

## **DIMENSIONS OF DESIRE**

### ***Bridging Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in a Study of Female Adolescent Sexuality***

Deborah L. Tolman and Laura A. Szalacha  
*Wellesley College Center for Research on Women*

This study provides an example of how feminist psychology can bridge qualitative and quantitative methods while keeping lived experience at the center of an inquiry. The goal of the study was to begin to understand adolescent girls' experiences of sexual desire. We describe three separate and synergistically related analyses of interviews with 30 adolescent girls. We begin with a qualitative analysis of their voiced experiences of sexual desire; follow with a quantitative analysis of the differences in how urban and suburban girls describe these experiences, assessing the role of reported sexual violation; and conclude with a second qualitative analysis exploring the interaction between social location and reported sexual violation. These three analyses enabled us to understand qualitatively and to quantify interrelated dimensions of desire as described by adolescent girls.

The meaning and importance of women's sexuality and its systematic suppression (Rich, 1980) has been central in second-wave feminist research, theory, and politics (e.g., Snitow, Stansell, & Thompson, 1983; Vance, 1984). This study is a response to an acute absence of acknowledgment in psychological research of sexual desire as a normative aspect of female adolescent development (Tolman, 1994a). The work of several feminist scholars has suggested that girls' experiences of sexuality

This research was supported in part by a grant from the Spencer Foundation Small Grants Program. The authors wish to thank Michelle Porche, John B. Willett, Vita Rabinowitz, Elizabeth Debold, Joy Moreton, Margaret Keiley, and Judith D. Singer for their consultation and assistance, as well as the editors of this volume and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

Address correspondence and reprint requests to: D. Tolman, Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA 02481-8203. E-mail: dtolman@wellesley.edu

and sexual desire in particular are a significant, albeit neglected, force in girls' development (e.g., Cowie & Lees, 1987; Nava, 1987; Thompson, 1984, 1995) and as such are potentially crucial in girls' developing a sense of entitlement and empowerment (Fine, 1988; Tolman, 1994b). Feminist social psychologist Michelle Fine identified a "missing discourse of desire" in adults' discussions of girls' sexuality (Fine, 1988). Her research suggested that girls do know and speak of desire, despite anxious or even well-meaning denial of female adolescent sexual desire on the part of the adults in their lives. Fine's research raised the question of how girls speak about and experience their own sexual feelings. The goal of this study was to begin to understand the dimensions of the experience of sexual desire for adolescent girls.

There are several intertwining reasons that psychology, even feminist psychology, has not made significant inroads into the question of adolescent girls' sexual feelings. Feminist scholars have theorized how patriarchal suppression of female sexuality is a key aspect of women's oppression (i.e., Rich, 1980; Vance, 1984). Despite extensive inquiry into female adolescent sexual *behavior* (e.g., Delameter & MacCorquodale, 1979; Lees, 1986; Levinson, 1986; Scott-Jones & Turner, 1988) and a history of theorizing sexuality development (e.g., Benjamin, 1988; Freud, 1905; Jordan, 1987), there have been no studies that include the question of girls' sexual desire (Thompson, 1984; Tolman, 1994a). Buried within an ostensibly objective stance is the historical denial and denigration of female adolescent sexuality (Tolman, 1996). These studies also belie the politics of adolescent pregnancy as they trickle down into the research world. Conducted primarily by sociologists and demographers, such studies offer a limited conception of girls' sexuality. They focus on whether or not and when girls have had sexual intercourse and whether or not they have used effective measures of contraception and seek to identify trends in the outcomes of girls' choices about heterosexual intercourse. The agenda of such studies has not been to understand or support the development of healthy sexuality among girls (Tolman, in press). To achieve the goals of marking behavioral trends and distinguishing between "good" and "bad" groups of girls, these studies almost exclusively rely on survey method. This methodology has framed and limited for girls what the pertinent questions and possible answers are about what is important in the development of their sexuality.<sup>1</sup>

The current study represents a different research agenda by locating a question about girls' sexuality development within a query about girls' healthy psychological development. Moving away from a focus on sexual intercourse, sexual behavior, sexual attitudes, or even sexual outcomes, our research question is phenomenological: How do girls describe their sexual experiences and sexual feelings and in what ways do they speak about their own bodies in telling their stories of desire? This theoretical shift ushers in a movement away from survey methods toward methods that provide research participants with opportunities to convey the meanings they make of their experiences. It also requires the explicit use of a feminist methodological approach.

Qualitative, phenomenological methods that enable understanding of people's experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Packer & Addison, 1989) and the feminist perspective necessary to inform inquiry into an aspect of female experience that is systematically denigrated and denied in a patriarchal society (Irigaray, 1981; Omolade, 1983; Rich, 1980) do not yet enjoy wide respect within psychology

(Morowski, 1994). Even within feminist psychology, the question of what constitutes feminist methods continues to be intensely debated and unresolved (Crawford & Maracek, 1989; Fine, 1992; Maracek, 1989; Riger, 1992). This debate has often revolved around two approaches to understanding feminist methodology and the role of methods in feminist transformation of psychology. One approach to feminist methods is to work within psychology's methodological traditions, using conventional quantitative methods to answer research questions driven by feminist theory. Such research is more easily accepted by the discipline and thus has been thought by some to have more potential to transform it (Lykes & Stewart, 1986). The second approach holds that feminist methods are subject centered and therefore necessarily qualitative, disruptive of the tradition of objective experimental and survey methods in the field (Fine & Gordon, 1989). Such methods are aimed at generating knowledge about women's lives previously not produced by psychologists, thus transforming the information as well as the practices that constitute psychological knowledge and its production.

These two approaches have consistently been positioned in opposition to one another and framed as a choice in practice for feminist researchers. These very different perspectives on feminist methodology have contributed to the debate about the very concept of feminist methods itself. By demonstrating how both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used synergistically in a way that balances and integrates the concerns and demands of both feminist perspectives on methods, we hope that the methodological approach to learning about adolescent girls' experiences of sexual desire described in this article may serve as a contribution to defusing and reconfiguring this often divisive debate within feminist psychology.

The disagreements about methodology within feminist psychology reflect larger concerns within psychology and within the social sciences as a whole about what constitutes good research in the wake of poststructuralism and the ensuing postmodern debates about research paradigms (e.g., Cook & Reichardt, 1979; Sechrest & Sidani, 1995; Shadish, 1995; Weedon, 1987). In offering an approach that integrates qualitative and quantitative methods in a feminist research project, we begin by contextualizing the feminist debates within these larger issues. The debate on the relative value, appropriateness, and possible integration of quantitative and qualitative research paradigms has been a part of research in psychology's landscape for almost two decades (Cook & Reichardt, 1979; Healy & Sewart, 1991; Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991). Quantitative and qualitative approaches are often understood as separate paradigms of research, with radically differing assumptions, requirements, and procedures that are rooted in completely different epistemologies. One position of the philosophical debate contends that the integration of quantitative and qualitative paradigms is impossible, as they represent irreconcilable worldviews (e.g., Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Mishler, 1986). The opposite position, maintained on both philosophic and pragmatic grounds, is that not only *can* the two paradigms be combined at the hands-on level of research practice, at the sociological level of methodological assumptions, and at the metaphysical level of metatheoretical assumptions, they *should* be so combined, because these concerns are superseded in importance by political goals about how research findings should be used (Firestone, 1993; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

Finally, there are those who maintain that the point is not to accommodate or reconcile distinct paradigms but to recognize each as unique, historically situated

forms of insight.<sup>2</sup> Lee Schulman (1986) argued that each research paradigm is bound by the programs and departments that teach them. Each research paradigm has grown "out of a particular perspective, a bias of either convention or discipline, necessarily illuminating some part of the field of teaching while ignoring the rest" and that "the danger for any field of social science or educational research lies in its potential corruption (or worse, trivialization) by a single paradigmatic view" (pp. 2-3). Rather than force a dichotomous choice, Kidder and Fine (1987) have suggested that researchers both avoid "homogenizing research methods and cultures," and strive to be "bicultural" (p. 57). Sktric (1990) suggested that the goal of researchers should be to understand both quantitative and qualitative paradigms, to learn to speak to them and through them, and to recognize that each are ways of seeing that simultaneously reveal and conceal.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, the ongoing philosophical debate and discussion, although alive at conferences, on faculties, and in some journals, are rarely incorporated explicitly into actual research. At the same time, the substantive combination of qualitative and quantitative methods has gone forward, despite or in lieu of this epistemological unrest (Shadish, 1995). Guided mostly by pragmatic perspectives such as those of Patton (1990a) and Greene (1994), the qualitative/quantitative "joint venture" has become a feature in many disciplines, most notably in public health (e.g., Carlson, 1996; Keenan, 1996), program evaluation (e.g., House, 1994; Patton, 1990a, 1990b; Reichardt & Rallis, 1994), education (e.g., Goldfarb, 1995) and, to some extent, in psychology (e.g., Debats, 1995; Gladue, 1991; Hines, 1993; Way, Stauber, & Nakkula, 1994). Indeed, some have claimed that "methodological pluralism is an absolutely necessary strategy in the face of overwhelming cognitive limitations and biases inherent in human mental processing and responding" (Sechrest & Sidani, 1995, p. 80). The challenge of grappling with increasingly complex social problems, particularly those that confront activist and applied psychologies like feminist psychology, demands that we investigate further the hidden potential in combining quantitative and qualitative research methods.

The combination of methods has appeared in several recognizable forms. A "pseudo-combination" is a study conducted wholly under one rubric, with the other type of method serving simply as a support or illustration. The "logic-in-use" (Kaplan, 1964) of the study largely ignores one of the two approaches. Quantitative studies of this sort often have some illuminating portraits to "liven up the numbers" or to add richness. Qualitative studies may provide some "quasi-statistics" (Becker, 1986), which serve to add the legitimacy that numbers have traditionally commanded.

There are, however, studies in which both approaches are genuinely and equitably used. One possibility is a concurrent approach (Whitbourne & Powers, 1994). In this type of study, there is a peaceful coexistence or parallel process wherein two studies are conducted simultaneously, though each is whole and separate from the other. The chief difficulty lies in the integration of the findings of two very different, almost separate studies. Kidder and Fine (1987) cautioned that different methods within different paradigms are not simply addressing the same questions differently. Instead, they are addressing different questions, revealing different levels of activity, and leading to different knowledge, interpretations, and explanations. Such differences raise thorny questions of how to square or interpret contradictory findings.

A second possibility for an integrated design is a sequential approach, in which

a study is conducted in phases, using one method for one part of the study and then another method for another part. Most often this has taken the form of an exploratory qualitative study, which gives rise to the formulation of an instrument and then a confirmatory quantitative study. It can also be, however, that one would conduct a quantitative survey in order to provide profiles to frame questions and sampling for a qualitative phase. It is important to note that in this approach, neither the qualitative nor the quantitative method is superior and neither sequence is preferred (Maxwell, 1996). A third possibility is what Patton (1990b) suggested as “methodological mixes,” in which one combines various methods simultaneously. This “technical eclecticism” requires a pragmatic point of view; methods, regardless of whether they originate in a qualitative or quantitative paradigm, are irrelevant to the question of what makes research viable. Finally, there is also the possibility of a wholly “integrated approach,” wherein one combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches throughout the entire process from the formation of research questions, to decisions about sampling, to data collection and analyses. A real advantage in this option is the possibility of a methodological dialogue—an ongoing, dialectically informative interaction at each point of the research.

The study we report here does not fit neatly into any of these specific strategies for combining qualitative and quantitative methods; rather, the blend of qualitative and quantitative methods at which we have arrived is a kind of sequential integration. What distinguishes this approach is that it is explicitly feminist in nature; what drove our decisions was a feminist organizing principle of listening to and taking women’s voices seriously (Andersen, Armitage, Jack, & Wittner, 1990; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Gilligan, 1982; Oakley, 1981), particularly in data collection and data reduction, as well as in data analysis and interpretation. Working with a single database, a set of intensive, semi-structured interviews with 30 adolescent girls attending public schools in urban and suburban settings, we posed and answered a series of questions grounded in feminist theory and research on female adolescent sexuality. Our method of data collection is anchored in a qualitative epistemology and methodology, and we use multiple methods of data analysis, including careful interpretations of narrative data and also more reductive, statistical methods of analysis, to answer an array of related feminist questions about female adolescent experiences of sexual desire. By choosing the method of data analysis that enabled us to answer each emerging question, the result has been an eclectic merging of both approaches to feminist methodology, producing a kind of feminist eclecticism that has at its heart the perspectives and experiences of these young women.

## METHOD

### Participants

The design of this study was grounded in the possibility that both qualitative and quantitative analyses would be performed. Tolman chose a random sample size of 30,<sup>4</sup> balancing concerns that the sample be large enough to conduct statistical analyses, while at the same time producing a manageable amount of rich narrative data.<sup>5</sup> Tolman collected data from eleventh grade girls, who ranged in age from

15–19, at an urban public high school ( $n = 15$ ) and a suburban public high school ( $n = 15$ ).<sup>6</sup> The sample thus represents an age group in which sexual activity is part of the social landscape and includes girls who are subject to various sexual stereotypes: Urban girls (often girls of color) are considered to be overly sexual, whereas suburban girls are thought of as asexual (Tolman, 1996). The design was meant to enable a challenge of such stereotypes of girls and to open the question of what normal sexuality is for all adolescent girls. In the urban school sample there were seven Black, three Latina, and five White girls.<sup>7</sup> In the suburban school, we spoke with 14 White girls and 1 Latina girl. The suburban girls are from Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish families, whereas the urban girls are from Protestant and Catholic backgrounds. One of the girls is a self-described lesbian, and two describe desire for both boys and girls.

In this analysis, we focus on the differences between and similarities among girls who live in an urban and a suburban social location. Tolman did not collect specific data on socioeconomic status (SES) for several reasons. As we will discuss in the text that follows, because Tolman was asking girls to speak about something that is essentially unspeakable, she made careful choices about what she did and did not ask so as to enhance the development of trust. Rather than collect conventional socioeconomic data on participants' parental, educational, and occupational background, which in the context of these interviews could have been experienced by the girls as alienating, she asked them to tell her in their own words about their families and social contexts. Based on their descriptions of their parents' work lives and their daily experiences with crime, housing, and need for social services in their neighborhoods and communities, Tolman concluded that although there was some variation within each group, the urban girls were all from poor and working-class families, and the suburban girls were all living in middle- and upper-middle-class families. In addition to girls' descriptions, differences such as levels in obvious poverty, explicit violence, community and educational resources, neighborhood stability and general well-being were discernable from observation, substantiating the girls' reports of their environments. We conclude that the urban/suburban difference in this case is a reasonable reflection of gross class differences in terms of the experiences and meanings associated with these girls' daily lives. Because these class designations are not precise, we understand and interpret our data in terms of differences in social locations rather than class *per se*, with these two distinct social locations offering a meaningful interpretive context for understanding how girls speak about, make meaning of, and experience their sexuality. In other analyses from this study, Tolman has integrated cultural characteristics in interpreting these data (e.g., Tolman, 1994a, 1996).

## Procedure

A key component of this feminist inquiry is the method of data collection. Grounded in an explicitly feminist method of data collection (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1996; Way, 1995), Tolman invited in-depth narrative and descriptive data from girls on their thoughts about and subjective experiences of

sexuality, including sexual desire, sexual pleasure, feeling sexy, and sexual fantasies, during private, one-on-one, semi-structured clinical interviews that lasted from 45 minutes to 2 hours. One of the primary tools of oppression of women is the maintenance of silence about their experiences and perspectives (Lorde, 1984; Rich, 1980). Acknowledging the possibility of female adolescent sexual agency, desire, pleasure, and fantasies through the act of asking about these realms of experience renders this approach a feminist research method. This method departs from a survey design by creating an opportunity for girls to put into words and to name their experience in and questions about a realm of their lives that remains unspoken in the larger culture. Thus, as a form of data collection, it enables us to learn from girls what might otherwise remain an unknown perspective on this part of their lives.

Each interview included a standard set of questions; follow-up questions guided by a feminist relational approach to psychological inquiry were asked in direct response to the specific contours of each interviewee's particular experiences (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Way, 1995). The consent of participants and their parents (for girls who were under 18) was obtained prior to the interview. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. Confidentiality and anonymity in reporting were ensured. No girl disclosed an experience of current sexual abuse or violence. The girls who disclosed past sexual abuse and dating violence were referred, with their permission, into appropriate therapeutic situations when they so wished.

This study as a whole has three iterations that are organized by three separate and synergistically related research questions, which emerged sequentially in response to the findings generated by pursuing the previous research question. These three questions demanded three different methods of analysis of our interview data. Together, the results emerging from these three analyses shed a multilayered light on adolescent girls' experiences of sexual desire.

## **DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: QUESTION 1**

### **Question 1: How Do Girls Describe Their Experiences of Sexual Desire?**

The aim of this component of the study was to understand how the girls in this sample experience and describe their own sexual desire and to learn about the place of their bodies in this experience. The focus on the embodied nature of sexual desire was grounded in a view that psychological health and vitality, self-knowledge, and lived relationships are anchored in the body (Gilligan, Brown, & Rogers, 1989; Young, 1992) and that the meanings we make of our bodily experiences are socially constructed (Rubin, 1985). The findings from this component have been previously reported (Debold, Tolman, & Brown, 1996; Tolman, 1994a, 1994b, 1996; Tolman & Higgins, 1996), but in order to present the interlocking quality of the evolving methodological choices we made in this study, we will describe the methods and results of this analysis.

*Data Analysis*

The data were analyzed by combining two methods of qualitative analysis. This approach to data analysis was also used in part in answering Question 3 of this study, so we provide a complete description of our approach at this juncture. Tolman identified one narrative in which the girls told a story about an experience of sexual desire to analyze in depth using a method of narrative analysis called The Listening Guide, a feminist interpretive method (Brown, Debold, Gilligan, & Tappan, 1991; Brown, Tappan, Gilligan, Miller, & Argyris, 1989; Gilligan et al., 1989; Rogers & Gilligan, 1988). Acknowledging the multilayered nature of narratives and of the psyche, the "polyphonic and complex" nature of voice and experience (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, p. 15) highlights how there is no single way to understand any given narrative. Therefore, each narrative is read or "listened to" several distinct times; for each listening, the researcher focuses on or "listens for" a given aspect of the experience under study, underlining with a colored pencil the parts of the narrative in which the identified "voice" is expressed. A voice is a way of speaking that has an identifiable set of coherent features. Throughout this process, the researcher continuously checks and records her own thoughts, emotional and embodied feelings, and reactions as part of the data analysis. This method is grounded in a feminist standpoint (Nielsen, 1990), acknowledging that patriarchal culture silences and obscures women's experiences by providing the listener with an organized way to respond to the coded or indirect language of girls and women, especially for topics such as sexuality about which girls and women are not supposed to speak. This psychological approach to data analysis is accomplished in part because this method is explicitly relational, in that the researcher brings her self-knowledge into the process of listening by using clinical methods of empathy to contribute to her understanding of what a girl is saying. This relational practice increases the listener's ability to avoid bias or "voicing over" a girl's story with her own reactions, much like a skilled therapist can use countertransference to inform rather than overwhelm psychotherapy (Tolman, 1992).

In this analysis, Tolman listened for four voices associated with girls' experience of sexual desire: A voice of the self, an erotic voice, a voice of the body, and a voice of response to one's own desire. In listening for self, a standard voice of The Listening Guide, the reader attends to the interviewee as the narrator of the story by following the verbal markers for self, such as "I" or "me." Listening for the self is an efficient way of laying bare in what relationship the narrator places herself to her experience. The listening for self reveals agency and absence of agency, as well as the narrator's experience of herself as a subject and as an object, in the narrative context. Tolman then identified two desire voices, an erotic voice and a voice of responses to one's own desire, which are specific to analyzing what girls say about sexuality, using a grounded-theory approach (Strauss, 1987). Listening for an erotic voice tracks the ways in which girls speak about how sexual desire felt and what it was like for them, such as the intensity or specific quality of their sexual feelings. Listening for a voice of response to their sexual desire tracks how girls describe their thoughts and behavior in reaction to feeling their own sexual desire. Finally, listening for the voice of the body tracks how girls describe the explicitly embodied character of their desire and sexuality experiences.

The result of these sequential listenings and underlinings is a visual map of the different layers of a given experience in a narrative. The way that each voice maps



in relation to the other voices is observed and recorded. Then the underlined parts of the narrative are transferred onto worksheets, so that interpretations can be made for what the narrator is saying in close proximity to her actual words. This tracking system enables the researcher to create a trail of evidence (Brown et al., 1989) for the interpretation that is developed. The result is a voice-centered interpretation of girls' narratives of sexual desire, which presents one way to understand these stories, a way that privileges feminist questions of agency, body, and relationship. By providing ample text in reporting results of such analyses (e.g., Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Tolman, 1994a, 1994b), the researcher enables others to develop alternative interpretations informed by different theoretical perspectives.

The second form of data analysis used was the construction of a conceptually clustered matrix for identifying patterns within and between groups (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Using the voice of self, the voice of the body, the erotic voice, and the voice of response as the frame for organizing the interpretations of these narrative data, Tolman incorporated the difference of urban and suburban social locations into the construction of this matrix. This way of organizing the qualitative data revealed how these two groups of girls voiced similar experiences of sexual desire and how their experiences had different qualities. This method also highlights individual variation within each group of girls, so that exceptions to patterns can be examined and understood as part of the diversity of experience for each group of girls.

### Results

As Tolman has reported, about two thirds of the entire sample said they felt desire; the remainder said they were confused about whether or not they felt desire, or that they did not feel desire. There were several patterns in the data that were the same for both urban and suburban girls. In the stories of all of the girls who said they felt desire, an erotic voice was audible and characterized by the power, intensity, and urgency of their feeling. All of these girls described their experience of sexual desire in physical terms, defying the common conception of girls' desire as relational rather than embodied by expressing an audible "voice of the body." At the same time, there was an overall pattern for both the urban and suburban girls who voiced desire in these ways to question their entitlement to their own sexual feelings and to express doubt about the possibility of acting directly on their own desire and then being considered good or normal.

Although an erotic voice and a voice of the body sounded similar for urban and suburban girls, differences emerged in how they described their responses to their sexual desire—a kind of "main effect" of social location. One way to characterize this difference is that urban girls describe an agency in the service of protection, whereas suburban girls tell of an agency in the service of pleasure. In this analysis, Tolman heard the urban girls voice self-control and caution and conflict between the voices of their bodies and what they know and say about the reality of their vulnerabilities to AIDS, pregnancy, and getting a bad reputation. Most of these girls make a conscious choice to sacrifice pleasure to protect themselves from danger, at the cost of a severed connection with themselves and little real safety. For instance, Inez describes how, when her body says "yes" and her mind says "no," which she understands as her "mind lookin' towards my body," protecting her from the relational and physical dangers that can result from her own strong feelings.

In contrast, the suburban girls who said they felt desire all speak of a sexual

curiosity that is hardly audible among the comparable group of urban girls. This curiosity is tempered by their wish to control themselves when they feel desire. Rather than speaking directly about the problems of physical or social vulnerability like the urban girls did, these suburban girls voice a more internal conflict in relation to their sexual desire, a discrepancy between what they describe feeling in their bodies and the cultural messages about female sexuality and appropriate female sexual behavior that they had internalized. For instance, while Emily offers a detailed description of what desire feels like to her, she also explains that “I don’t like to think of myself as feeling really sexual . . . I don’t like to think of myself as being like someone who needs to have their desires fulfilled . . . I mean I understand that it’s wrong and that everybody has needs, but I just feel like self-conscious when I think about it, and I don’t feel self-conscious when I say that we do these things, but I feel self-conscious about saying I need this kind of a thing.”

This qualitative difference between the urban and suburban girls was a striking one. Drawing on the realities of their distinct social locations, we interpreted these differences as reflecting and relating to differentials in girls’ sense of safety and violence, and the meanings and implications of girls knowing and exploring their sexuality in urban and suburban contexts. The urban girls live in overtly dangerous neighborhoods, where the consequences of their responses to their own sexuality can have enormous negative social, educational, and economic consequences, whereas the suburban girls live in a relatively safe environment, where the consequences of their sexuality are more psychological and internal and less threatening to their material futures. This analysis suggests the crucial importance of young women’s social locations in how they experience their own bodies. Two constructions of how these girls understand their own sexual desire emerged: as perceived vulnerability and as possible pleasure.

Although the qualitative significance of this difference was apparent in the distinct voices of these two groups of girls, we wanted to know more about this difference: What is the magnitude of the difference between how urban and suburban girls experience sexual desire? Can this difference be understood quantitatively as well as qualitatively? The content of the difference, focusing on the interplay between pleasure and vulnerability associated with sexuality for girls, contributes new questions as well: Might personal experience with sexual violence play a role in girls’ associations of their own desire with pleasure or vulnerability—or a balance between the two? Is such an association different depending on girls’ social location? These questions called for a quantitative analysis.

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: QUESTIONS 2A & 2B**

Question 2a: What Is the Size and Significance of the Difference Between Urban and Suburban Girls’ Experiences of Their Own Sexual Desire?

Question 2b: Is There an Interaction Between Social Location and Reported Experience of Sexual Abuse or Violence in Whether Urban and Suburban Girls Associate Their Own Desire with Pleasure, Vulnerability, or Both?

The goal of this component of the study was to explore the difference we had identified between the urban and suburban girls’ descriptions of desire. We wanted

to understand how pleasure and vulnerability were associated differently for these two groups of girls. Evaluating whether there was an interactive effect of sexual abuse or violence through a quantitative analysis would provide useful insights into these dimensions of desire.

### *Data Analysis*

Our challenge was to choose or develop a feminist approach to data reduction so that our interview data could be analyzed statistically. In the qualitative analysis, we had listened intensively to the nuances in a single narrative told by each of these girls, learning about the complexity of their experiences. In order to develop a broader understanding of the patterns in their experiences that could tell us more about what sexual desire is like for girls, we wanted to include more data in this next level of analysis. We shifted from intensive listening to reductive thematic coding as a strategy for including many more narratives in the analysis.

Because we had engaged in a feminist process of listening to girls voice their selves, desire, and bodies, we were able to code their narratives based on the emic themes and categories that we had learned *from them* were significant aspects of their experiences of sexual desire. One of the challenges for us was to continue to represent the complexity we noted in girls' voiced experience. The qualitative analysis had suggested two broad dimensions of girls' experience of desire: pleasure and vulnerability. Individual girls were not easily categorized simply as those who associated desire with pleasure and those who associated desire with vulnerability. In fact, no girl told desire narratives only about pleasure or desire narratives only about vulnerability. Therefore, we shifted our unit of analysis from girl ( $N = 30$ ) to narrative ( $N = 128$ ). We thus avoided collapsing data from multiple narratives told by each girl into a single "pleasure" or "vulnerability" score for her by identifying predominant themes of pleasure, vulnerability, or an equal presence of pleasure and vulnerability for all narratives about desire told by each girl. Increasing the database for each girl by including all of her desire narratives for this analysis met the feminist challenge to preserve the contradictory, complex quality of these girls' lived experiences while reducing our data.

This shift in level of analysis poses two possible problems. The first is whether differences in numbers of narratives told by urban and suburban girls could account for any differences we might find in the expression of pleasure and vulnerability in the narratives told by these two groups. As Table 1 illustrates, there were no significant differences in numbers of desire narratives told by urban versus suburban girls. The second problem is whether using multiple narratives from each girl as the basis of our analysis violates the assumption of independence of observations for linear modeling.<sup>8</sup> We have accounted for the clustering of multiple measurements for each girl in later analyses by estimating a series of fixed-effects logistic regression models. This analytic approach allows us to control for the number of narratives told by each girl and thereby reject the possibility that the differences among groups of girls that we have identified can be attributable to differences in how many narratives each girl or each group of girls told.

We coded the 128 narratives for themes of vulnerability and pleasure that girls associated with their experiences of sexual desire. To recognize the complex nature of both vulnerability and pleasure and to preserve the complexity of the girls' experi-

Table 1

General Characteristics of the Participants ( $N = 28$ ) and Their Narratives ( $N = 128$ )

Characteristics	Total Number of Girls <sup>a</sup>	Total Number of Narratives	Mean	SD	t
			Number of Narratives per Girl		
Urban	14	53	3.78	2.00	
Suburban	14	75	5.35	2.87	1.67 <sup>b</sup>
Reported sexual violence	13	56	4.53	2.53	
Did not report sexual violence	15	72	4.60	2.66	.062 <sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Although the total number of participants was 30 girls, 2 of the girls did not tell any desire narratives at all.

<sup>b</sup> $p = .105$

<sup>c</sup> $p = .95$

ences, we included six different types or domains of pleasure and vulnerability within each theme, derived from examining their narratives: Personal identity, interpersonal relationships, social relationships, physical, psychological, and other. For example, the theme of vulnerability can represent the physical danger of sexually transmitted disease, the interpersonal risk of loss of friends, or the psychological danger of being emotionally hurt or disappointed. Each narrative was then coded for its predominant overall theme: vulnerability, pleasure, or equal presence of both vulnerability and pleasure. The narratives were double-blind coded; interrater reliability was high (Cohen's Kappa = .87).

To identify whether a girl had experienced sexual violation, we relied on how they answered the question, "Has anything bad ever happened to you that has to do with sex that you would like to tell me about?"<sup>9</sup> The girls in this study reported various experiences of sexual abuse and sexual violence, including acquaintance rape and attempted rape, and molestation and rape by adult male family members and by teenage male baby-sitters, as well as by strangers. Because of the small number of reports of sexual harm within each category, we coded all instances as "reported sexual violation" for purposes of this analysis. Of the urban girls, seven did not report sexual violation, whereas eight did, and among the suburban girls, eight did not report sexual violation, whereas seven did. Notably, whether a girl lived in an urban or a suburban social location was not significantly related to whether she had reported an experience of sexual violation (Likelihood Ratio chi-square statistic [ $LR\chi^2$ ] .114,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .705$ ), nor was there any difference in numbers of desire narratives told by girls who did versus did not report sexual abuse or violence (see Table 1).

### Results

In order to explore the differences in urban and suburban girls' associations of pleasure and vulnerability with their own sexual desire, we began examining the frequencies with which the girls told desire narratives that were predominantly about pleasure or vulnerability or in which both pleasure and vulnerability were equally present. Of these 128 narratives, 60 (46.9%) were predominantly about

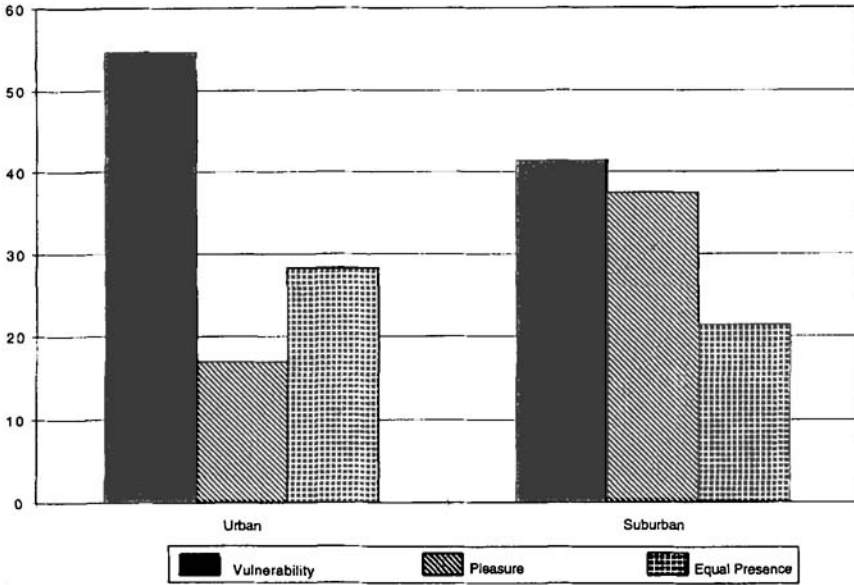


FIGURE 1. Percentages of narratives stratified by predominant theme and social location (N = 128).

vulnerability, 37 (28.9%) were about pleasure, and 31 (24.2%) included both pleasure and vulnerability themes equally. The proportions of the urban and suburban girls' narratives that had vulnerability as their predominant theme were somewhat different, with 54.7% of urban girls' narratives focusing on vulnerability, whereas 41% of suburban girls' narratives did so. The difference between percentage of narratives in which vulnerability and pleasure were equally present was also small, with 28% of urban girls' narratives versus 21% of suburban girls' narratives falling in this category (see Figure 1).

A striking difference emerged between these two groups of girls, however, when we examined the frequency of a predominant theme of pleasure in their narratives. Suburban girls told many more narratives about pleasure than did urban girls. 37.3% of suburban girls' narratives were about pleasure as compared to 17% of urban girls' narratives (see Figure 1). Contingency table analyses support this observed difference (Likelihood Ratio chi-square statistic [ $LR\chi^2$ ] 6.54, df 2,  $p < .04$ ). Specifically, suburban girls tell equal numbers of narratives expressing pleasure and vulnerability, whereas urban girls tell 3.2 times more narratives about vulnerability than about pleasure. These patterns suggest that although urban and suburban girls all associate their experiences of sexual desire with vulnerability and, to a lesser extent, a mix of vulnerability and pleasure in comparable proportions, the place of pleasure in their experiences differs.

In examining what kind of narratives were told by urban and suburban girls who had and had not reported sexual violation, we expanded our understanding of how pleasure and vulnerability figure in the desire experiences of these girls. Figures

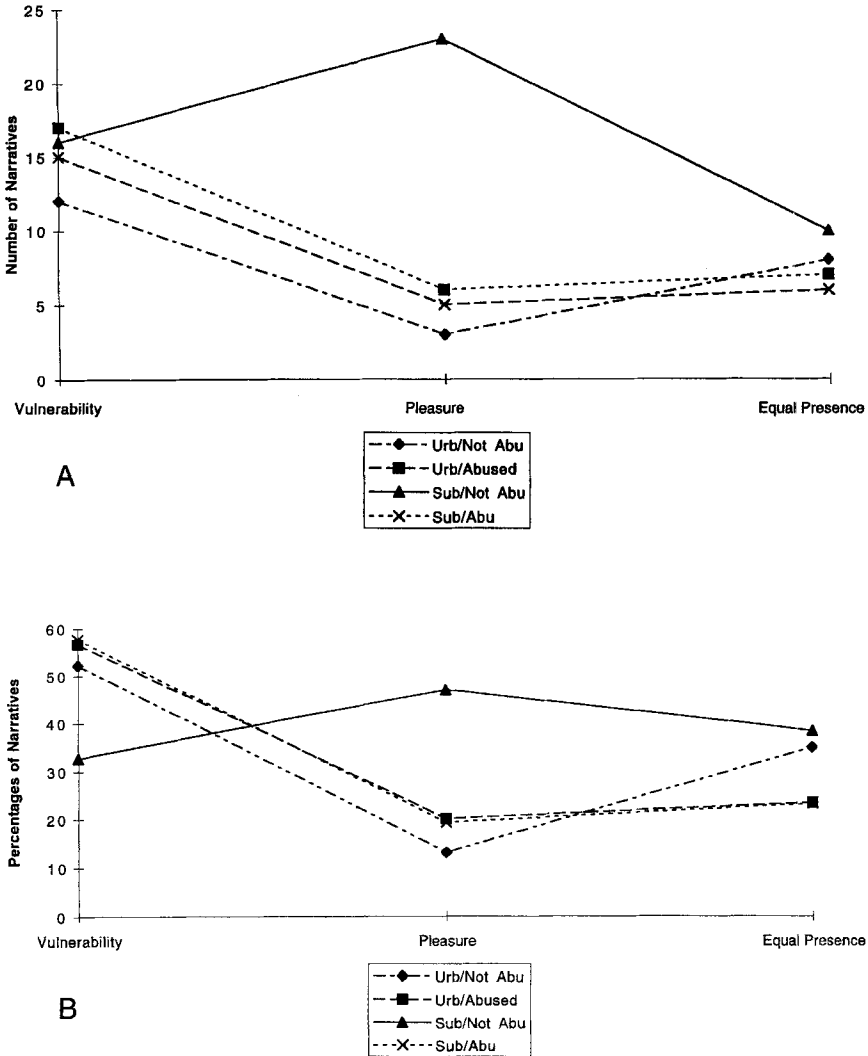


FIGURE 2. (A): The number of narratives stratified by social location, report of sexual violence and predominant theme ( $N = 128$ ). (B): The percentage of narratives stratified by social location, report of sexual violence and predominant theme ( $N = 128$ ).

2a and 2b display the number and percentages of desire narratives told by the girls, stratified by social location, report of sexual violation, and predominant theme. Three groups of girls—one of suburban girls who reported sexual violation and two of urban girls (those who did and did not report sexual violation)—display a similar pattern in predominant themes: They all tell many more vulnerability narratives than narratives about pleasure or narratives in which vulnerability and

pleasure figure equally. There is almost no difference in the numbers or proportions of narratives about pleasure versus vulnerability told by urban girls who had and had not reported sexual violation. The group that stands out is the suburban girls who did not report sexual violation. They tell more narratives about pleasure and fewer narratives in which vulnerability and pleasure were balanced than did the other three groups of girls. In addition, a higher percentage of their narratives had a predominant theme of pleasure than narratives that included vulnerability. These findings suggest a further elucidation of the relationship between social location and experience of sexual desire—that, for suburban girls, sexual violation is related to an increased association of vulnerability and diminished association of pleasure with their experiences of sexual desire.

Contingency table analyses support these observations. We found that there was a relationship between a suburban girl's location, her exposure to sexual violence, and the predominant theme of her narratives (LR $\chi^2$  statistic 6.41, df 2,  $p < .04$ ). Specifically, suburban girls who *had* reported sexual violation told 4.3 times more narratives that expressed vulnerability versus pleasure than those told by suburban girls who *had not* reported sexual violation. Furthermore, the narratives told by the girls in the other three groups expressed vulnerability versus pleasure or both pleasure and vulnerability nearly three times (2.8) more than those of suburban girls who had not reported sexual violation.

In order to determine whether these relationships were statistically significant, we fit three fixed-effects logistic regression models: for narratives with a predominance of pleasure, narratives with a predominance of vulnerability, and narratives with an equal balance between vulnerability and pleasure. By including dummy variables to estimate each girl's effect, we were able to address the potential problems associated with the lack of independence of each narrative and not overestimate the independent degrees of freedom (Green, 1993; Hanushek, 1990).

The regression models confirmed our earlier findings associating an interaction between a suburban social location and absence of sexual violation with telling more pleasure narratives. The estimated odds<sup>10</sup> that a suburban girl who had not reported sexual violation would relate a narrative expressing pleasure was 5.89 times that of urban girls who had not reported sexual violation (Wald chi-square = 6.7679,  $p < .0093$ ). Furthermore, suburban girls who did report sexual violation told narratives with a predominant theme of pleasure only a quarter of the time (.269), as compared with suburban girls who had not reported such abuses.<sup>11</sup> A girl's social location, report of sexual violation, or an interaction between the two were not significant indicators of narratives with a predominant theme of vulnerability or of narratives with equally expressed themes of vulnerability and pleasure (Wald chi-squares = 5.21,  $p = .390$  and = 4.45,  $p = .485$ , respectively).

This quantitative analysis enables us to elucidate further our understanding of how these urban and suburban girls experience their own sexual desire. We are able to describe specifically the magnitude of the difference we noted qualitatively between urban and suburban girls' experiences of desire. We are also able to highlight that an interplay between these girls' social locations and personal histories of sexual violation figures significantly in how they experience and give meaning to their own desire, specifically pinpointing how they are limited and supported in the possibility of associating their own sexual desire with pleasure. This analysis

allows us to retain and extend the complexity of our understanding that vulnerability is a key aspect of sexual desire for all of these girls.

### DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: QUESTION 3

Question 3: How Do Descriptions and Narratives of Sexual Desire Offered by Suburban Girls Who Have Not Reported Sexual Violence or Abuse Compare with the Descriptions and Narratives Offered by Urban Girls Who Have and Have Not Reported Sexual Violence and Abuse and Suburban Girls Who Have Reported Sexual Violence and Abuse?

Our statistical analysis suggested that sexual violation can be a dimension of desire. The quantitative approach indicated that there were differences in how sexual violation shaped urban and suburban girls' experiences of desire. Our finding of a significant interactive effect between social location and report of sexual violation for suburban but not urban girls suggests the need to understand more about the comparative quality of their experiences of sexual desire. To pursue this lead, we chose to focus on how the girls spoke about their bodies in a second qualitative analysis, because, as the site of both vulnerability and pleasure (Vance, 1984), the specific context of bodily experience offers a theoretically compelling focal point for deepening our understanding of this dimension of desire.

#### *Data Analysis*

To explore this question, we returned to the original transcripts of the interviews and examined the complete text of each interview, an expansion on the original in-depth analysis of a single desire narrative. Using the same analytic method as described for answering Question 1, we tracked how the girls talked about their bodies and also tracked specific descriptions of how they related their bodies to their minds and their emotions (often referred to by the girls as their "selves"). Using The Listening Guide method, we marked all parts of each transcript where the girls mentioned their bodies for a voice of the body. We then listened for the self voice in each of these transcripts. This second time through the transcripts enabled us to determine how each girl related her experience of her body in her experiences of sexual desire and pleasure with her self, that is, how she related or integrated her mind and her emotions with her bodily experience. After completing a worksheet reflecting our interpretations of the girls' words, we organized these interpretations into a conceptually clustered matrix that would allow us to explore further and characterize the differences we had identified in the previous statistical analyses between the suburban girls who had not been sexually violated or abused and the other three groups of girls. We provide a section of this matrix to illustrate how this method makes it possible to identify similarities and differences within and between categories (see Table 2).

#### *Results*

In returning to the voices of urban and suburban girls who did and did not report experiences of sexual abuse or violence, we were able to investigate further the



**Table 2**

Partial Conceptually Clustered Matrix of the Voice of the Body,  
Relationship Between Body and Self, and Girl Stratified by Social Location  
and Report of Sexual Violence

<i>Suburban Girls—No Report of Sexual Violation</i>		
<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Zoe (White)	<p>Sexual desire and pleasure described in specific physical terms: “tingling,” “shivering”</p> <p>Specific knowledge of pleasure: varying intensity and depth of feeling observed: “sometimes I kinda feel it’s more deeper”</p> <p>Desire identified through embodied feeling</p>	<p>Desire as interplay between mind and body: interplay between “mental” and “physical” feelings</p> <p>Linking physical feelings with mental feelings through relationship: “I don’t know if you can feel it (desire) if you did it with someone who you didn’t really love”</p>
Eugenia (White)	<p>Sexual desire and pleasure described in specific physical terms: “strong,” “wet,” “between my legs,” “throbbing,” “burn,” “waves,” “your body’s excited”</p> <p>Specific knowledge of pleasure: orgasm as loss of “control” that is positive and pleasurable, linked to “comfort” in a relationship; explicit detailed knowledge of how body does and does not respond</p> <p>Desire identified through embodied feeling; strength of physical pleasure as motivation to continue behavior</p>	<p>Desire as interplay between mind and body: interplay between strong emotions and strong physical/sexual feelings, response, excitement and pleasure; mind used to soothe and quiet body when required; specific pathway relating emotional and physical feelings (mind and then body); link between focus of mind and experience of body; interplay of expressing self in relationship and increasing sexual feelings: “when there’s emotions behind it, it makes it like that much more exciting”</p> <p>Exploration of her relationship to own body: question about lack of sense of entitlement to self-pleasure through masturbation</p> <p>Knowledge of benefits of knowing own sexual, physical responses and bringing information into relationships</p> <p>Link of self-confidence to self-pleasure through masturbation</p>

**Table 2**  
Continued

<i>Suburban Girls—No Report of Sexual Violation</i>		
<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Jane (White)	<p>Embodied feeling described in nonspecific terms: "good," "expectant," "demanding," a "need," "jumpy," "excited"</p> <p>Link of physical pleasure to feeling of "happiness" and "being intimate"</p> <p>Desire linked to being touched physically: mouth, neck, skin, hair, "everywhere"</p> <p>Intimate knowledge of sexual pleasure as interplay of intensity and physical stimulation</p>	<p>Sense of entitlement to own body and its pleasures yet masturbation not sexually exciting or "natural"</p> <p>Link of pleasure and intensity of feeling to emotional anticipation</p> <p>Desire as interplay between mind and body</p> <p>Chooses to act on physical feelings only if they occur in the context of a relationship</p> <p>Enjoyment in experiencing embodied pleasure</p>
<i>Urban Girls—No Report of Sexual Violation</i>		
<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Beverly (African American)	<p>Specific body parts associated with vulnerability to pleasure: "weak spot" on neck</p> <p>Descriptions of pleasure and desire suggest dissociation: "numb"</p> <p>Different descriptions of sexual pleasure and desire: as both numbness of body and body "saying yes"</p>	<p>Prohibition on action if absence of own embodied feeling: "If you want to do it, do it. If you don't want to, don't do it"</p> <p>Mind acts as vigilant guardian of responsive body: mind censors body "My body was saying yes, but my mouth was saying no"</p> <p>Body difficult to control, body as rogue: "my whole body is just going"</p>
Charlene (White)	<p>Sexual desire and pleasure described in specific physical terms: "having the shakes," "butterflies," "getting wet"</p> <p>Disembodied descriptions of desire: "felt like Jello," "in a daze," "I go to sleep"</p> <p>Specific knowledge of presence and absence of sexual satisfaction: "I think I</p>	<p>Sense of entitlement to satisfaction</p> <p>Mind acts as vigilant guardian of responsive body: mind censors and silences body: "the more I like feel myself getting wet or something, it's like, just change my mind and think about something else"</p>

**Table 2**  
Continued

<i>Urban Girls—No Report of Sexual Violation</i>		
<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Charlene (continued)	<p>get satisfied just by like hugs and kisses"; "sometimes he stops before like, you know, I am done"</p> <p>Specific knowledge of pleasure: "We have like different spots, you know, he touches you, that just makes you go in a daze or whatever"</p>	Experience of desire associated with mistrust of self and fear of pregnancy
Rochelle (African American)	<p>Specific knowledge of pleasure: enjoys sex intermittently ("once in a while" vs. "all the time")</p> <p>Specific knowledge of desire: moderate sex associated with more desire</p> <p>Desire expressed in specific physical terms: a "tingle," "like a fever or drugs"</p> <p>Embodied feeling described in nonspecific language: "this feeling, to get rid of"</p> <p>Desire experienced more when alone than being touched</p> <p>Connection between desire for thinness and desire to explore sexuality (discomfort with body, and with "being looked at")</p>	<p>Distanced from own body: intimidated by idea of masturbation</p> <p>Fear of pregnancy interferes with embodied feeling: "I don't really think I have any type of sexual pleasure . . . cause like I always have in the back of my mind, I'm gonna get pregnant . . . it's like, when I'm having sex, I just think about that"</p> <p>Fear of voicing own desire: "I just find it hard to come out and say . . . I would sort of like him to do it (cunnilingus)"</p> <p>Mind quiets body: "I just, you know, just be quiet and just go away by myself, I just be calm, and like they'll (sexual feelings) go away"</p> <p>Internalized cultural norms of femininity shortcircuit sexual curiosity: "I just sorta have in my mind that a woman's not supposed to be like aggressive doing stuff like that (being "on top")"</p>

(continued)

Table 2

Continued

<i>Suburban Girls—Reported Sexual Violation</i>		
<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Alexandra (White, bisexual, raped by boyfriend)	<p>Distinction between physical arousal and pleasure</p> <p>Pleasure and desire described in specific physical terms: "makes me tingle," "feel giddy and tingly," "physically turned on"</p> <p>Specific knowledge of pleasure: soft things vs. "classically sexual acts, such as feeling up"; on top of the vagina, not inside</p> <p>Sexual stimulation associated with pain and discomfort as it intensifies: "a very sore sensation, a sort of nauseous feeling in my stomach" (associated with experiences with males)</p> <p>Describes having physical needs (in association with her girlfriend)</p>	<p>Response to desire and pleasure is to close body down, "refuse to let myself go"</p> <p>Resists cultural norms of femininity about female sexuality</p> <p>Equal importance of "physical, mental, social and emotional parts" of desire, although no clear relationship between them identified</p> <p>Mind as consultant for body: body as censor for self when mind is not vigilant enough</p> <p>Specific pathway relating emotional and physical feelings (mind and then body): "You meet a guy, you like him, you want to have sex with him, it's all in your mind . . . and then when he touches you, you get pleasure from it"</p>
Nikki (White, hit repeatedly by boyfriend)	<p>Absence of embodied feeling or desire: "I don't really feel anything"</p> <p>Disembodied desire for sex associated with wish to get it over with and avoid pain when drunk</p>	<p>Sexual pleasure and desire associated primarily with the mind, in thoughts</p> <p>Specific pathway relating ideas and physical feelings (mind and then body)</p> <p>Mind as eraser: "If you think about it long enough, you just forget"</p>

**Table 2**  
Continued

<i>Suburban Girls—Reported Sexual Violation</i>		
<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Nikki (continued)		Dissociation of mind and body: "I know I want him but it doesn't make me feel anything"
Liz (White, molested by adult male, rape averted by circumstances, single occurrence)	Embodied feeling described in nonspecific language: "satisfaction," "tiring," "exhausted," "really tense and then I rest, it melts" Physical pleasure associated with specific behavior Absence of knowledge of body-part names yet knowledge of bodily response and pleasure Specific knowledge of what is pleasurable and not pleasurable Desire described in specific physical terms: "hot," "a burning sensation," "feeling sweaty" Distinguish between feelings of love and lust	Sexual desire includes desire for physical closeness in a relationship Discomfort with own body (self-conscious about weight) Desire emerges out of interactions that are not specific "sexual" behaviors Mind as a distraction to embodied response: concern about being found out doing something taboo Idea of a behavior can be pleasurable even when physical experience itself is not: "it makes me feel good, I think, just thinking about it being there (boy's erect penis), it just seemed so like sexual, so neat, it wasn't like I was getting excited, I was just doing it (fellatio) for him"

*Urban Girls—Reported Sexual Violation*

<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Laura (African American, repeatedly molested and raped by male babysitter in childhood)	"Not sure" about having experienced sexual pleasure or desire Embodied feeling described in nonspecific language: "jumpy," "like taking drugs," "hyper," "strange," "feel it all over," "want to do something"	Desire is something that happens to her: desire is an "unwanted visitor" Pleasure located in body rather than in mind Pleasure begins in the mind, leads to desire (not clear if that is associated with the body) and behavior, though sometimes it "just happens"

(continued)

**Table 2**  
Continued

<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Laura (continued)		Lack of clarity about whether desire occurs in mind and/or body; "I just felt different" Relationship of mind and body is one of control; mind as a controllable part of self vs. body, which eludes control, things "just happen"
Barbara (White, molested regularly between ages of 5-9 by adult male)	Sexual pleasure described in specific physical terms: body is "sensitive," "whole body can feel good," "gets your whole body turned on," "pressure in (chest)" Specific knowledge of pleasure and desire: "they (boys) can manipulate the clitoris and that drives any girl crazy"; "overwhelming"; "good if you can get it fulfilled," if not, "an annoyance"; orgasm "totally blew my mind" Specific knowledge of what she wants: "not just back-rubs, do the whole body"	Interplay between mind and body: "when you concentrate, it brings more pleasure" Tries to avert mind's tendency to function as censor Desire needs to be communicated to other person to have pleasure Pleasure is physical and can be associated with emotional feelings too; physical desire is associated with emotional and mental knowledge Mind acts as guardian and censor of responsive body (refers to body and mind as "we"); mind speaks to body Express wish to feel pleasure and sexual desire led to "working upon [feeling desire] myself a lot"
Lily (Latina, attempted rape averted)	Intense sexual pleasure experienced when drunk and asleep: "best, funniest, most incredible time" Sexual pleasure is not experienced in her body (with the above exception) but described as emotional, being touched sexually is associated with disembodied "happiness"	Emotional rather than physical pleasure "counts" and is "fun" Physical pleasure outside of emotionally meaningful context is "disgusting" When physical pleasure is experienced, it is because of what boyfriend does—not responsible for physical pleasure and "do[es] not care" if it occurs

**Table 2**  
Continued

<i>Urban Girls—Reported Sexual Violation</i>		
<i>Girl</i>	<i>Voice of the Body</i>	<i>Relationship Between Body and Self</i>
Lily (continued)	<p>Disembodied perspective on pleasure of sex (pits relationship against physical experience)</p> <p>Disembodied experience of desire: feels it “in heart not body”; “tickling your heart”; “just a feeling inside, not a physical feeling at all”</p> <p>Experienced orgasms but not very important to her vs. emotional aspects of physical intimacy</p> <p>First experience of sex: no desire, “didn’t know what was going on,” “never thought about it”</p>	<p>Logic of emotions and desire: could only feel desire in a relationship, so has not felt desire for someone she hasn’t loved</p>

relative predominance of pleasure narratives spoken by suburban girls who have not experienced sexual abuse or violence as compared to the other groups of girls. We observed marked differences in how suburban girls who did not report sexual violation voice their bodies and speak about the relationship between their bodies and their psyches as compared with the other three groups.

These suburban girls speak about their desire as an embodied experience that they associate with intense feelings of pleasure and also with self-knowledge. Both sexual desire and sexual pleasure are known to them as profoundly physical experiences—as feelings that they perceive in their own bodies. They are able to describe these experiences in specific terms, reflecting their clear acquaintance with these feelings: Zoe called it a “tingling or a shivering,” Eugenia explained that it is “a burn, a throbbing down there, in between my legs . . . sometimes I get wet . . . it was just like my body wanted to just be like touched and explored.” They describe sexual feelings in the way that a naturalist might make observations, noting the specifics of how their pleasure and desire occur and unfold, as Jane reported:

I want to be with him and touch him and have him touch me, in your fingers, in your mouth, like your neck and like everywhere, just on your skin . . . when you are finally alone, then it is like that much better, because you’ve waited so long that it’s like the feelings are so strong inside you that they’re just like ready to burst, and it’s sort of like you’ve both been waiting so that when you’re finally together, it’s that much more exciting or special.

Jane, like the other suburban girls who did not report sexual violation, voiced a sense of entitlement to her own desire and pleasure, as well as an intimate knowledge of how her desire “works” (see Table 2).

There is a consistency in how these girls describe the relationship between their bodies and their selves when they talk about their desire.<sup>12</sup> They all explain that both emotional and physical feelings contribute to their overall experience of sexual desire. That is, they describe an equitable interplay of mind and body, working in collaboration to generate what they call sexual desire. For instance, Eugenia explicated the difference that she understood between having “really strong emotions towards him” and “hav[ing] sex” with someone who is attractive:

I think I would enjoy it so much more than having a one-night stand, even if it was something really like you just like saw each other and just wanted to get together and so it was kinda sexy, but I just feel like when there’s like emotions behind it, it makes it like that much more exciting.

She continued to elaborate her experience of having feelings in her mind and in her body engaged in an interplay of pleasure:

I think part of it was in my mind and then part of it was just that physical thing, just knowing you’re doing something that you want to physically want somebody like that, sexual pleasure’s something that’s like so intensely emotional and so intensely physical.

These girls appear to be taking on and succeeding in working out the unarticulated and ostensibly insurmountable task that society has set up for young women, to figure out how to unite their sexual feelings with their emotional feelings in a cultural context that generally splits emotions from embodied experience along the lines of gender, distributing emotions to girls and sexual desire to boys.

This integration of emotions and body in voicing desire is unique to the suburban girls who did not report sexual violation and serves as an explication of our observation in the quantitative analysis that this group of girls told relatively more desire narratives about pleasure than did the other three groups. This description of desire suggests a connection between mind and body that is present for the group of girls who have relatively little violence to negotiate in their lives, in their general sociocultural situation, their relational landscapes, or in their personal histories. These girls speak about having feeling bodies and about knowing that their bodies and sexuality can be a source of physical, emotional, and relational pleasure and even strength. The multiple privileges of a safer suburban community and the absence of oppressive violence means that these girls have the freedom to associate their own desire more with pleasure than with vulnerability.

This qualitative analysis also enables further understanding of the findings of the quantitative analysis that the remaining three groups of girls—suburban girls who reported sexual violation, urban girls who did and did not report sexual violation—told more narratives about vulnerability than about pleasure. Distinct from the embodied and integrated voices of body and desire that are audible among the suburban girls who did not report sexual violation, the other three groups of girls are similar to each other in how they talk about their bodies and how they articulate the relationship between their bodies and their selves. We discern a



general pattern of dissociation and disconnection in how these girls voice their bodies, ranging from reports of dissociation in specific situations to consistent absence of physical feelings. For instance, although Rochelle, an urban girl who does not report sexual violation, says that "I don't really have no pleasure," she also reports that "just like certain times I really really enjoy it [sex] but not a majority of the time, it's only sometimes, once in a while." Ellen, another urban girl who did not report sexual violation, said of desire, "I don't feel it very much in my body." Alexandra, a suburban girl who was raped, explains, "I can enjoy it, but I'm always you know just sorta like looking at it." And Lily, an urban girl who reported narrowly escaping a rape, said, "Nothing really happens with my body." In addition, some of these girls associate the experience of desire with physical discomfort, nausea, or tension.

There are also interesting differences between and within these groups that this analysis makes visible. The suburban girls who had experienced sexual abuse or violence are in fact the most different from the suburban girls who have not reported these experiences. When they talked about their desire, their descriptions reflect the *idea* of desire and pleasure more than or as often as the actual embodied experience of it. Nikki said that "if you like someone, then you know that's sexual pleasure but you have to think about it." And Liz explained the pleasure she associates with fellatio, "It wasn't so much that it makes me feel good, I think that just thinking about it being there, it just seemed so sexual, like so neat." They described an out-of-sync relationship between their selves and their bodies, such as Alexandra's recollection that "when you're in a situation and your body's saying one thing, you don't really consult your mind all the time. And that's another reason that I think I get tense." For Nikki, her mind and her body sound like separate entities, "It's all in my head, I think about it, but my body has nothing to do with it. You know, sure my body feels desire if someone touches me or feels pleasure, but pretty much it's in what you're thinking about." In describing having sex with a boy who was more inexperienced than she, Liz said, "It wasn't even like pleasurable, I don't think" but went on to explain that she enjoyed the feeling of power she experienced "in my mind."

The two groups of urban girls sound quite similar, more so than the two groups of suburban girls, and very similar to the suburban girls who reported abuse or violence. This qualitative similarity explains the weakness of the interaction effect from our quantitative analysis, which distinguishes suburban but not urban girls who have and have not been abused or sexually violated. All of the urban girls are subjected to daily doses of frightening violence that appear to contribute to a kind of dissociation from one's own body and a conflictual relationship between the mind and the body when it comes to sexuality. Among the urban girls, there was a distinct split between their minds and bodies reflected in their narratives and descriptions. They described how their minds offer a type of control over their responsive bodies, associated with fear of trouble and negative consequences. Laura, an urban girl who described years of molestation at the hands of a male babysitter, said, "But, I mean your body doesn't always listen to your mind, so sometimes, you might not want your body to react that way but it might anyway," whereas Ellen, who did not report sexual violation, said, "Your mind might say 'no' and your body will say 'yes.' Like if you see a guy and you think he's cute or something, your body might send out different signals but, you know, your mind might say,

'well no, not really.'" She went on to explain why her mind and body may "send out different signals": "Once I'm in that mood, I know like I don't know, I don't really trust myself. I always think I'm gonna end up pregnant."

The urban girls who reported sexual violence or abuse includes a subset of girls who sound quite distinct from the other girls in these three groups and somewhat similar to the suburban girls who did not report sexual violation. They are girls who voice a clear resilience and a conscious articulated resistance to being dissociated from their own bodies in the wake of their experiences with abuse and violence. Exemplified by Barbara, their voices echo the suburban girls who did not report sexual violation in the kind of vitality, integrity, and sense of entitlement to their own bodies inscribed in their desire narratives. Barbara explained that, although she had been repeatedly molested as a young child, she "wanted to be able to feel pleasure . . . cause in the back of my mind, I knew that I couldn't just go on being this way, cause if I got married, I was never going to enjoy it. And I wanted to be able to enjoy it. And so I worked upon it myself a lot." They are girls who described sexual pleasure in specific physical terms and demonstrated a detailed knowledge of their own pleasure and desire. Barbara offered these descriptions of her experience and embodied knowledge of desire, "Most of my friends and me, our bodies are very sensitive, you're making out and your whole body can feel good . . . [boys] have this thing they can do with their hands, they can manipulate the clitoris and that drives any girl crazy, I know it does, it comes somewhere between being pleasure and pain, it's very overwhelming . . . your whole body gets turned on." There is an important complexity in how they voice the relationship between their selves, voicing a split yet also some sense of mind and body working together in the experience of desire and pleasure. Barbara explained that when "you're just concentrating on the pleasure, then it brings more pleasure than when you're thinking about something else." She also described her mind as a kind of chaperone for her body in risky situations, "I'll just tell myself, 'no, not today, we can wait, no need to rush it.' . . . I'm telling my body that I can wait." This small group of urban girls who reported sexual violation weave in and work for pleasure from within social locations and personal histories that highlight vulnerability—living in selves and bodies that have been harmed. This qualitative analysis reveals an important caveat to the general quantitative group finding that urban girls who had reported sexual violation associated their own desire more with vulnerability than with pleasure.

## DISCUSSION

Together, the results of these three analyses contour a multidimensional understanding of adolescent girls' experiences of sexual desire. Grounded in a method of data collection that gave girls an opportunity to interrupt the usual silence about their sexuality and using qualitative and quantitative methods to analyze these data, we learned far more about this aspect of female adolescent development than forcing a choice between qualitative and quantitative methods would have afforded. This triangulation of analyses reinforces the basic finding that the dimensions of pleasure and vulnerability scaffold some pointed differences between urban and suburban girls in their experiences of desire.

In the first analysis, we found that urban and suburban girls described their experiences of sexual desire in both similar and distinct ways. They described the feeling of desire in comparable terms and spoke of desire as an embodied experience. There were discernable differences, however, in how they interpreted or understood their desire and in how they dealt with and managed their own sexual feelings. We interpreted these differences to be associated with the social locations in which their development and desire experiences occurred. We know that urban girls are subject to overt, constant violence and heightened chances of sexual experiences resulting in devastating consequences in a resource-constrained environment, whereas suburban girls live in a safer environment, at least in terms of the palpability of violence in their community, in which they have access to social and financial safety nets that can soften the blow of negative consequences of sexual exploration.

We expanded our understanding of this difference first by determining its magnitude, which was substantively and statistically significant. We refined our knowledge of pleasure and vulnerability as dimensions of desire by examining the effect of reported sexual violation. Our discovery that suburban girls who had not reported sexual violation told relatively more narratives about pleasure than the other three groups of girls offers insight into both urban and suburban girls' experiences of their sexual desire. Entering this dimension into our inquiry enabled us to fine-tune our understanding of how exposure to violence, sexual as well as environmental, is a significant factor in these girls' ability to know their own sexual desire as pleasurable.

Returning to our data with a third question and a new qualitative analysis refined and complicated this understanding further. We learned that suburban girls who had not reported sexual violation experienced their own desire as deeply grounded in their bodies and told narratives in which their desire integrated their emotional and physical feelings. The girls who had experienced sexual violence or were exposed to general violence in the community in which they lived sounded more dissociated from their own bodily feelings, an important source of self and relational knowledge (Debold, Wilson, & Malave, 1994) and voiced a split between their selves and their bodies. Suburban location brings the impact of sexual violation into high relief. Here, the blighting effects of sexual violence emphasize the vulnerability and eradicate the pleasure that girls can associate with their own sexuality. We also learned that within the group of urban girls who had experienced sexual violation, some had engaged in an active practice of resistance to being cut off from the pleasure and power that their bodies and sexuality could afford them. Despite having been sexually violated, they were still able to express pleasure in some of their narratives.

This study inscribes key shortcomings and suggests new challenges in expanding what we know about female adolescent sexuality. Although the urban sample was racially and ethnically diverse, it was too small to examine these crucial differences in female experiences of sexuality (Collins, 1991; Espin, 1984; Tolman, 1996), and the suburban sample lacked this variation. The same shortcoming applies to differences in religious backgrounds and religiosity. In addition, the small numbers of bisexual and lesbian girls did not allow us to examine how sexual orientation may be incorporated into this analysis of how vulnerability and pleasure figure in girls' experiences of sexual desire. Collecting and analyzing more desire narratives

from these girls' perspectives is an important next step in learning about female adolescent sexual desire.

The findings of this study support and extend feminist theory that has asserted that sexual violence is a form of patriarchal oppression, disabling women by dividing them from the pleasure and power of their own bodies and of their erotic connections with other people (Lorde, 1984). The reality that female sexuality incorporates both pleasure and vulnerability for all women living in a society under the constraints of patriarchy suggests an important caveat in response to these findings. All of these girls demonstrated some capacity to balance both vulnerability and pleasure in their desire narratives. These two contradictory aspects are associated with female sexual desire in a world of AIDS, vibrators, insufficient access to and development of contraception, mass-mediated representations of sex, and powerful emotional and physical connections with other people. Knowing about and developing such a balance may be a crucial element of the healthy development of women's sexuality at this moment in history.

## CONCLUSIONS

This study offers an illustration of one way to combine qualitative and quantitative methods to develop a comprehensive understanding of adolescent girls' experiences of sexual desire. Asking a series of questions informed by feminist theory, analysis, and methods, this study fills a research gap in girls' development left by conventional developmental psychology. We wish to emphasize that this study represents a feminist approach to bridging qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. A key component of our study was to begin with the voices of girls. As feminist psychologists, our central goals are to ask and answer questions that illuminate and challenge patriarchal assumptions about and negative effects on the lives of women and girls and to identify complexities in women's and girls' experiences and potential that have been difficult to know within the traditional practice of psychology. The use of a feminist eclectic approach to methods of data analysis in this study provides one way around the split that has tended to exist among feminist psychologists along epistemological and political lines, a split that may serve to diminish the impact that feminist psychologists can and need to have on the discipline.

*Initial submission: November 29, 1996*

*Initial acceptance: November 22, 1997*

*Final acceptance: May 22, 1997*

## NOTES

1. In more recent years, the use of focus groups has increased. This approach has been used more to identify barriers to contraceptive and condom use (i.e., Kisker, 1985; Stanton, Aronson, Borgatti, & Galbraith, 1993)—to fulfill the agenda of preventing pregnancy and disease among adolescents—than as part of an inquiry into their experiences and the meanings they make of sexuality.
2. Maxwell (in Maxwell & Lincoln, 1990) contends that the debate rests, by and large, on an invalid assumption of paradigmatic unity; that is, that each paradigm constitutes a uniquely

- integrated and consistent whole that cannot be disaggregated and recombined with parts of other paradigms without creating philosophical and practical contradictions. This uniformity, according to Maxwell, is largely illusory and there are not, therefore, any generic qualitative or quantitative research paradigms. If we abandon the notion that the components of each paradigm are inseparable parts of larger methodological and epistemological wholes, we have removed any objection to the integration of approaches as pursued by Patton (1990a, 1990b).
3. Reinharz (1990) suggested that the dominance of one method over the other—primarily of quantitative methods over qualitative ones, with some exceptions (e.g., see Fine, 1992)—is a not-accidental reflection of larger patterns of dominance and powerlessness in our society.
  4. Tolman performed a clustered random sampling based on membership in White, Black, Latina, Asian and “other” racial/ethnic groupings for each social location. The proportions of girls in each group in the sample from each site represent the proportion they represent of the school population, with the exception of Asian girls (see note 7). There was a 45% refusal rate in the urban school and a 33% refusal rate in the suburban school.
  5. This sampling approach represents an important compromise in the overall study design. One argument would have been to select a purposive sample of girls who had sexual experience or who could say definitively that sexual desire was something they had experienced. Part of the inquiry of the study, though, was to develop a sense of whether sexual desire was something that girls said they knew about or experienced. Balancing this open question with the power of a random sample for exploring differences quantitatively led to the decision to take this approach.
  6. In addition, Tolman approached a gay and lesbian youth group to include self-identified lesbian and bisexual girls in this sample. Two girls were included in the sample from this group; based on their description of their social environments, one was added to the suburban sample and one was added to the urban sample.
  7. No Asian girls from either school chose to participate. Asian colleagues explained that it was countercultural for Asian girls to talk about sexuality with a White woman in school. This study in some ways thus leaves open the question of how race is incorporated into girls’ experiences of sexual desire. Feminist and cultural studies scholarship suggests that race may be crucial and further research in this direction is warranted.
  8. Both the *t*-test statistics and the  $\chi^2$  statistics need to be interpreted cautiously as there is a violation of independence of the narratives. Note, however, that our purposes here are exploratory, and we address this in further analyses.
  9. This question was suggested to the first author by Mary Belenky.
  10. The reported estimated odds ratios are the antilogs of the estimated slope coefficients from the fitted fixed-effects logistic regression models.
  11. This pattern arises in the group of girls who tell far fewer pleasure versus vulnerability narratives than do suburban girls who did not report sexual abuse or violence, but more pleasure narratives than the two groups of girls who did report abuse.
  12. See Tolman (1994a) for a qualitative analysis of how a heterosexual, bisexual, and lesbian girl described their experiences of sexual desire in this study.

## REFERENCES

- Andersen, K., Armitage, S., Jack, D., & Wittner, J. (1990). Beginning where we are: Feminist methodology in oral history. In J. Nielson (Ed.), *Feminist research methods* (pp. 94–114). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Becker, H. (1986). *Writing for social scientists: How to start and finish your thesis, book, or article*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Belenky, M., Clinchy, B., Goldberger, N., & Tarule, J. (1986). *Women’s ways of knowing*. New York: Basic Books.
- Benjamin, J. (1988). *The bonds of love*. New York: Pantheon.
- Brown, L., Debold, E., Gilligan, C., & Tappan, M. (1991). Reading narratives of conflict for self and moral voice: A relational method. In W. Kurtines & J. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Handbook of*

- moral behavior and development: Theory, research and application*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Brown, L., & Gilligan, C. (1992). *Meeting at the crossroads*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Brown, L., Tappan, M., Gilligan, C., Miller, B., & Argyris, P. (1989). Reading for self and moral voice: A method for interpreting narratives of real-life, moral conflict and choice. In M. Packer & R. Addison (Eds.), *Entering the circle: Hermeneutic investigation in psychology* (pp. 141–164). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Carlson, R. (1996). Attitudes toward needle “sharing” among injection drug users: Combining qualitative and quantitative research methods. *Human Organization*, 55, 361–370.
- Collins, P. H. (1991). *Black feminist thought*. New York: Routledge.
- Cook, T., & Reichardt, C. (Eds.). (1979). *Qualitative and quantitative methods in evaluation research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Cowie, L., & Lees, S. (1987). Slags or drags? In Feminist Review (Ed.), *Sexuality: A reader* (pp. 105–122). London: Virago Press.
- Crawford, M., & Maracek, J. (1989). Feminist theory, feminist psychology. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 13, 477–491.
- Debats, D. (1995). Experiences of meaning in life: A combined qualitative and quantitative approach. *British Journal of Psychology*, 86, 359–376.
- Debold, E., Tolman, D., & Brown, L. (1996). Embodying knowledge, knowing desire: Authority and split subjectivities in girls’ epistemological development. In N. Goldberger, J. Tarule, B. Clinchy, & M. Belenky (Eds.), *Knowledge, difference and power: Essays inspired by women’s ways of knowing*. New York: Basic Books.
- Debold, E., Wilson, M., & Malave, I. (1994). *Mother-daughter revolution*. Boston: Addison-Wesley.
- Delameter, J., & MacCorquodale, M. (1979). *Premarital sexuality: Attitudes, relationships, behaviors*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Espin, O. (1984). Cultural and historical influences on sexuality in Hispanic/Latin women: Implications for psychotherapy. In C. Vance (Ed.), *Pleasure and danger: Exploring female sexuality* (pp. 149–164). Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fine, M. (1988). Sexuality, schooling and adolescent girls: The missing discourse of desire. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58, 33–53.
- Fine, M. (1992). *Disruptive voices: The possibilities of feminist research*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Fine, M., & Gordon, S. (1989). Feminist transformations of/despite psychology. In M. Crawford & M. Gentry (Eds.), *Gender and thought: Psychological perspectives* (pp. 45–65). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Firestone, W. (1993). Accommodation: Toward a paradigm-praxis dialectic. In E. Guba (Ed.), *The paradigm dialog* (pp. 105–124). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Freud, S. (1905). The transformations of puberty. In S. Freud (Ed.), *Three essays on the theory of sexuality* (pp. 73–96). New York: Basic Books.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gilligan, C., Brown, L., & Rogers, A. (1989). Soundings into development. In C. Gilligan, N. Lyons, & T. Hammer (Eds.), *Making connections: The relational worlds of adolescent girls at Emma Willard School* (pp. 58–88). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gladue, B. (1991). Qualitative and quantitative sex differences in self-reported aggressive behavioral characteristics. *Psychological Reports*, 68, 675–685.
- Goldfarb, E. (1995). Gender and race in the sexuality education classroom: Learning from the experiences of students and teachers. *SIECUS Report*, 24(1), 2–6.
- Green, W. (1993). *Econometric analyses* (2nd ed). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Greene, J. (1994). Qualitative program evaluation: Practice and promise. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative methods* (pp. 530–544). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hanushek, A. (1990). *Diversity and complexity in feminist therapy*. New York: Haworth.

- Healy, J., Jr., & Sewart, A. (1991). On the compatibility of quantitative and qualitative methods for studying individual lives. In A. Sewart, J. Healy, Jr., & D. Ozer (Eds.), *Perspectives on personality: Theory, research and interpersonal dynamics* (Vol. 3). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Hines, A. (1993). Linking qualitative and quantitative methods in cross-cultural survey research: Techniques from cognitive science. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 21, 729–746.
- House, E. (1994). Integrating the qualitative and quantitative. Speech to the American Evaluation Association, Seattle, WA. In C. Reichardt & S. Rallis (Eds.), *The quantitative-qualitative debate: New perspectives, new directions in program evaluation* (pp. 13–22). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Irigaray, L. (1981). This sex which is not one. In E. Marks & I. De Courtivron (Eds.), *New French feminisms* (pp. 3–37). New York: Schocken.
- Jayarajne, T., & Stewart, A. (1991). Qualitative and quantitative methods in the social sciences: Current feminist issues and practical strategies. In M. Fonow & J. Cook (Eds.), *Beyond methodology: Feminist scholarship as lived research* (pp. 85–106). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Jordan, J. (1987). Clarity in connection: Empathic knowing, desire and sexuality. *Work in progress/Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies*, 29. Wellesley, MA: Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies, Wellesley College.
- Kaplan, A. (1964). *The conduct of inquiry*. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Keenan, D. (1996). Use of qualitative and quantitative methods to define behavioral fat-reduction strategies and their relationship to dietary fat reduction in the patterns of dietary change study. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 96, 1245–1251.
- Kidder, L., & Fine, M. (1987). Qualitative and quantitative methods: When stories converge. In M. M. Mark & R. L. Shotland (Eds.), *Multiple methods in program evaluation. New directions for program evaluation*, 35 (pp. 57–75). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kisker, E. (1985). Teenagers talk about sex, pregnancy, and contraception. *Family Planning Perspectives*, 17, 83–90.
- Lees, S. (1986). *Losing out: Sexuality and adolescent girls*. London: Dover.
- Levinson, R. (1986). Contraceptive self-efficacy: A perspective on teenage girls' contraceptive behavior. *Journal of Sex Research* 22, 347–369.
- Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. The Crossing Press feminist series. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.
- Lykes, B., & Stewart, A. (1986). Evaluating the feminist challenge to research in personality and social psychology: 1963–1983. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 10, 393–412.
- Maracek, J. (1989). Introduction [Special Issue on Feminist Research Methods]. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 13, 367–377.
- Maxwell, J. (1996). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Maxwell, J., & Lincoln, Y. (1990). Methodology and epistemology: A dialogue. *Harvard Educational Review*, 60, 497–512.
- Miles, M., & Huberman, A. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mishler, E. (1986). *Research interviewing: Context and narrative*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Morowski, J. (1994). *Practicing feminisms, restructuring psychology*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Nava, M. (1987). "Everybody's views were just broadened"; A girls' project and some responses to lesbianism. In Feminist Review (Eds.), *Sexuality: A reader* (pp. 245–276). London: Virago Press.
- Nielsen, J. (Ed.). (1990). *Feminist research methods*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research* (pp. 30–61). Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Omolade, B. (1983). Hearts of darkness. In A. Snitow, C. Stansell, & S. Thompson (Eds.), *Powers of desire: The politics of sexuality*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Packer, M., & Addison, A. (1989). *Entering the circle: Hermeneutic investigation in psychology*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Patton, M. (1990a). *Debates on evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Patton, M. (1990b). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Reichardt, C., & Rallis, S. (Eds.). (1994). *The quantitative-qualitative debate: New perspectives, new directions in program evaluation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Reinharz, S. (1990). So-called training in the so-called alternative paradigm. In E. Guba (Ed.), *The paradigm dialog* (pp. 290–302). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 5, 31–62.
- Riger, S. (1992). Epistemological debates, feminist voices: Science, social values and the study of women. *American Psychologist*, 47, 730–740.
- Rogers, A., & Gilligan, C. (1988). *Translating girls' voices: Two languages of development*. Unpublished manuscript, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, Project on women's psychology and girls' development, Cambridge, MA.
- Rubin, G. (1985). The traffic in women: Notes on the political economy of sex. In R. R. Reiter (Ed.), *Toward an anthropology of women* (pp. 157–210). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Schulman, L. (1986). Paradigms and programs. In M. C. Whitrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed., pp. 35–60). Riverside, NJ: Macmillan Reference.
- Scott-Jones, D., & Turner, S. L. (1988). Sex education, contraceptive and reproductive knowledge and contraceptive use among Black adolescent females. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 3, 171–187.
- Sechrest, L., & Sidani, S. (1995). Quantitative and qualitative methods: Is there an alternative? *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 18, 77–87.
- Shadish, W. (1995). The quantitative-qualitative debates: "DeKuhnifying" the conceptual context. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 18, 47–49.
- Sktric, T. (1990). Social accommodation: Toward a dialogical discourse in educational inquiry. In E. Guba (Ed.), *The paradigm dialog* (pp. 125–135). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Snitow, A., Stansell, C., & Thompson, S. (Eds.). (1983). *Powers of desire: The politics of sexuality*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Stanton, B. F., Aronson, R., Borgatti, S., & Galbraith, J. (1993). Urban adolescent high-risk sexual behavior: Corroboration of focus group discussions through pile-sorting. *AIDS Education and Prevention*, 5, 162–174.
- Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Taylor, J., Gilligan, C., & Sullivan, A. (1996). *Between voice and silence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Thompson, S. (1984). Search for tomorrow: On feminism and the reconstruction of teen romance. In C. Vance (Ed.), *Pleasure and danger: Exploring female sexuality*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Thompson, S. (1995). *Going all the way: Teenage girls' tales of sex, romance and pregnancy*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Tolman, D. (1992). Listening for crises of connection: Some implications of research with adolescent girls for feminist psychotherapy. *Women & Therapy*, 15, 85–100.
- Tolman, D. (1994a). Doing desire: Adolescent girls' struggles for/with sexuality. *Gender and Society*, 8, 324–342.
- Tolman, D. (1994b). Daring to desire: Culture in the bodies of adolescent girls. In J. Irvine (Ed.), *Sexual cultures and the construction of adolescent identities* (pp. 250–284). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Tolman, D. (1996). Adolescent girls' sexuality: Debunking the myth of the urban girl. In B.



- Leadbeater & N. Way (Eds.), *Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities* (pp. 255–271). New York: New York University Press.
- Tolman, D. (in press). Female adolescent sexuality in relational contexts: Beyond sexual decision making. In N. Johnson, M. Roberts, & J. Worell (Eds.), *Beyond appearances: A new look at adolescent girls*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Tolman, D., & Higgins, T. (1996). How being a good girl can be bad for girls. In N. Maglin & D. Perry (Eds.), *Bad girls/good girls: Women, sex and power in the nineties* (pp. 205–225). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Vance, C. (1984). *Pleasure and danger: Exploring female sexuality*. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Way, N. (1995). Can't you hear the courage, the strength that I have: Listening to urban adolescents speak about their relationships. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 19, 107–128.
- Way, N., Stauber, H., & Nakkula, M. (1994). Depression and substance use in two divergent high school cultures: A quantitative and qualitative analysis. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 23, 331–358.
- Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Whitbourne, S., & Powers, C. B. (1994). Older women's constructs of their lives: A quantitative and qualitative exploration. *International Journal of Aging & Human Development*, 38, 293–306.
- Young, L. (1992). Sexual abuse and the problem of embodiment. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 16, 89–100.