be more characterized as an extension of the lower end of the age distribution for adult male-female sexual relationships, in contrast to the qualitatively different sort of psychosexual relationship that ordinarily occurs when a molester is a male. An alternate explanation is that although prepubescent vaginal size would ordinarily make penetration by an adult

male difficult, the prepubescent penile size would actually be less structurally prohibitive of penetration (Bridge, personal communication, May 26, 1985).

Another variable considered by previous authors to be important in the long-term psychological effect on a boy of sexual experience with an older woman was the relationship of the woman to the boy (Adams-Tucker, 1981; Finkelhor, 1979; Halleck, 1965; Masters, 1963; Sarrel & Masters, 1982; Tierney and Corwin, 1983; Yorukoglu and Kempf, 1980). The findings of the present study support this position insofar as the men who had sexual experiences with their mothers, aunt, and sisters, reported "bad feelings" at the time of the incident significantly more often than those who did not have such experiences with these women. Sexual experiences with aunts reportedly had a "bad" effect on the victim's adult sex lives.

Among both the college and the prison men, there were far more respondents indicating that the sexual experience was good than those who reggraded it as bad. The preponderance of respondents also regarded it as having a good rather than a bad effect on their adult sex lives. This is consistent with the male reporting in the college students survey of Fritz *et al.* (1981), but in contrast to the reports in the literature of females maintaining their being heterosexually involved in childhood was traumatic and had deleterious effects upon their adult sex lives (Adams-Tucker, 1982; Finkelhor, 1979). Perhaps the difference is a function of the double-standard in our society which forbids sexual activity more strenuously in girls than in boys.

An alternative, although not a mutually exclusive explanation, is that something about the initiation or process of the sex activity is less stressful than when men molest girls. As indicated in Table VI, in only a rather small minority of the cases did the male report being forced. In a much larger proportion of the cases, the male actually reported initiating the activity. Furthermore, the present research found that the men tended to report the experience as negative if they were forced and positive if they were not forced. This is consistent with the contention of previous authors that the most influential factor in a traumatic sexual event for a child is the type of coercion (Finkelhor, 1979; Groth, 1979; Sarrel & Masters, 1982).

The significantly higher evaluations on the Mini-Mult Schizophrenia, and Hypomania Scales obtained by those prison women who were involved with young males as compared to those who were not, probably should not be viewed as surprising. Elevations on these scales are frequently associated with unconventional life styles and socially inappropriate behavior. And sexual contact with a minor is defined by society as deviant behavior. Furthermore, the higher recorded incidence of contact by prison women than by college women ( $\chi^2 = 18.2, p < 0.001$ ) is also congruent with such an inference, although differences in age or other variables such as socioeconomic status could account for this difference.

Nevertheless, the bulk of the evidence does not point to psychosis in the typical involved woman as some clinicians have maintained or suggested (Frances and Frances, 1976; Kempe, 1980; Yorukoglu and Kempf, 1980). The F Scale and the "psychotic tetrad" (Paranoia, Psychasthenia, Schizophrenia, and Hypomania Scales) are not as highly elevated in the involved prison women as these scales ordinarily are in psychotic psychiatric patients. Also, the Schizophrenia and Hypomania Scale means of the involved prison women were less than 1 standard deviation higher than the means of the other prison women. Perhaps a reasonable generalization about females who have sexual contact with boys is that they are atypical persons, but further research is needed to clarify their personality and psychopathological characteristics.

Further clarification of the characteristics of women who are involved can be generated from the finding that the women were significantly more likely to have been sexually involved with an older male when they were under the age of 16. Groth (1984) suggested that molestation of children by adults is learned in childhood. It is possible that some sort of cause-and-effect phenomenon exists. It is also possible that personality characteristics such as extraversion lead to both the contact of some females and their sexual behavior. It is also conceivable that the same social milieu that leads to one sort of incident leads to another.

If social milieu is relevant, perhaps it is one of low SES. The significant, albeit low, inverse correlations between education and males having been involved are consistent with some of the clinical literature (Fluegel, 1926; Guttmacher, 1951; Paulson, 1978; Rhinehart, 1961; Riemer, 1940) that suggested the occurrence of sexual molestation of children tends to be associated with lower socioeconomic status. Some authors have conjectured that sexual molestation is more common in poor working-class and rural groups where poverty, inadequate housing, crowding, and poor sanitary facilities lead to an enforced physical proximity in the absence of good opportunities for emotional investment outside the family. Other authors added the factors of poorly supervised home settings, disorganization, and homes broken by divorce to the low SES factors associated with sexual abuse of boys (Brant and Tisza, 1977; Renshaw and Renshaw, 1980; Weeks, 1976).

It is not possible to say on the basis of the present research whether the inverse education-sexual experience correlations reflect the importance of lower social status, or lower intelligence, or lower economic standing or a combination of such variables. Even though the significance of the interpretation of these findings awaits further research, the basic findings are consistent with the well-established generalizations that acting out and illegal behaviors seem more common among less privileged segments of society.

A limitation of the present research is that it is based entirely upon self-report without external verification. Furthermore, our subjects includ-

ed inmates, and criminals are not generally regarded as honest persons. However, these limitations appear to weigh less heavily in view of the very good internal consistency. The reports of college men, prison men, college women, and prison women converge well with respect to the nature of the sex acts, the initiation of the sex acts, the type of coercion, and the relationship between the involved male and female.

There was a larger percentage of males who reported being sexually involved than females who reported sexual experience with male minors. However, this discrepancy could possibly be accounted for by a substantial number of women reporting having been involved with more than one boy, in addition to the fact that all of the males in the study are now past 16 and the females are primarily young women and theoretically have potential for more incidences of sexual involvement with minor males.

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