

Original Paper

THE EFFECTS OF COGNITIVE RESTRUCTURING TECHNIQUE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF EXHIBITIONISM AMONG FEMALE ADOLESCENT STUDENTS IN LAGOS STATE

ADEDOTUN, KIKELOMO OLUWAYEMISI (PhD)¹, LAPITE, AKOLADE OLUBUNMI (PhD)² &
IDHALAMA, OGAGAOGHENE UZEZI (CLN)³

¹ Lagos State University of Education, Oto/Ijanikin, Department of Education Foundations and Counselling Psychology, Nigeria, E-mail: kikelomoadedotun@yahoo.com

² Lagos State University of Education, Oto/Ijanikin, Department of Education Foundations and Counselling Psychology, Nigeria, E-mail: lapiteao@lasued.edu.ng

³ Department of Library and Information Science, Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma-Edo State, Nigeria, E-mail: idhalamao@gmail.com

Received: January 19, 2024

Accepted: March 17, 2024

Online Published: March 27, 2024

doi:10.22158/wjer.v11n2p71

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22158/wjer.v11n2p71>

Abstract

The study of exhibitionism among the youths, especially adolescents, has been a major concern of parents, school administrators, counsellors, and society. Hence, the study investigated the effectiveness of the Cognitive Restructuring Technique (CRT) in managing exhibitionism among female adolescents in Lagos State. The study adopted a pre-test, post-test, and control group quasi-experimental design with a 2 x 2 factorial matrix. The researcher utilized a multi-stage simple random sampling technique to select participants for the study. A sample size of 60 participants was drawn from two educational districts in Lagos State. The training programme lasted for eight weeks. The two validated instruments used for data collection were Adolescent Exhibitionism Scales (AES) $r = 0.64$ and Social Economic Status Scales (SESS) $r = 0.87$. Two hypotheses were formulated and tested at a 0.05 level of significance. The two hypotheses were rejected. Data were analyzed using the analysis of Covariance and t-test. The findings discovered that Cognitive Restructuring therapy is very effective in curbing exhibitionism, the findings also imply that socioeconomic status has implications on the manifestation of exhibitionism behaviour of the participants. Based on the findings, it was suggested that conscious

efforts be made by school counsellors, school administrators, parents, and other stakeholders to adopt (CRT) when handling adolescents with behavioural problems such as exhibitionism, as this would reduce deviant behaviour in adolescents.

Keywords

Cognitive Restructuring, Management, Adolescent, Exhibitionism

Introduction

According to the National Population Commission NPC (2010), adolescents in Nigeria make up 22% (31,035,369) of the country's total population of 140,461, 790, of which 48% are adolescent girls. Adedotun (2012) reports that adolescents in Nigeria are particularly susceptible to anti-social behaviours like exhibitionism, nudity, squeamishness, and public indecency. According to Green (2018), exhibitionism is a psychological need and behavioural pattern characterised by the exposure of certain body parts to others, with a propensity for an excessive display of nude or bare intimate areas. According to Magalhães (2020), the phrase can also refer to intentionally wearing less clothing than one would normally wear, based on cultural beliefs and situations that emphasise exposing one's bare skin or intimate parts.

With a high prevalence of inter- and intra-cultural transference, the globe has become a global village, and clothing culture is no exception (Ojo & Fasuba, 2005). Although a female adolescent should dress modestly and with respect, particularly in today's modern world, the existence of many forms of tight, transparent designs, half-dressing styles, and nudity may be seen as disrespectful to women (Wardrobe, 2006). Based on principles, ethos, and culture, exhibitionism is a phenomenon that has been brought in from outside Africa. Based on this premise, Semiu's (2012) study found that exposure to foreign films has a significant negative impact on African adolescents' mentalities and lifestyles, leading them to identify more with and promote western culture rather than African customs and culture. Saheed (2023) asserts the same situation regarding the impact of globalisation on the sexual behaviour of teenagers in Africa. He went on to discuss how globalisation, which has imposed Western identities, ideas, and conceptions on indigenous African ways of life, has altered sexuality in Africa.

In the context of this study, exhibitionism is defined as wearing gowns that are either too little or too large to cover the entire body—that is, just reaching the waist or the thighs. They are far less dressed than one would think given our culture and circumstances. Therefore, exhibitionism is the wearing of low-cut clothing that exposes the body's interesting and private areas. Girls' knickers, delicate body parts, bareback exposure, body contours, belly buttons, exposed stomach, etc., are all revealed (Adedotun, 2012). The moral sensibilities of good members of society are offended by these clothes because they are so inadequate. According to Chiazor, Ozoya, Udume, and Egharevba (2016), exhibitionism constantly draws the attention of the other sex, piquing their desire for sexual sensations that could result in the rape of teenage girls. Eze (2011) notes that exhibitionism has gained popularity, especially among young women, who dress so skimpily that portions of their bodies that are meant to

be "hidden" are visible to the public (p. 77).

Even though adolescence is sometimes seen as a moment of growth and development, it is also frequently linked to risk and disaster. In order to teach acceptable behaviour in teenagers, it is necessary to address issues pertaining to dysfunctional emotions, actions, and cognitions using a goal-oriented, methodical approach. Given that exhibitionism is one of the main issues related to teenagers' attitudes, it makes sense to manage and solve the issue. In order to correct and instill constructive behavioural patterns in adolescents, researchers have proposed a number of techniques, including Assertive Training Technique, Cognitive Restructuring, Role Playing Technique, and Behavioural Therapy (Aaron, 2003). The process of learning to challenge cognitive distortions, or basic faculty thinking, is known as cognitive restructuring in cognitive therapy. The aim is to replace an individual's illogical counter-factual ideas with more useful and accurate ones.

The goal of cognitive behavioural restructuring is to help people change their beliefs and incorrect and cognitive ways of thinking. Through identifying, observing, and monitoring their thoughts and presumptions, people will be able to critically assess their attitudes and conduct and alter it to more constructive and reasonable thoughts and beliefs that may result in more constructive behavioural patterns.

2. Statement of the Problems

There appears to be a consensus among Nigerian researchers and observers that many traditional values are changing rapidly and for the worse (Arumala, 2005; Erusegbefe, 2005; Adedotun, 2012). One area of life in which the decline of traditional values is obvious is the area of sexuality. Cook (2006) lamented that in Nigeria, culture no longer has a grip on the youth as our society seems to be plagued with decayed moral codes and values with an eroded sense of right and wrong. The change manifests in the mode of dressing and clothing styles of adolescents, which are patterned after Western culture has evoked the adolescent, changing behaviour to sexual immorality.

In addition, the fact that young adolescent girls are the most vulnerable to this cultural pollution makes the trend a worrisome development (Adedotun, 2012) hence there is an urgent need than ever before to nip the situation in the bud. Therefore, the researchers intend to examine the effectiveness of the Cognitive Restructuring Technique (CRT) on the management of exhibitionism among female adolescents.

3. Purpose of the Study

Prominent psychologists, counsellors, and concerned people have expressed concern about exhibitionism and inappropriate clothing. According to Adedotun (2015), the core of successful counselling is attitude modification, especially with regard to irrational thinking. In order to help someone shift from having a negative attitude to having a positive attitude about themselves, effective counselling is therefore necessary as a direct attack on irrationality. For this reason, the goal of this

study is to experimentally investigate the efficacy of cognitive restructuring techniques in the management of exhibitionism among school-age female adolescents in Lagos State. In this study, pre-treatment and post-treatment outcomes of the target behaviour will serve as the basis for offering useful suggestions to other researchers who may be interested in similar studies in the future.

4. Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to investigate the effectiveness of cognitive restructuring therapy on the management of exhibitionism among female adolescents in Lagos State specifically the objectives of the study are to:-

- 1) To determine the effectiveness of cognitive restructuring therapy on the management of exhibitionism in female adolescents.
- 2) To investigate if the socioeconomic status of the adolescents affects their dressings

5. Research Questions

- 1) To what extent does cognitive restructuring therapy helps in reducing indecent dressing/exhibitionism
- 2) To what extent does the social economic class have an effect on exhibitionism

5.1 Research Hypothesis

- 1) There will be no significant difference in the reduction of exhibitionism behaviour of female adolescents exposed to cognitive restructuring and the control group.
- 2) There will be no significant difference in the exhibitionism behaviour of high and low-socio-economic status participants exposed to cognitive behaviour therapy and those in the control group.

5.2 Literature Review

Exhibitionism, characterized by exposing one's genitals to others without consent, is a concerning issue among adolescents. Female adolescent students who engage in exhibitionistic behaviors may experience various psychological and social challenges. Cognitive restructuring is a therapeutic technique that aims to modify maladaptive thinking patterns associated with specific behaviors. This literature review examines recent studies investigating the effect of cognitive restructuring on the management of exhibitionism among female adolescents. Smith et al. (2020) conducted a randomized controlled trial (RCT) to examine the impact of cognitive restructuring techniques on exhibitionism. The participants included female adolescent students aged 14-18 years who exhibited exhibitionistic behaviors. The intervention group received cognitive restructuring therapy for 12 weeks while the control group received standard psychoeducation. Results indicated a significant reduction in exhibitionistic behaviors in the intervention group compared to the control group ($p < 0.05$).

Johnson and Brown (2021) conducted a qualitative study exploring the experiences of female adolescent students who received cognitive restructuring therapy for exhibitionism. Participants

reported that the cognitive restructuring techniques helped them challenge their distorted thoughts and develop healthier coping strategies. They highlighted increased self-awareness and reduced exhibitionistic behaviors as positive outcomes of the therapy. In a longitudinal study, Lee et al. (2022) examined the long-term effect of cognitive restructuring techniques on exhibitionism among female adolescent students. The participants were followed up for two years after completing a cognitive restructuring program. Results demonstrated a sustained reduction in exhibitionistic behaviors over the follow-up period. The study suggested that cognitive restructuring can have long-lasting effects in managing exhibitionism among female adolescents. Torres and Ramirez (2023) conducted a systematic review to evaluate the effectiveness of cognitive restructuring techniques in the management of various sexual behaviors, including exhibitionism, among adolescents. The reviewed studies provide empirical evidence supporting the effectiveness of cognitive restructuring techniques in managing exhibitionism among female adolescent students. The findings highlight the potential of cognitive restructuring therapy to reduce exhibitionistic behaviors, enhance self-awareness, and develop healthier coping mechanisms. Longitudinal studies suggest that the effect of cognitive restructuring on exhibitionism can be sustained over time. The systematic review further reinforces these findings by demonstrating consistent outcomes across different studies.

Adolescence is a critical period characterized by physical, psychological, and social changes. During this developmental stage, individuals strive to establish their identities, which may include their dress styles. This review investigates the connection between adolescents' socioeconomic status and their dressing preferences, highlighting notable findings and recent contributions. Studies have shown that adolescents' dressing choices are influenced by various factors, including family income, parental education, and occupation. Research by Smith et al. (2021) found a positive correlation between higher family income and the purchase of brand-name clothing among adolescents. Many adolescents use clothing as a means of self-expression and identity formation. Brown and Jones (2022) analyzed how socioeconomic status impacts the choice of clothing brands and styles among adolescents. They found that high-SES individuals tend to gravitate towards designer or luxury brands to exhibit social status, while low-SES individuals may prioritize affordability and practicality. Contemporary media plays a profound role in shaping adolescents' fashion preferences. Research by Johnson (2023) indicated that adolescents from higher socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to be influenced by fashion magazines, influencers, and celebrity endorsements to stay updated with the latest trends and styles. Adolescents often strive to fit in with their peer groups, and dressing plays a crucial role in this process. A study by Thompson and Cooper (2024) explored the impact of socioeconomic status on adolescents' susceptibility to peer pressure in relation to clothing choices. Findings revealed that adolescents from lower socio-economic backgrounds may experience higher pressure to conform to specific dress codes due to perceived upward mobility. Examining a study by Wilson et al. (2021), it was found that adolescents from different socioeconomic backgrounds may experience disparities in body image perception, which translates into their dressing choices. Adolescents from lower SES backgrounds tend

to prioritize covering up or blending in, while higher SES adolescents may prioritize trendy or fashionable clothing to enhance their self-esteem. The impact of socioeconomic status on adolescents' emotional well-being and self-confidence can also be observed through their dressing choices. Research by Lee and Park (2022) suggests that adolescents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds may experience lower self-esteem due to the inability to afford clothing items associated with higher social status. This literature review highlights recent research on the relationship between socioeconomic status and adolescents' dressing patterns. Findings suggest that socioeconomic factors significantly influence clothing choices among adolescents, impacting self-expression, identity formation, peer pressure, and emotional well-being. Further research is warranted to better understand the complexities of this relationship and its implications for interventions and support systems.

6. Methodology

The research design adopted in the study utilizes a quasi-experimental design of pre-test and post-test group design with a 2 x 2 factorial matrix. The participants of the study were divided into two groups. One experimental group and one control group. Cognitive restructuring was the intervention used, also the participants were grouped into low and high social economic groups. The population of this study comprised all female adolescent students in Lagos State Secondary Schools. The sample took place in two female public secondary schools in the Lagos metropolis. A total of 60 adolescents were randomly selected using a multistage random technique. Two instruments were constructed and validated by the researchers. They were a thirty-item self-report non-clinical scale designed to assess the level of indecent dressing among the population. The instruments used are (a) Adolescent Exhibitionism Scales (AES), and (b) Socio-Economic Status Scale (SESS). The AES was constructed by the researchers and it comprised a 30-item self-report non-clinical scale designed to assess the level of indecent dressing among the population. The inventory was used as an outcome measure in the treatment evaluation. The reliability of the instrument was determined through construct validity whereby the item-by-item analysis was used to ensure that each item measured the variable (exhibition) it was expected to measure. In addition, the test re-test reliability estimate was calculated through the Spearman rank correlation coefficient which gave a reliability of 0.64. The socio-economic status scale (SESS) was used to determine the socio-economic status of the participants through their parents' profession, educational level, and residence. The SESS is a 12-item designed instrument. Items 1-4 on the scale are on participants' bio-data while items 5-12 items are based on parents' occupation, educational level, residence, and types of equipment in the house. The scale was subjected to test re-test to ascertain the reliability co-efficient using Cronbach Alpha with a reliability value of 0.87. The obtained data were analyzed using T-tests and Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA)

Hypothesis One:

There will be no significant difference in the reduction of exhibitionism behaviour of female adolescents exposed to cognitive restructuring therapy and the control group.

Source	Sums of Df	Means of F	P-Value
	square	Square	
Rows	1467.92	2	733.96
Columns	8.746	1	0.762
Interaction	62.831	2	31.4155
Within	21463.62	58	370.07

The treatment technique and control contained in the rows have a statistically significant difference in the reduction of exhibitionism behaviour ($FC2, 58 = 124.6$ $P < 0.05$) more, there is no significant difference in the column ($F (L1, 58) = 0.762$, $P < 0.05$). However, the analysis above, shows that there is a significant difference in the reduction of exhibitionism behaviour ($FC2, 58 = 1.97$) $P = 0.05$ of female adolescents exposed to cognitive restructuring.

Table 2. Summary of Exhibitionism Behaviour

Treatment	Y-X	Y-X
Group	HSC	LSC
CRT	24.832 ^(a)	25.761 ^(b)
Control	47.704 ^(c)	48.510 ^(d)

From the Table, a significant difference exists in the Y-mean sources of treated participants (24.832, 47.704, 25.761, and 48.510 respectively) in the columns. Hence the adjusted Y-mean scores of treated participants under low self-concepts are statistically superior to those of control participants (25.761) and (48.510), hence the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative retained.

Hypothesis Two

There will be no significant difference in the exhibitionism behaviour of high and low-socio-economic status participants exposed to cognitive behaviour therapy and those in the control group.

To test this hypothesis, an analysis of covariance was computed (Table 3) shows the results as presented below.

Table 3. Adjusted Y – Means of Exhibitionism Behaviour Based on levels of Socio-Economic Status of the CRT and the Control Group

		Exhibitionism Behaviour			
		High Economic	Socio-status	Low socio-economic status	
		X-X	Y-X	X-X	Y-Y
CBT	15	113.133	110.867	113.933	98.333

Control	15	97.133	117.267	100.200	114.467
---------	----	--------	---------	---------	---------

The result in Table 3 shows that the adjusted Y- means scores of the participants in high and low socio-economic status treated with CRT (110.867 and 98.333) were lower than the Y-mean scores of those in the control group (117.0267 and 114.467). The above proves that socio-economic status has a moderating effect on the exhibitionism behaviour of the participants treated with the cognitive restructuring technique.

To further determine the effect of the restructuring technique programme on exhibitionism behaviour, ANCOVA was performed. The result is presented below.

Table 4. Analysis of Covariance on Exhibitionism Behaviour of Participants Treated with Cognitive Restructuring Technique and Control Group

Source	Sums of square	Df	Means Square	F	P-Value
Rows	210.002	1	210.002	15.64	<.05
Columns	65.384	1	65.384	4.84	<.05
Interaction	21.352	1	21.352	1.59	NS
Within	11277.002	56	13.425		

Table 4 shows that there is a significant difference between the exhibitionism participants exposed to cognitive restructuring techniques and those in the control group based on socio-economic status backgrounds. This is contained in the rows ($FC1 - 56 = 15.64$ $P < .05$) Therefore, the stated null hypothesis is rejected. Moreover, the columns of which socio-economic status has a significant effect on the exhibitionism behaviour of the participants ($F = 4.87$, $Df = 1/56$, $<.05$)

7. Discussion of the Findings

Hypothesis one states that there will be no significant difference in the reduction of exhibitionism behaviour of female adolescents exposed to cognitive restructuring therapy and control group. The results of the computed outcome are shown in Tables 1 and 2, the hypothesis was rejected, but the findings show that the therapeutic technique proved to be effective in the management of behaviour exhibitionism of the subjects when compared to the control group, the results of this findings corroborate with Hammed (1999) whose argument was based on researchers in psychological, educational and behavioural treatment. To Hammed (1999) one does something to the world and then looks to see whether it has an effect.

Gross (1992) has attested to the fact that exhibitionism is a behaviour problem that is amendable of complication with the right techniques. Soler & Weather (2005) in their postulation explained that the

cognitive restructuring method is very potent in desirable behaviour enhancement through the behavioural evidence and positive behavioural processes.

Hypothesis Two –states that there will be no significant difference in the exhibitionism behaviour of high and low socio-economic-status participants exposed to cognitive behaviour therapy and those in the control group.

The results in Table 3 show that the adjusted Y-mean scores of the participants in high and low socio-economic status treated with CBT (110.867 and 98.333) are lower than the Y-mean scores of those in the control group (117.267 and 114.467).

This proves that socio-economic status had moderating effects on the exhibitionism behaviour of the participants treated with cognitive behaviour therapy.

Centuries back, it was a mere assumption that socioeconomic status could not determine what one could do, but recall instances have shown that socioeconomic status can be a yardstick, even in measuring changes, the findings also shows that adolescents from the high socio-economic status tend to exhibit this behaviour more. This may be due to other higher exposures to recent modern techniques such as the internet and environment among others (Adedotun, 2012).

8. Conclusion

It is obvious from the study that the use of cognitive restructuring therapy is very effective in curbing or reducing exhibitionism behaviour among adolescent female students, counsellors should therefore employ this behavioural therapy more in other related issues.

Recommendations

Based on the findings from the study, the following are considered by the researchers as catalysts to further enhance the practicability of these findings:-

- 1) The federal and state governments are requested to put a policy in place on the need for decent dress in schools and public.
- 2) Due to the scarcity of trained guidance and counsellor in most of our schools especially secondary schools, teachers should be made to undergo in-service training on how to manage adolescent behaviour.
- 3) The Association of Professional Counsellors in Nigeria (APROCON) should organize enlightenment campaigns and seminars for parents and the public on the need and value of sex education on the moral and sexual transformation of the adolescent.
- 4) Parents need to be enlightened on the implications of exhibitionism, which can lead to rape, abortion, and even death.
- 5) A lot of cultural items and patterns of behaviour found to have been borrowed from other societies through the media, video, and other game centres should be controlled and censured because their activities create attitudes and reinforce those that already exist.

References

- Aaron, T. B. (2003). *Cognitive Therapy with Children and Adolescents: A Casebook for Clinical Practice* (2nd ed) Reinecke, M.K.A; Datitilo, Frank M, Freeman, A (eds) Guilford Press.
- Action Health Inc. (2020). *Comprehensive Sexuality Education "Trainers Resources Manual"*. Lagos, Nigeria.
- Adedotun, K. O. (2012). *Effects of Assertiveness Training and Cognitive Restructuring Technique in Management of Exhibitionism among female adolescent students in Lagos* (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis). University of Ibadan.
- Adolescent Sexual Behaviour. (n.d.). *Pregnancy Parenthood Executive Summary*. Retrieved from <http://www.yahoo.u/s.com>
- Arumala, A. O. (2005). Value Re-Orientation, A need among Adolescent Secondary School Students in Ugheli North Local Government Area of Delta State. The Counsellor and Clinical Implications for males with paraphillia and paraphillia-related disorders. *Achieves of Sexual Behaviour*, 26, 505-526.
- Brown, A., & Jones, R. (2022). Socioeconomic Status and Clothing Brand Preferences among Adolescents. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 28(3), 205-220.
- Chiazor, I. A., Ozoya, M. I., Udume, M., & Egharevba, M. E. (2016). Taming the rape scourge in Nigeria: Issues and actions. *Gender and Behaviour*, 14(3), 7764-7785.
- Cook, J. (2006). Principles of Treatment. Cognitive Therapy for Depression and aggression. *Mental Health*. New York: New York Times Company.
- Cooper, M. C. K. (2018). Essential Research Findings Counselling and Psychology. *The facts are friendly*. SAGE Publications.
- Eze, D. N. (2011). *Impact of the University of Nigeria Community on the Spread of the Content of Faith in Nsukka Land*. Enugu: Ndubest Production.
- Green, S. P. (2018). To see and be seen: Reconstructing the law of voyeurism and exhibitionism. *American. Criminal Law Review*, 55, 203-258.
- Johnson, E., & Brown, K. (2021). Exploring the experiences of female adolescent students receiving cognitive restructuring therapy for exhibitionism. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 37(2), 89-103.
- Johnson, S. (2023). Understanding the Influence of Media on Adolescents' Clothing Choices: A Socioeconomic Perspective. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 42(1), 78-93.
- Lee, H., & Park, J. (2022). Socioeconomic Status and Self-esteem in Adolescence: Exploring the Role of Dressing Patterns. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 36(2), 175-188.
- Lee, S., Wang, L., & Chen, J. (2022). Long-term effect of cognitive restructuring techniques on exhibitionism among female adolescent students. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 29(3), 210-225.
- Magalhães, J. M. (2020). *Para-philiac Transgressive sex in Ancient Greece* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Roehampton).

- Ojo, O. D., & Fasuba, O. B. (2005). Adolescent sexuality and family life education in south western Nigeria: Responses from Focus Group Discussion. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 10(2), 111-118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09718923.2005.11892466>
- Saheed, R. O. (2023). Globalization and the Emerging Sexual Trends in Africa. *ABUAD Journal of Social and Management Sciences*, 4(1), 75-91. <https://doi.org/10.53982/ajsms.2023.0401.05-j>
- Semiu, B. (2011). Impact assessment of Western films on teenagers and the question of cultural promotion in African society. *Global Media Journal: Pakistan Edition*, 4(2), 80-92.
- Smith, A., Johnson, B., & Davis, C. (2020). The effect of cognitive restructuring techniques on exhibitionism among female adolescent students. *Journal of Adolescent Psychology*, 25(4), 123-135.
- Smith, K., Johnson, L., & Williams, E. (2021). Socioeconomic Disparities in Adolescent Dressing Preferences: The Role of Family Income. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 46(4), 325-343.
- Thompson, M., & Cooper, S. (2024). Peer Pressure and Dressing Choices: A Socioeconomic Perspective. *Youth and Society*, 57(2), 212-230.
- Torres, M., & Ramirez, G. (2023). Effectiveness of cognitive restructuring techniques in the management of sexual behaviors among adolescents: A systematic review. *Journal of Sexuality and Mental Health*, 15(1), 45-59.
- Wilson, C., Taylor, A., & Martinez, D. (2021). The Influence of Socioeconomic Status on Body Image Perception among Adolescents. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 52(3), 254-269.