

Paulina Tomaszewska*

SEXUAL SCRIPTS IN POLISH AND GERMAN ADOLESCENTS

The article presents an analysis of cognitive scripts for consensual sexual interactions among Polish and German adolescents. Two types of sexual scripts were investigated, such as the individual script, which refers to the characteristic elements of sexual interaction with a new partner with regard to one's own standards, cognitions, and experiences; and the general script, which considers the age group as a whole. In the first step, characteristic features of Polish adolescents' sexual scripts ($n = 199$) were presented at the descriptive level. Additionally, the issue of socially shared gender roles with regard to heterosexual sexual encounters was explored as part of the sexual scripts. Because sexual scripts are acquired through socialization and shaped by the cultural norms, a cross-cultural comparison of the sexual scripts of Polish and German adolescents (German sample $n = 269$) was conducted in the second step. The findings showed a significant difference between the general and the individual sexual scripts in Polish adolescents. As expected, Polish participants' sexual scripts were to some extent more conservative than those of the German participants. The findings are discussed in terms of the significance of differentiating between the general and individual cognitive representations of sexual interactions and possible aspects underlying the differences between the female and male scripts as well the German and the Polish scripts.

People's social knowledge that includes information about themselves and about others (Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2004) is organized in cognitive schemas, i.e., cognitive generalizations that affect our perception, memory and behaviour (e.g., Barlett, 1932; Markus, 1977). These schemas are categorized into different types, such as: schemas about individuals (e.g., stereotype), self-schemas (e.g., own skills), but also schemas about events: scripts (Aronson et al., 2004). Scripts represent knowledge regarding 'appropriate sequences of events in a particular context. [...] and handle stylized everyday situations' (Schank & Abelson, 1977, p. 41). They are resistant

*Paulina Tomaszewska – PhD student, Department of Psychology, University of Potsdam, Germany.

to change and they play an important role in enacting behaviours, especially in handling new situations (Schank & Abelson, 1977). One of the numerous domains in which the concept of scripts has already been applied is sexual behaviour. Simon and Gagnon (1986) adapted the scripting theory to sexual behaviour putting it into a socio-cultural context. Their constructivist theory posited sexual behaviour as socially constructed and motivated processes challenging the imperative biological and psychological understanding of sexuality (e.g., Gagnon & Simon, 2005).

Sexual Scripting Theory

Sexual scripts are 'cognitive models that people use to guide and to evaluate social and sexual interactions' (Rose & Frieze, 1993, p. 499). As cognitive structures they determine the sequence of relevant goals and plans in sexual situations (Metts & Spitzberg, 1996; Simon & Gagnon, 1986). According to Simon's and Gagnon's theory (1986), the development of scripts can be identified at three mutually dependent levels: *cultural*, *interpersonal*, and *intrapsychic*. The first refers to the culturally defined scenarios about individuals' sexual behaviour. These scenarios embody collectively accepted and meaningful rules, values, and norms regarding sexuality and (sexual) gender roles. They are a reference for organizing one's own sexual behaviour (i.e., how, why, where, and with whom) (Simon & Gagnon, 1987). Cultural scenarios are constituted through mass media, traditions, folklore, but also through institutions such as school and church (Simon & Gagnon, 1987). At the level of interpersonal scripts, a person as a 'scriptwriter' (Simon & Gagnon, 1986) applies cultural requirements to the sexual interaction, considering own and another person's expectations (Simon & Gagnon, 1986). The level of intrapsychic scripts refers to individual's sexual thoughts and desires which enable him/her to act sexually.

Sexual scripts are acquired in the course of the individual's development from childhood to adulthood, mainly practiced and progressed during adolescence. Due to the social nature of sexual scripts, their prototypical elements are learned through observation and secondary reinforcement and then consolidated to own behaviour (Simon & Gagnon, 1986).

Components of the sexual scripts

Additionally declarative and procedural knowledge scripts (i.e., what and how to do) (Abelson, 1976), because of their societal embedding, also encompass normative beliefs about appropriate and acceptable behaviour (Husmann, 1998). In other words, for many different aspects of sexual behaviour the cultural scenarios provide a set of guidelines along which an individual creates their scripts and behaviours. Therefore, the cultural norms

and instructions affect the appropriateness of the sexual partner, the relationship between partners, the sexual setting, the gender related actions and expectations (Simon & Gagnon, 1986).

Although the evidence regarding the egalitarian script (e.g., Suvivuo, Tossavainen & Kontula, 2010) and the female role as initiating sexual activity has grown over the last decade (e.g., Gilmartin, 2006; Markle, 2008), the vast majority of the studies confirmed the traditional gender roles underlying heterosexual relations (e.g., Eaton & Rose, 2012; Morr Serewicz & Gale, 2008; Sakaluk, Todd, Milhausen, Lachowsky, & Undergraduate Research Group in Sex, 2014). Consistent with traditional gender roles in one qualitative study in which young men and women reported on messages received from their important dating partner regarding sexual activity, men indicated that their female partners set up boundaries, whereas women emphasised their male partners focused on sexual interest and progress (Morgan & Zurbruggen, 2007). The evident proactive male role as an initiator and organizer of sexual encounter (e.g., Morr Serewicz & Gale, 2008) and the reactive female role in terms of limiting sexual interaction as a "gatekeeper" of intimacy (e.g., Carpenter, 1998) is ubiquitous and cannot be sufficiently challenged by the egalitarian model of dating (Eaton & Rose, 2011).

Another component of sexual scripts that was found as an integral element (Krahé, Bieneck, & Scheinberger-Olwig, 2004) as well as a predictor of attitudes (e.g., acceptance of sexual aggression), and risky, aggressive sexual behaviour in both cross-sectional and longitudinal design (Krahé, Bieneck, & Scheinberger-Olwig, 2007b) are risk elements. Risk elements are variables that increase the risk of being a victim or a perpetrator of sexual aggression (Ullman & Najdowski, 2011). Three distinguishable domains of risk elements were identified in scripts by Krahé and colleagues: risk elements referring to the length of acquaintanceship before sexual interaction, consumption of alcohol or drugs, and ambiguous communication of sexual intentions (e.g., Krahé et al., 2004). All these aspects have already been identified as risk factors that increase the probability of sexual aggression (Ullman & Najdowski, 2011). The detailed description of the link between the risk elements as an integral part of sexual scripts and acceptance for sexual aggression in Polish adolescents was given in a previous work (Krahé & Tomaszewska-Jedrysiak, 2011).

Equally important elements of sexual scripts, especially in terms of healthy sexuality, refer to the sexual setting and cognitive representation of contraception. Alvarez and Garcia-Marques (2008) showed that only 30% of the students asked to list sequential activities during a sexual intercourse mentioned condom use as one of the typical actions, regardless of the

fact whether they described a casual or steady relationship. Furthermore, Alvarez and Garcia-Marques (2011) found out that students who read script-based narratives on sexual encounters and rated them in terms of the characters and the further perspective of the relationship saw use of condoms as unromantic, especially if it was suggested by a man at the beginning of the encounter. Diekman, McDonald, and Gardner (2000) indicated that more frequent female readers of romance novels (including scripts for romantic love) reported less positive attitudes toward condom use and reported less condom use in the past in comparison to low-frequency romance readers. There were no significant relationships between condom-related attitudes and behaviours and the frequency of reading other literature such as political essays or science fiction materials, suggesting that the acquired scripts for romantic love did have an impact of attitudes towards condom use and the use itself. Slightly more optimistic outcomes were given by Maticka-Tyndale, Herold, and Mewhinney (1998) who found out that at least in a casual relationship students were more willing to use condoms. Actual condom use was predicted by the scripts in which the integral part was the action of using a condom. On the whole, considering script elements regarding contraception it seems to be vital for healthy sex practices.

General and individual sexual scripts

Several studies have shown substantial differences in how (young) people report on their personal knowledge/experiences/opinions regarding sexuality and how they refer to it at the general level, i.e., when they consider others. In one qualitative study investigating adults' interpretation of sexuality as a function of gender, respondents were asked to differentiate between 'people's talk about sexuality at the cultural level' and their personal experiences and opinions (McCabe, Tanner & Heiman, 2010). Findings indicated that gender stereotypes were more explicit in the descriptions at the cultural than at the individual level. In other words, differences between men and women (e.g., sex for men is physical and for women emotional, men are always ready to engage in sex, etc.) were very clearly expressed, when referring to people's sexuality in general. However, the respondents' personal experiences contradicted them very often. For instance, men reported on situations when they did not want to have sex because of a bad mood and women indicated to feel a very strong sexual desire. This discrepancy in evaluating one's own and general sexual behaviour suggests a kind of filtration of commonly shared social knowledge into the individual sexual script. Based on the distinction by Devine and Elliot (1995) between stereotypes and personal beliefs, several other studies underpinned the phenomenon that stereotype knowledge

does not necessarily correspond with the personal beliefs in terms of people with dwarfism (e.g., Heider, Scherer & Edlund, 2013), and Australian Aborigines (e.g., Haslam & Wilson, 2000). The findings from Krahe et al. (2007a; 2007b; 2004) indicated that especially in terms of sexuality, distinguishing between general and individual scripts about sexual interaction seems to be very important. People tended to underestimate the risky sexual behaviours in themselves and overestimated them in their peer group.

Polish and German attitudes towards sexuality

Since the sexual scripts are shaped through cultural norms (Simon & Gagnon, 1986), one can be sure that to some extent scripts reflect socially acceptable values. If a society does not address issues of sexuality in a proper way: does not promote positive attitudes towards (youth) sexuality, does not promote the use of contraception, does not provide appropriate sexual education and does not challenge gender roles, etc. (Izdebski, 2012), this might have an impact on young individuals' sexual attitudes and behaviours. Based on the data from regularly conducted Global Sex Surveys, Poland in comparison to Germany, regardless of the sample's age range, systematically showed later sexual debut, lower age for the first sexual education, lower number of sexual partners and fewer experiences with the contraception (see Table 1), what might be due to more conservative attitudes. Furthermore, negative attitudes towards premarital sex were expressed in higher percentage of Polish than German adolescents (*International Social Survey Programme*, ISSP 1994/95, in Gomilshak, n.d.). Wróblewska, Strzelecki, and Matysiak (2003) in their survey on Polish students showed that the students for whom religion played an important role, had their first intercourse later. Similarly, within an older population (15+), Izdebski and Ostrowska (2003) found out that religiosity (beliefs and practice) was negatively associated with the onset of sexual activity. Furthermore, religiosity was the strongest predictor of less frequent and less diverse sexual activities in the young population aged 15-19.

Table 1

Overview of the Global Sex Surveys (GSS) and the survey The Face of Global Sex							
Study*	Sample's age	Poland			Germany		
		Age 1 st sex	Age 1 st sex educ.	No. of sexual partners	Age 1 st sex	Age 1 st sex educ.	No. of sexual partners
1999	16-21	16.3	12.7	3.8	15.6	11.3	4.9
2001	16-55	18.3	14.6	3.6	16.6	12.8	8.2
2005	n. a.	17.7	13.1	6.0	15.9	11.3	5.8
2012	18-64	19.4	14.2	-	17.8	12.5	-

* 1999-2005 Global Sex Survey; 2012 The Face of Global Sex.

This paper presents Polish young adults' sexual scripts as well as the comparative analyses of Polish and German scripts in terms of their conservatism. Based on the previous research that confirmed the need to differentiate between the general knowledge on sexual interaction that refers to an individual's age group as a whole and to the individual themselves (e.g., Krahé et al., 2007a), the particular goal of this study was to replicate these findings with the sample of Polish adolescents. It was proposed that the individual sexual scripts would be more positive, more conservative, and more optimistic in terms of characteristic features than the general scripts (Hypothesis 1). More specifically, it was predicted that participants would report fewer risk elements in their individual scripts, for instance, that they would consider consumption of alcohol as less likely than in their general scripts. In terms of the evaluation and outlook, participants would be more willing to keep contact with the partner or even consider the sexual contact as an onset of a new relationship in their individual compared to the general scripts. Additionally, this study investigated the role of participants' gender. Given that the sexual scripts incorporate acceptable gender roles, differences between female and male sexual scripts were expected. According to the findings presented above, boys follow more the so called casual-sex script (e.g., Marsiglio, 1988) compared to girls. Male scripts would be more liberal and more open towards sex-related activities (Hypothesis 2). Finally, the cross-cultural analyses of Polish and German characteristic features of sexual encounters were conducted in order to explore to what extent the Polish scripts are more conservative than the German ones. Because of the more liberal attitudes towards sexuality in terms of the onset of sexual activity in German adolescents, it was predicted that the Polish sexual scripts would be more conservative (e.g., that the length of acquaintanceship before the sexual intercourse would be longer in Polish than in German youth) (Hypothesis 3).

Samples

The Polish data was collected among II and III form of high school students in Zielona Góra in February 2009. The data from the German sample of adolescents attending different types of secondary schools in Germany came from a longitudinal study conducted at the University of Potsdam. Table 2 presents the most important characteristics of the two samples. Several significant differences between the Polish and the German samples were found. The German participants were older than Polish participants ($M_{Ger} = 19.25$ vs. $M_{PL} = 17.9$, $p < .001$). 74.6% of the German sample was between 16 and 20 years old, compared to 100% in the Polish sample

aged between 17 and 20. The percentage of youth who declared that they were religious was higher among the Polish than the German high school students ($\chi^2 = 88.11$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$). More Polish participants were studying towards the A-level ($\chi^2 = 41.17$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), which in both Poland and Germany qualifies for a university. In terms of sexual experience the German sample reported more coital experience ($\chi^2 = 113.16$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), had an earlier sexual debut ($M_{Ger} = 15.7$ vs. $M_{PL} = 16.6$, $p < .001$), and had more sexual partners ($M_{Ger} = 5.40$ vs. $M_{PL} = 2.30$, $p < .001$) than the Polish participants.

Table 2

Characteristics of the Polish and German samples

	Polish participants	German participants
	♀ 103 ♂ 96	♀ 141 ♂ 128
Age	17.0 - 20.0 $M = 17.9$ ($SD = .70$)	16.0 - 30.0 $M = 19.25$ ($SD = 2.19$)
Aspired school leaving degree (%)	A-level: 98.5	A-level: 78.0
Religious affiliation (%)	Yes: 86.9; No: 13.1 ♀ Yes: 93.2; No: 6.8 ♂ Yes: 80.2; No: 19.8 ($\chi^2 = 7.38$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$)	Yes: 44.4; No: 55.6 ♀ Yes: 48.9; No: 51.1 ♂ Yes: 39.4; No: 60.6 ($\chi^2 = 2.45$, $df = 1$, ns)
Age first time sex	13.0 - 19.0 $M = 16.6$ ($SD = 1.18$) ♀ 16.3 ♂ 16.9; ($t = -2.09$; $df = 71$, $p < .05$)	11.0 - 20.0 $M = 15.7$ ($SD = 1.50$) ♀ 15.6 ♂ 15.7 ($t = -.70$; $df = 223$, ns)
Coital experience (%)	No: 61.3; Yes: 38.7 ♀ 37.9 ♂ 39.6 ($\chi^2 = .60$, $df = 1$, n. s.)	No: 14.1; Yes: 85.9 ♀ 84.4 ♂ 87.9 ($\chi^2 = .53$, $df = 1$, ns)
Steady relationship (%)	No: 33.2%; Yes: 66.8%	No: 13.9%; Yes: 86.1%
No. sex partners	1.0 - 13.0 $M = 2.31$ ($SD = 2.10$) Median = 1	0.0 - 50.0 $M = 5.40$ ($SD = 6.35$) Median = 3

Note: Both German and Polish questionnaire asked about different religions (e.g. Roman Catholic, Protestant and Muslim)

Instruments

General and Individual Sexual Scripts. Participants were asked to indicate a list of features describing a situation in which they engaged (individual) or a girl and a boy engaged (general) in a heterosexual consensual sexual intercourse for the first time with a new partner (e.g., Krahé et al., 2004). The general script was considered as representing participants' social knowledge about sexual interaction, whereas the individual sexual script was considered as referring to their personal attitudes and experiences. The following scenario was presented to the participants: 'You spend the evening with a boy. In the course of the evening, you sleep together for the first time' (individual). 'A girl spends the evening with a boy. In the course of the

evening, they sleep together for the first time' (general). Participants were asked not to describe one particular situation but to imagine what such situations would look like for herself or himself (individual) and for a boy and for a girl (general). Subsequently they were asked to assess the presence of characteristic features for the two types of scripts. Different categories of features were addressed: situational background, sexual interaction, risk elements, and evaluation and perspectives. Parallel versions for females and males were created. Participants responded to each item on a 5-point-scale ranging from 1 to 5. Response format and the single features are presented in Table 3.

Normative Endorsement of Risk Elements. The scale constructed by Krahe et al. (2004) originally measured to what extent participants evaluate risk elements in sexual scripts as being normative and acceptable. For the purpose of this study, only these items were used that related to attitudes towards sexuality, such as: the readiness to engage in sexual contacts after a short period of acquaintanceship (e.g., with a causal partner, on the first date, on the part of female and male) and having sex without wanting a relationship (as a female and as a male). Responses ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree).

Demographic background and past sexual experience. Additionally, demographic variables (e.g., age, sex, age at the first sexual intercourse, number of sexual partners) were collected from the participants.

Results

As the characteristic features of sexual encounters with a new partner among German adolescents were already published, the Hypotheses 1-2 were tested only for the Polish sample. Detailed description of German sexual scripts can be found in Krahe et al. (2007a).

For testing Hypotheses 1 and 2 multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) with script type (individual, general), participants' sex (female, male), and their sexual experience (sexual intercourse: yes vs. no) with the repeated measure on the script type factor were conducted. Four categories of the features (situational background, sexual intercourse, risk elements, and evaluation and outlook) were tested as dependent variables.

As predicted in Hypothesis 1, MANOVA yielded significant multivariate effects for the within-subject factor script type (general, individual) in all four categories: situational background ($F(4, 175) = 10.25, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19$), sexual interaction ($F(15, 174) = 36.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = .75$), risk elements ($F(12, 174) = 43.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .75$), and evaluation

and outlook ($F(8, 184) = 29.98, p < .001, \eta^2 = .57$), which means that the general and the individual scripts differed from each other. In almost every feature, significant differences between the general and the individual scripts were identified. As predicted, there was much more positive optimistic and conservative assessments in the individual compared to the general scripts. All risk-related actions were less pronounced in the individual than in the general scripts. For instance, participants stated they would drink less alcohol in their individual script than they assumed to be the case in their peer group. Moreover, they rated their own sexual intercourse with the new partner as less likely to have been unplanned and safer with regard to contraception. Table 3 presents in detail the univariate effects for each item assigned to one of the four categories. Additional corroborating evidence for the differences between individual and general scripts yielded pairwise correlations between the items of the individual script and the items of the general script. Following correlations were found for each category: situational background $r = .15 (ns) - .45 (p < .01)$, sexual interactions $r = -.09 (ns) - .37 (p < .01)$, risk elements $r = .08 (ns) - .40 (p < .01)$, and evaluation and outlook $r = -.02 (ns) - .29 (p < .01)$. The correlations ranged from a very small to moderate association between single items of the individual and general scripts.

Hypothesis 2, which proposed a difference between the female and male scripts, was also supported by the data. Significant multivariate interaction effects were found for a script type and gender in each category: situational background ($F(4, 175) = 3.74, p < .01, \eta^2 = .08$), a sexual interaction ($F(15, 174) = 6.05, p < .001, \eta^2 = .34$), risk elements ($F(12, 174) = 3.20, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$), and evaluation and outlook ($F(8, 184) = 9.56, p < .001, \eta^2 = .29$). These significant interactions meant that girls did differ from boys in the ratings of characteristic features in their individual but not in their general scripts. To illustrate this, girls rated as more likely to have arranged the meeting with a boy and not meet by chance than boys did. Girls also indicated that it would be less likely to have unplanned sex when compared to boys. Having sexual intercourse in the car was also seen as less likely among the female than the male participants. Girls rated the hope for sex in boys higher than they did for themselves. On the other hand, boys expressed in their individual script less hope for sex and rated it higher for the girls in their general script. With regard to risk elements, female reports were, as expected, more conservative, and did correspond with the gender sex roles. For example, the girls reported, in their individual scripts, to know their sexual partner longer than the boys did.

Finally, script features that reflected attitudes towards sexuality were combined into an overall score in Polish and German data for testing Hypothesis 3. The items that were taken into the so called conservatism-score were: a boy/girl hopes for sex from the beginning, met before the sexual contact just the two, length of the acquaintanceship, a boy/girl does not want steady relationship. Separate scores were created for the individual and general script. Cronbach's alpha for the Polish sample was .64 (IS) and .63 (GS) and for the German sample .62 (IS) and .59 (GS). Higher figures indicate more conservative ratings. Using the same statistical procedure as in Hypotheses 1 and 2 and additionally controlling for age, the analyses yielded a significant effect ($F(1, 458) = 10.28, p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$) that indicated the difference between the general and individual conservatism-score.

Both Polish and German participants were more conservative in their individual scripts than in their general scripts ($M_{cons_{individual}} = 3.47$ vs. $M_{cons_{general}} = 2.87, p < .001$). Further confirmation of Hypothesis 3, the interaction between the conservatism-score type and the nationality of the participants ($F(1, 458) = 23.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$) was significant. This finding showed that the Polish participants were more conservative in their individual scripts than their German counterparts, whereas no difference was found for the general scripts (Figure 1). Additional evidence for more traditional and conservative attitudes towards sexuality in the Polish youth came from the acceptance of sex-related norms. Here again, a combined score was created using selected items (described under 'Instruments'). Cronbach's alpha was .90 for the Polish and .89 for the German sample. This time, higher figures indicate greater normative acceptance of (casual) sexuality. The main effect of nationality ($F(1, 458) = 26.77, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$) was significant. This result showed that the Polish sample (boys and girls) perceived having sex on the first date, with a casual partner and without any commitment, as less normative and less acceptable than the German sample ($M_{PL} = 2.54$ vs. $M_{Ger} = 3.40, p < .001$).

Discussion

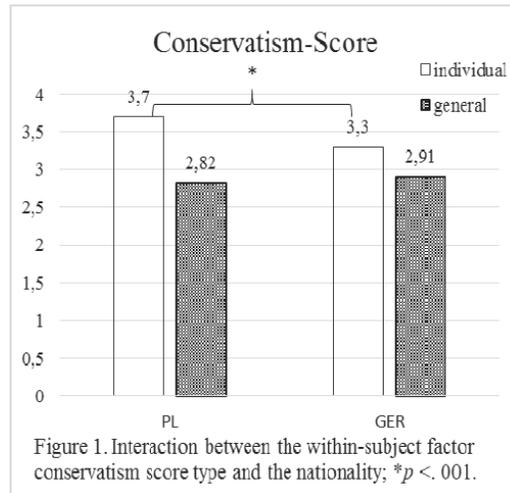
First, the present article investigated the cognitive representations of characteristic features for sexual interactions with a new partner, as seen by them or their peer group in general. In almost all features, differences between the individual cognitive representation and the general cognitive representation of sexual interaction were identified. Additionally, the low correlation between the individual and general script scores showed that the two represent distinct cognitive representations of sexual interactions. This indicates that

Table 3

Univariate effects of individual (IS) and general (GS) scripts in four categories.

Category	Items	IS	GS	<i>p</i>	<i>eta</i> ²
	Arranged to meet vs. met by chance ¹	4.12	3.82	<.01	.06
Situational background	Where do they meet? ¹				
	a) at a party	3.66	4.23	<.001	.14
	b) outdoors	3.26	3.60	<.01	.07
	c) at his/her house	3.61	3.35	<.01	.04
Sexual interaction	Hope for sex from the beginning ¹				
	a) boys hopes for sex	3.14	3.76	<.001	.24
	b) girl hopes for sex	2.99	3.84	<.001	.35
	c) sex unplanned	3.04	3.92	<.001	.32
	Advances started by boy (1) vs. girl (5)	2.36	2.13	<.001	.23
	Where does the sex take place? ¹				
	a) his house	3.80	3.83	n. s.	-
	b) her house	3.20	3.61	<.001	.09
	c) in the car	2.32	3.68	<.001	.50
	d) outdoors	2.23	3.26	<.001	.41
	e) at party/disco	1.95	3.92	<.001	.68
	f) at som other place	3.34	3.78	<.001	.12
	Contraception ¹				
	a) talked about	3.95	2.76	<.001	.43
b) used condom	4.54	3.93	<.001	.17	
c) girl takes the pill	3.41	3.34	n. s.	-	
d) no contraception	1.45	2.84	<.001	.52	
e) coitus interruptus	2.04	2.99	<.001	.32	
Risk elements	Met before just the two ²	1.93	2.93	<.001	.37
	Length of acquaintanceship ³	1.52	2.45	<.001	.39
	How likely is that the alcohol is consumed? ¹				
	a) by the boy	2.94	3.79	<.001	.34
	b) by the girl	2.96	3.76	<.001	.29
	How likely is that drugs are consumed ¹				
	a) by the boy	1.37	2.66	<.001	.65
	b) by the girl	1.23	2.65	<.001	.70
	How drunk/stoned is... ⁴				
	a) the boy	1.55	2.61	<.001	.53
	b) the girl	1.52	2.53	<.001	.46
Ambivalent communication ¹					
Boy shows token resistance	2.36	2.36	n. s.	-	
Girl shows token resistance	2.69	2.26	<.001	.09	
Boy shows compliance	2.55	2.66	n. s.	-	
Girl shows compliance	2.09	2.90	<.001	.24	
Evaluation & outlook	Feeling afterwards by the boy ⁵	4.41	4.02	<.001	.16
	Feeling afterwards by the girl ⁵	4.29	3.95	<.001	.11
	Boy's ideas how they will go on from here; he wants: ¹				
	a) a steady rel. with the girl	3.98	3.22	<.001	.28
	b) no steady rel. with the girl	2.27	3.06	<.001	.31
	c) not to see the girl again	1.89	2.75	<.001	.30
	Girl's ideas how they will go on from here; she wants: ¹				
d) a steady rel. with the boy	4.19	3.19	<.001	.41	
e) no steady rel. with the boy	2.09	3.13	<.001	.39	
f) not to see the boy again	1.53	2.72	<.001	.50	

1 response scale 1= very unlikely to 5= very likely; 2 1= never ; 5= many times; 3 1= not at all; 5= a few months more; 4 1= not at all; 5= totally; 5 1= very bad; 5= very good; The full labels of features can be obtained from the author.



the personal beliefs and the social knowledge in terms of acting sexually are, to some extent, independent. This corresponded with the distinction between stereotypes and personal beliefs (e.g., Devine & Elliot, 1995) or with generating more gender stereotypes at the cultural than at the individual level (e.g., McCabe et al., 2010). Even though adolescents know standards and norms for sexuality in a given social context, it does not necessarily mean that they will apply them in their own case. These findings were consistent with those from Krahe et al. (2007a) who studied sexual scripts within a German sample. In the Polish, and as shown by Krahe et al. (2007a) in the German sample, young people assessed their own sexual interactions as less risky, more optimistic, more conservative and more likely to lead to further commitments (e.g., to a relationship). In the individual script, contraception was considered to be more important and more possible. The individual scripts mirrored the socially acceptable picture of sexual interaction. According to that it is less possible that sexual intercourse happened, e.g., in the car, outdoors, or was unplanned. This more positive and more prudent evaluation can be explained with the concept of 'positive illusions' (also called 'optimistic bias'), studied for the first time by Weinstein (1980). In line with his theory, people tend, in their own case, to rate a negative event as less possible than in the case of others. By contrast, they consider the occurrence of a positive event to be more likely for themselves than for others. This was found in different domains of life, among others in terms of assessment of health risk in smokers and non-smokers (e.g., Weinstein, Marcus, & Moser, 2005). Another reason for differentiating between

the individual and general knowledge is the fact that risk elements only from the individual and not from the general scripts were related to risky sexual behaviour and sexual aggression in both cross-sectional and longitudinal design (Krahé et al., 2007b). That was also partly confirmed for the Polish sample (Krahé & Tomaszewska-Jedrysiak, 2011). The individual scripts seemed to be more closely linked to sex-related attitudes and (risky) sexual behaviour.

Differences between female and male youths with regard to the script type were found. Most of them revealed only in the individual script that once again underpinned the need for considering the individual and general knowledge about sexual interaction separately. According to the findings, girls endorsed in their individual script meeting with a sexual partner as more likely than the boys did. There was no difference between boys and girls at the level of the general scripts. Further, the boys thought of a sexual intercourse in the car or at a party as more possible than the girls did. This, once again was only significant in the individual scripts. The same was also true for an unplanned sexual intercourse. These differences confirmed the above mentioned gender roles as part of the sexual scripts (e.g., Morr Serewicz & Gale, 2008). In line with the theory of Simon and Gagnon (1986) the cultural scripts are to some extent translated into the interpersonal scripts applied by individuals. Possibly, in the course of socialisation young people are faced with institutions that endorse the traditional and stereotypical gender roles, such as family, school or, the Catholic Church. Even though the Catholic Church disclaims the subordination of a woman to a man (Ratzinger & Amato, 2004, in Pietrzak & Mikołajczak, 2011), it advocates the role of a woman as a mother, as someone who cares for the domestic happiness, and as a 'faithful daughter' of the Catholic Church (e.g., Jan Paweł II, 1995, in Pietrzak & Mikołajczak, 2011). Indeed, studies on gender stereotypes in Poland indicated that such features as passive and subordinate were seen as typically female ones (e.g., Napora, 2005).

The second goal of this study was to compare the German and the Polish descriptions and norms in terms of sexuality. The significant main effect for the conservatism-score type indicated higher figures in the individual than in the general script. The individual schema-based concept of sexuality differed in Polish and in German adolescents from the concept of sexuality that they attribute to their peers. The individual cognitive representations of sexual interaction in both nations were more conservative and more socially desirable. Perhaps the need for presenting themselves or the own group positively is independent of culture (e.g., Sedikides, Gaertner, & Toguchi, 2003). As expected, the interaction between conservatism-score ty-

pe and the nation revealed that the Polish respondents provided moderately more conservative descriptions of their individual scripts compared to the German respondents. Such differences were not found in the general scripts. In line with the evidence regarding sexuality among Polish adolescents presented earlier, Polish participants in their individual scripts indicated that they would wait longer before they had sexual intercourse, disclosed their hope for sex on a more reserved scale and declared a sexual contact with a new partner as more binding. Not only at the descriptive level, but also at the normative level, Polish participants rated sex on the first date with a casual partner and without any commitment as less normative and acceptable in comparison to the German youth. These findings corroborated the results of the study conducted by Gańczak, Boroń-Kaczmarska, Leszczyszyn-Pynka, and Szych (2005) which revealed that about 60% of young females and 44% of young males held that sexual intercourse without love did not give sexual satisfaction. As mentioned above, the conservative view of Polish adolescents may refer to the traditional attitudes towards sexuality within Polish society. More restrictive attitudes towards sexuality in the Polish sample might be linked to their religious beliefs, which in turn might have an influence on sexuality-related norms. As Wróblewska, Strzelecki, and Matysiak (2003) have shown, religious beliefs had a share in the value system of Polish youth and were associated with the sexual behaviour. Since religiosity was measured with only a single item in the present study, further research is needed to investigate the impact of religiosity beliefs (or their lack) on sexuality-related norms. Furthermore, especially in the light of the evidence that German society is very heterogeneous in terms of religions and to a greater extent not affiliated with any religion (about 33%; Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, bpb, 2010) compared to Poland (about 11%; Główny Urząd Statystyczny, GUS, 2009-2011), which was also found for the present samples (see Table 2 'religious affiliation'), other sources of norms that could regulate youth sexuality need to be investigated thoroughly. Future research may look at norms existing in families and peer groups as well as at the way young people internalize them especially if norms in the two groups are not compatible (e.g., restrictive norms at home, but liberal norms in peer groups).

Limitations

Some limitations have to be noted about the present study. Firstly, the data for the comparative analyses of Polish and German scripts came from different studies and from different times. Secondly, as can be seen in Table 2, the samples differed from each other in several demographical features. For

some of the differences they were controlled in the analyses. Nevertheless, future investigations of this kind should endeavour to study more homogenous samples. Finally, considering religion as a possible source of norms, required more comprehensive measurement that refers for instance to the personal religiosity (e.g., importance of religious beliefs, depth of faith) and to religious upbringing.

Despite these limitations, the present findings provided new comparative evidence on the cognitive representations of characteristic features of consensual sexual interactions among Polish and German adolescents, showing a clear difference between individualized and general scripts regarding sexual behaviours.

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Paulina Tomaszewska

SKRYPTY SEKSUALNE U MŁODZIEŻY W POLSCE I W NIEMCZACH

Słowa kluczowe: młodzież, skrypty seksualne, kontakty seksualne, role płciowe, badania międzykulturowe.

W artykule przedstawiono analizę skryptów poznawczych opisujących dobrowolne interakcje seksualne u polskiej i niemieckiej młodzieży. Omówione zostały dwa rodzaje skryptów seksualnych - indywidualny, zawierający charakterystyczne elementy interakcji seksualnych z nowo poznanym partnerem nawiązujący do własnych standardów, reprezentacji umysłowych oraz doświadczeń, jak również ogólny, odnoszący się do grupy wiekowej jako całości. W pierwszej kolejności opisane zostały charakterystyczne cechy skryptów seksualnych młodzieży z Polski ($n = 199$). Ponadto analizowane były akceptowane społecznie role płciowe dotyczące kontaktów seksualnych, będące częścią skryptów seksualnych. Z uwagi na fakt, że skrypty seksualne powstają w procesie socjalizacji i kształtowane są m.in. przez normy kulturowe, przeprowadzona została analiza porównawcza skryptów seksualnych polskiej i niemieckiej młodzieży (próba niemiecka $n = 269$). Wyniki pokazały istotną statystycznie różnicę między skryptem indywidualnym i ogólnym wśród polskich respondentów i respondentek. Kolejne analizy wykazały, że zgodnie z założeniem, skrypty seksualne w próbie polskiej były nieco bardziej konserwatywne niż w próbie niemieckiej. W końcowej części rozdziału podjęta została dyskusja argumentująca zasadność różnicowania między indywidualnymi i ogólnymi reprezentacjami umysłowymi interakcji seksualnych, jak również próba przedstawienia aspektów mogących mieć wpływ na uzyskane różnice płciowe i różnice między polską a niemiecką młodzieżą.