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ERRATA

p 34 Noted on page 34

p 48 Last paragraph, 2nd line - the average response should read the average score for each question

p 48 Last paragraph, 3rd line - Question 4's modal answer should read Question 3's modal score.

p 49 Results presented in Table 6 are based on transformed scores as described on page facing p 34 (scoring of RMAS).

p 54 Average score of 87.17 with a mean of 90 should read average score of 87.17 with a median of 90.

EXPLORATORY RESEARCH INTO

THE SELF BLAMING RESPONSE BY RAPE VICTIMS

AND THE FEMINIST EXPLANATION

OF THIS RESPONSE

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in Psychology, Massey University.

Ali Maginness

1990

ABSTRACT

Following sexual assault, many women express some guilt or responsibility for their rape. This has been described as self blaming by various researchers. Two types of self blaming have been identified - behavioural and characterological. Functional theories describe behavioural self blaming as having a positive adaptive role for the victim, while feminist theorists describe self blaming as a product of women's socialisation. They maintain that self blaming is not functional, but that it serves to maintain and perpetuate a rape culture. The objective of this study was firstly to explore the self blaming response through a victim analogue study, and secondly, to examine the relationship between self blaming and the feminist explanation of self blaming. The results from the victim analogue part of the study indicate that self blaming is not purely a response to the trauma of rape. The two types of self blaming were not readily identifiable but appeared to merge into one combined grouping. A conceptual explanation for this lack of differentiation suggests that the two types of self blaming may not be mutually exclusive to each other as previously described. The second part of the study found relationships existed between rape myth acceptance and rape definition, stereotypical beliefs and sexual vulnerability. Self blaming was also significantly related to rape myth acceptance, and this was viewed as further support for the feminist theory.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The history of rape informs us that rape is no new human behaviour. Although rape is not known within the animal kingdom, evidence exists that men have raped women for thousands of years (Brownmiller, 1975). The Babylonians wrote laws on rape, and the ancient Greeks accepted rape and slavery of enemy women as one of the spoils of war. In Hampshire archeologists have found a sixth century grave of a young girl believed to have been raped (Chadwick and Wells, cited in Toner, 1982), and bride capture existed in England until as late as the fifteenth century (Brownmiller, 1974).

Rape was so common in 18th/19th century England that it was believed to be an "unavoidable travail of female life" (Clark, 1987, p 31), and rape continues to be more of a custom today than what we would care to believe. A recent London survey found that one woman in six had been raped, one woman in five had survived attempted rape and nearly one woman in three had been sexually assaulted (Hall, 1985). Slightly higher figures have been found in America using interview schedules (Russell, 1984) and questionnaire surveys (Koss and Burkhart, 1989).

The history of the impact of rape on womankind throughout time has not been so faithfully recorded or researched (Clark and Lewis, 1977; Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974). Historical accounts cite that Eleanor of Acquitaine in the twelfth century feared rape (Brownmiller, 1975), but there is a dearth of information before and after this recording. Clark (1987), a contemporary researcher investigating rape in 18th/19th century England, found women continued to fear rape about the time of the Industrial Revolution. Evidence indicates that during this period women expressed feelings of shame and humiliation after being raped, and that legal

confusion and ambivalence often denied them access to retribution. Social attitudes to women who had been raped, and the taboo nature of sexual matters contributed to rape being suffered as a private trauma. Clark (1987) describes the anguish of raped women in the 18th/19th century as being compounded by their sexual ignorance and their inability to find words to express their feelings.

Clark's archival research has revealed how women felt following rape in the 18th and 19th century, but once again there is minimal information until present times. Very little was noted in the rape literature on the feelings and reactions of rape victims until feminists began to research and write from the victims' perspective in the 1960-70's (Clark and Lewis, 1977). Susan Griffin was one of the first feminists to challenge the basic assumptions dominating attitudes to rape victims (1971, cited in Clark and Lewis, 1977), followed closely by several other victim oriented analyses of rape (Brownmiller, 1975; Medea and Thompson, 1974; Clark and Lewis, 1977). The impact of rape on individual women was recognised as having specific symptomatology by Burgess and Holmstrom (1974), and from their studies the Rape Trauma Syndrome was conceived.

The Rape Trauma Syndrome is now a well researched phenomenon, and recognises behavioural, psychological and somatic reactions of the rape victim as an acute stress reaction to an experience which can be perceived as life threatening (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974). Two phases are involved in the process of resolution - an acute phase of disorganization and a longer term phase of reorganization. The acute phase includes the impact reaction (including both expressive and controlled emotional styles), somatic reactions (tension, gastrointestinal irritability, genitourinary disturbance) and emotional reactions (a range of feelings from fear, humiliation, anger and revenge to self blame). These symptoms may present in the first weeks following a rape. The long term process of coping and reorganization involves an increase in motor activity (such as changing

homes, locks, telephone numbers and searching for support), possible development of a phobia to one or more of the circumstances of the rape, and nightmares. This phase does not have a distinct time frame, but is dependent on various factors concerning the individual and her coping behaviour. These factors can include previous coping skills, pre-existing life stresses, how she was treated by others following the rape, her social support systems and the intensity and details of the rape (Pow, 1986).

Residual effects of the rape tend to be psychological. Stone, Barrington and Bevan (1983) found rape victims perceived the sexual connotations of rape as humiliating, degrading and invasive of their deepest sense of privacy. The victims of this study described the destructive and crippling results of rape as being the emotional and mental consequences, one woman commenting that "rape is an act which 'goes on in the mind'" (Stone et al, 1983, p103). Psychological problems frequently reported by rape victims include depression, anxiety, phobias, sexual dysfunction and somatic symptoms (Pow, 1986; Ellis, 1983; Matlin, 1987). Long term follow-up studies have found that 40% of rape victims continue to be troubled with sexual and social dysfunction, fear of being alone and depression 12 to 30 months post assault (Nadelson et al, 1982), and that 31-48% of raped women eventually seek psychotherapy (Koss, in press, cited in Koss and Burkhart, 1989).

Rape can have serious consequences for the victims, and these consequences can be both far reaching and debilitating affecting every aspect of a woman's life. Despite the title of the Rape Trauma Syndrome, responses to rape are not systematic and ordered. They are both individual and personal as the woman strives to resolve her experience and restore her feelings of bodily integrity. Following rape, the victim is sensitive to feelings of vulnerability, and often searches for a way to understand the rape experience. This can involve the process of attributing responsibility for the rape situation. During this process many women

tend to internalise and absorb responsibility for the rape onto themselves, a response called self blaming.

The response of self blaming will be examined in this study. The response itself, and it's relationship to the various concepts described in the feminist explanation of self blaming will be explored. The study itself involves a questionnaire looking at how women attribute responsibility for rape scenarios, and their attitudes/beliefs toward rape. Before examining the methods and results of the study, there will be further discussion on the response of self blaming and the problems associated with research in this area.

The thesis will initially discuss the concept of self blaming by rape victims, and this will take place in Chapter Two. This will involve a discussion on the self blaming response in terms of characteristics, incidence and theories explaining this response. The third chapter discusses the specific difficulties involved in researching rape, and/or the impact of rape. This also includes a brief discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of research methods in regard to rape research. Chapter Four identifies the objectives of the study, and discusses the rationale behind the method chosen. Following this the method is described in Chapter Five, and results are reported in Chapter Six. The final chapter discusses the study results in relation to what is already known about self blaming responses and the theories explaining this response. Suggestions for future research will be included and the implications of the present research will be discussed.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SELF BLAMING RESPONSE BY RAPE VICTIMS

SELF BLAMING - INCIDENCE AND CHARACTERISTICS

The psychological debilitation a woman suffers after rape is to some extent dependent on the way she responds to the rape experience. Some responses are viewed as healthy (e.g. seeking support), others as more dysfunctional (coping by using alcohol or drugs). Self blaming is a frequent response, but one which is viewed equivocally. Some authors suggest it plays a positive and functional role in helping women cope with a rape experience (Janoff-Bulman, 1978, 1979), others suggest it is associated with negative symptomatology (Meyer and Taylor, 1986; Matlin, 1987; Burt and Katz, 1988). It involves the rape victim accepting (to varying degrees) responsibility for the rape or feeling guilty for the rape.

Often the victim does not account for other situational components when attributing the responsibility, and she can appear unduly harsh on herself or her behaviour. Self blaming can be quite erroneous, the rape victim deeming herself responsible for "her actions, his actions, his interpretation of her actions - in short for everything that could possibly give him an excuse to lose control" (Medea and Thompson, 1974, p 43). Although victim precipitation is a concept that is both murky and strongly challenged (Le Grand, 1973; Clark and Lewis, 1977), studies reveal inconsistencies in the figures between the number of rapes where the victim's behaviour is believed to have contributed to the assault and the pervasiveness of self blaming (Janoff-Bulman, 1978, 1979).

As a primary reaction to rape, self blaming has been suggested to be second only to fear, and more common than anger (Janoff-Bulman, 1978). The pervasiveness of self blame has been described by the London Rape Crisis Centre (1984) as "almost

every woman who is raped feels guilty to some extent". (London Rape Crisis Centre, 1984, p 15). Reports from rape crisis centres indicated that 74% of the women they counselled blamed themselves in part for the rape (Janoff-Bulman, 1978). Libow and Doty (1979) interviewed seven women at eight weeks post rape, and four reported feelings of self blame. Veronen, Kilpatrick and Resick (cited in Ellis, 1983) reported 52% of the rape victims in their study recalled feeling guilty at 2-3 hours post assault, and similar figures (50%) have been found by Meyer and Taylor (1986). A New Zealand study by the Auckland Rape Crisis Centre in 1981 found only 22.86% of the women blamed themselves immediately following the rape (Haines and Abbott, 1983).

The variation in the figures reflects some discrepancy resulting from the retrospective methodology of the studies, but even so the figures reported do indicate that self blaming is not a rare or idiosyncratic response to rape. Self blaming has been identified as part of the acute phase of disorganization of the Rape Trauma Syndrome (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974), and two types of self blaming have been recognised by Janoff-Bulman (1978, 1979). Behavioural self blaming is believed to be an adaptive response, while characterological self blaming is suggested to be maladaptive. The distinction between the two types of self blaming is based on the perceived modifiability - behaviours are regarded as being more modifiable and controllable through one's own efforts while characterological traits are viewed as stable and unchangeable (Janoff-Bulman, 1985). Janoff-Bulman (1978) found in a retrospective study that behavioural self blaming is a more frequent response (69%) than characterological self blaming (19%).

Self blaming also appears to be persistent over time. Meyer and Taylor (1986) found 20% of the women in their study continued to blame themselves at two years post rape, and self blame has been identified up to fourteen years post rape (Burt and Katz, 1988). Burgess and Holmstrom (1979) found self blame evident at 4-6

years post rape after interviewing rape victims in a longitudinal study. They described self blame in this sense as a type of defense mechanism which helps the victim cope with anxiety by providing a reason for the event, but they also commented that it may result in the victim being more vulnerable to others judgmental reactions.

Recent research has found support for this suggestion (Coates, cited in Damrosch, 1985; Damrosch, 1985; Thornton, Ryckman, Kirchner, Jacob, Kaczor and Kuehnel, 1988). Thornton et al (1988) found support for self blaming responses evoking strong negative reactions by those in the observer role. Observers perceived self blaming victims as more responsible for their own victimization compared to those victims blaming chance (Thornton et al, 1988). The evolution of a vicious cycle is possible when a victim expresses responsibility for her rape. This would lead to others perceiving her as being responsible, and the victim sensing their reaction continues to feel guilty and responsible. The London Rape Crisis Centre (1984) describe the self blame felt by the women as often confirmed by the police, the medical profession as well as friends and family. Renner, Wackett and Ganderton (1988) found that victims who blamed themselves were also blamed by their parents and friends, and Weis and Borges (1977, cited in Renner et al, 1988) suggest that a rape victim is only treated as legitimate if the rapist was a stranger, the rape was violent and the victim was actively resistant. These research studies describe social victimisation processes, and suggest that confirmation of self blame by others is not a response to the victim's attribution style but rather an expression of the social attitudes to rape and rape victims. There is no conclusive support as to whether it is the observers responding to the victim's self blaming behaviour or the observers' behaviours generating the self blame, but it is obvious that self blaming is a complex response interwoven with social attitudes.

Further research is necessary before this argument can be resolved, but there is

considerable evidence that rape victims do not report their rape to police or other supportive agencies because they suspect they will not be believed (Renner et al, 1988). This has been identified as a particular concern when women decide not to report a sexual assault to the police (Sutherland and Scherl, 1970; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1980; Russell, 1984). Reluctance of some victims to prosecute is based on the belief that they will not be taken seriously and the ordeal of the trial will be overwhelming (Stone et al, 1983; Wilson, 1978). Although these reports are not directly related to self blaming by the victim, they do provide some evidence for the process whereby the victim may begin to feel as if her report is worthless and that she will be held accountable. Isolation of the victim because others are feeling uncomfortable in her presence can also reinforce the feelings of self blame (Sharma and Cheatham, 1986; Burt and Katz, 1987; Metzger, 1976).

The information so far has described self blaming, and the frequency of this response. It also indicates the complexity of self blaming, and the difficulty involved in understanding the paradoxical nature of it. Theories explaining the self blaming response attend to the confusing nature of self blaming, but approach the problem from different perspectives. The next section looks at the explanations for self blaming and discusses the credibility of each in light of current research.

THEORIES EXPLAINING THE SELF BLAMING RESPONSE

The question of why rape victims tend to internalize responsibility for their rape has yet to be answered convincingly. An early theory has identified self blaming as a grief parallel, and Burgess and Holmstrom (1974) have likened rape victims' responses as comparable to the resourcefulness of patients coming to terms with the thought of dying. A second group of theories suggests self blaming is a functional coping mechanism after victimisation. The third explanation views self blaming as part of a wider social theory on rape, and is based on the writings of

feminist writers over the past twenty years. Each of these theories will be discussed.

Self Blaming as a Grief Parallel

As mentioned previously, the emotional reactions to rape have been paralleled to grief and bereavement responses by Burgess and Holmstrom (1974), and also by Burt and Katz (1987). Libow and Doty (1979) claim that rape reactions conform with Bowlby's concept of mourning as a response to loss, and the ensuing disruption to lifestyle. The disruption is not only due to her rape, but also because the victim perceives a sense of loss of control and a sense of uncertainty about the world. Both cognitive and emotional aspects are included. For support they draw on Parke's study (cited in Libow and Doty, 1979) suggesting the self blaming expressed by widows results less from the actual loss than the sense of impotency and immediate need to cope with an insecure world. This approach to self blaming by rape victims is similar to the functional theories which identify self blaming as a means to put some sense of order back into the world.

Libow and Doty (1979) attempted exploratory research examining self blaming by rape victims but were unable to determine if it was a normal or pathological attribution strategy of the grieving process. This line of research has not been continued, and remains more as a comment on how rape victims and terminally ill people cope with their grief in a similar way than a theory explaining the process of self blaming.

Self Blaming as a Functional Response

Functional analyses of self blame explain why it occurs in terms of positive consequences. Self blaming by rape victims is not isolated as a distinct response style but is integrated into general victimisation studies. Miller and Porter (1983)

have conceptualised functional explanations into three groupings dependent on the psychological needs they serve.

The first group of theories is based on the psychological need to maintain belief in a just world. The just world hypothesis postulates "that people have a need to believe that their environment is a just and orderly place where people usually get what they deserve" (Lerner and Miller, 1978). People want to see consistency in their social world, and it is suggested that women who have been raped self blame to retain the belief that bad things don't happen by chance, even to oneself.

There does not appear to be any available literature to support the validity of this attribution hypothesis, and research investigating this with subjects in the observer role yielded both support (Jones and Aronson, 1973) and non-support (Paulsen, 1979; Bolt and Caswell, 1981). One reason why this approach has conflicting evidence may result from the lack of consideration given to social attitudes and rape mythology. Definitions, attributions and assumptions about rape can interfere with research method, and interpretation of results in the above studies does not account for these variables. Burt and Albin (1981) have stated that the researcher who does not take these hidden variables into account takes the risk of doing misleading work, and this may be the case here.

The second group of functional theories describe the psychological need of victims to give meaning to significant events. The work of Frankl is drawn into this approach. He writes that the primary motivational force in man is to find meaning in life. Frankl proposes that "life's meaning is unconditional ....includes the potential meaning for suffering" (Frankl, 1963, p 116). However, in searching for meaning Frankl does not write of utilising self blame. Silver and Wortman (1980, cited in Miller and Porter, 1983) conclude that self blame (following general victimisation) can give meaning to events that appear incomprehensible.

In relation to sexual assault, Silver, Boon and Stones (1983) found in a study involving incest survivors that 80% of the women were searching for meaning and believed this to be important. However, the adaptive role of searching for meaning is debatable as it was also found to be associated with the current level of psychological distress, impaired social functioning, lower self esteem and fewer reports on resolution of the experience. Although this in itself is a circular argument, Silver, Boon and Stones (1983) suggest that ruminative searching for meaning over an extended period of time may have negative consequences. Also, the women who did succeed in resolving their incest experience did not describe self blaming as a factor involved in achieving this.

The last group of theories, and the functional approach most researched, suggests self blame is associated with the psychological need to reduce perceived vulnerability and to gain a sense of control over one's life. Wortman (1976, cited in Miller and Porter, 1983) has suggested that victims tend to self blame "because the acceptance of responsibility enables them to maintain the belief that they are in control of their lives" (Miller and Porter, 1983, p 140), and to accept responsibility for the past allows people to be more confident of the future. Medea and Thompson (1974) have analysed rape from a feminist perspective, but discuss self blame from a functional framework. They suggest that self blame establishes a form of control over the rape, and in doing so removes the unpredictability and senselessness of the assault. They also add that by declaring herself as a participant, the rape victim retains a sense of self as opposed to continuing to feel objectified and negated as a person.

Janoff-Bulman has researched self blame and rape considerably from this control perspective. As mentioned in the previous section, two types of self blame have been identified - behavioural (control related) and characterological (self esteem related). Janoff-Bulman (1978, 1979) postulates that the behavioural self blame

plays an adaptive role for the rape victim in reducing her sense of perceived vulnerability for future rape. Characterological self blame has been associated with maladaptation (Janoff-Bulman, 1985). It was argued that the functional component of self blaming is related to the motivation behind the self blame. Behavioural self blame was deemed positive with a control maintenance motivation in comparison to characterological self blame which was linked to a dysfunctional 'depressive' mode of thinking (Janoff-Bulman, 1979). As discussed previously, the modifiability of the trait being blamed also appears to be significant.

A victim analogue study investigating this hypothesis was carried out, and Janoff-Bulman (1982) concluded that there was support for the adaptive nature of behavioural self blame. However, the generalizability of an empathic responding study must be questioned, and studies working with rape victims have been unable to support these results (Meyer and Taylor, 1986; Burt and Katz, 1989). Support for the two distinct types of self blame has been found, but the only attribution style not associated with a negative outcome has been in blaming social factors (Meyer and Taylor, 1986). Koss and Burkhart (1989) have suggested that the adaptive role of behavioural self blame may provide the victim with an immediate sense of control, but that in the long term it may be detrimental. They hypothesise that victims need to be affirmed in the reality of their victimization in order to complete the emotional process of transforming guilt and depression into anger and grief.

Janoff-Bulman (1989) has recently developed a new hypothesis on how victims assimilate discrepant material into the assumptions they hold about the world. It is proposed that "a major coping task confronting victims is a cognitive one, that of assimilating their experience and/or changing their basic schemas about themselves and their world" (Janoff-Bulman, 1989, p 113). Behavioural self blame has been identified as one of the coping strategies by which this task is achieved. It has been found that rape victims do differ significantly in their sense of 'self worth'

and assumptions on 'benevolence of the impersonal world' compared to non victim counterparts (Janoff-Bulman, 1989, p 129), but the relationship between this and self blame has yet to be established.

Overall, while there are snippets of information available as to the validity of these theories, one cannot conclusively say that self blaming plays a functional role. The inability of other researchers to support the adaptive role of behavioural self blaming is not encouraging, and the belief that rape can be lumped in with other forms of victimization is dubious. Rape for a woman is an intrusive and personal assault by another human being, and cannot be likened to a car accident or suffering from cancer. While no doubt some similarities may be evident, the sexual issues require individual attention and cannot be glossed over with no real acknowledgement.

Self Blaming within a Feminist Framework

It has been stated that to understand the impact of rape we must understand the significance of rape (Burt and Katz, 1987). This is especially true when looking at self blaming from a feminist framework. The feminist explanation does not take this response and analyse it in isolation, but places self blaming within the wider context of rape and society. Feminist theories on rape and society are expansive, and self blaming has not been discussed as a distinct concept but more as a part of a process. To explain self blaming from this perspective requires concepts to be drawn from various tenets of feminist theories, and for this reason it needs to be understood in context of the feminist understanding of rape in our society.

Theories on rape first began to appear in the 1970s when feminist writers examined rape in terms of its function in society. Basic assumptions about rape and rape victims were challenged, and rape was identified as the 'secret of patriarchy'. Rape was described as "not only man's prerogative, but man's basic weapon of force

against woman, the principle agent of his will and her fear" (Brownmiller, 1975, p 14). Brownmiller (1975) proposed the ideology of rape recognised how rape can be used as a means of control, both actually and potentially, by the fear it inspires. Not all men need to rape, but the rape of some women by a few men creates the fear of the possibility in all women's minds. Griffin (1971, cited in Eisenstein, 1984) proposed a similar theory on the role of rape in the social control of women - coining the term the 'male protection racket'. She proposed that social mythology creates the impression that women alone are vulnerable, and need the protection of 'normal' men. The paradox of the situation is that a woman's protector can also be her rapist. Evidence of this is available - a recent television survey in England found that one woman in seven was raped by her husband, and 20% of these women reported suffering multiple rapes by their husbands (Foreign Correspondent, 1989). Both Brownmiller and Griffin argued that this ideology of rape has been socially produced, and that we live in a rape culture where the raping of women is normal and expected.

Rape mythology is viewed as both promoting and condoning the rape culture (Stanko, 1985; Clark, 1987; London Rape Action Group, 1978). Rape supportive beliefs have been identified as wide spread and pervasive in American society (Field, 1978; Burt, 1980; Utigard, Thalberg and Wheeler, 1986), and they have been discussed extensively in feminist literature (Stanko, 1985; Griffin, 1986; London Rape Crisis Centre, 1984; Sullivan, 1986; Clark and Lewis, 1977; Clark, 1987). Rape mythology contributes to how we define rape, who we believe rapes and is raped, and in shaping the situations within which we believe rapes occur (Burt and Albin, 1981). A compilation of rape myths has been listed in the appendices, and it can be seen that rape myths cover every contingency within which a rape might possibly occur. They explain why rapes occur, and they provide a complex set of rules for women on how to avoid rape. In doing so they also provide the opportunity to defuse rape if these rules were not followed explicitly. Rape myths go hand in hand

with women's socialisation in learning the virtue of being chaste, and the fear of being sexually vulnerable (Burt and Estep, 1981). They are not overt or direct messages but operate in a subtle way restricting women's freedom by prescribing specific codes of behaviour (London Rape Action Group, 1978; Eisenstein, 1984; Griffin, 1986).

The London Rape Crisis Centre (1984) suggest that the rules imposed on women's behaviour through rape mythology serve to shift the responsibility for rape from men on to women. Often women are held responsible "for not escaping the inescapable situation" (Stanko, 1985, p41), and Camille Le Grand (1973) suggests these views are so engrained in society that women accept them without questioning. Women are encompassed by stereotypes and beliefs which indicate their responsibility for men's violence towards them, raped women are told implicitly that their rape is a commentary on their behaviour (Stanko, 1985). Judgments are made on the way victims dress, their behaviour and their attitudes - and these judgments are used to imply that the victim precipitated the attack.

The self blaming response is viewed as a product of women's socialisation rather than a response to the rape experience. It is described as a stable (and generally latent) characteristic of women resulting from their socialization and the pervasive acceptance of rape myths in a rape culture. Feminist theory suggests that women are socialised into a victim role (the compliant and passive feminine ideal), and part of this includes a sense of sexual vulnerability. The threat of potential sexual assault restricts women's behaviour by the assumption that protection will be available only if traditional sex roles are followed. From this framework stereotypical beliefs about 'good' and 'bad' women evolve - good women (who follow the rules) don't get raped and bad women do. These stereotypes are closely associated with widely held myths about rape, and in turn these influence how we all define rape. The interaction of these attitudes and beliefs essentially shift responsibility from the

rapist onto the victim - to be raped she must be a bad woman, she must have broken the rules and the fundamental assumption is that all women secretly want to be raped anyway.

As yet, this composite explanation for self blaming has not been evaluated and there is no empirical evidence to support its stand. There has been criticism of this stream of feminist theory for the tendency to make unsubstantiated sweeping generalizations (Edwards, 1987; Faust, 1980), but historical analyses of social and legal traditions are unearthing interesting circumstantial evidence (Brownmiller, 1975; Clark, 1987). Further support comes from anthropological studies providing evidence that rape is not a universal male behaviour, but one that tends to appear only in rape prone societies (Sanday, 1981; Mead, cited in Broom and Selznick, 1968). Researchers currently investigating the phenomena of rape are promoting the feminist theory as a valid theoretical framework for future rape research (Burt, 1980; Burt and Albin, 1981; Burt and Katz, 1987; Meyer and Taylor, 1986).

CONCLUSION

Self blaming remains a response that is not well understood, and one that is confusing to come to grips with. The question of why women absorb the responsibility for a situation they either had no control over, or did everything within their power to avoid is not readily resolved. There does not appear to be a logical conclusion as to the reasons why self blaming occurs, and explanations for self blaming attempt to answer the question of why it occurs indirectly. This study will explore the feminist theory on self blaming in the hope of offering more information with which to build a better understanding of what appears to be a dysfunctional response to rape.

CHAPTER THREE

RAPE AND RESEARCH

"When you are criticizing the philosophy of an epoch, do not chiefly direct your attention to those intellectual positions which its exponents feel it necessary explicitly to defend. There will be some fundamental assumptions which adherents of all the various systems within the epoch unconsciously presuppose. Such assumptions appear so obvious that people do not know what they are assuming because no other way of putting things has ever occurred to them."

Alfred North Whitehead
(cited in Daly, 1973, p1)

INHERENT PROBLEMS OF RAPE RESEARCH

When it comes to research, rape is a devious social phenomenon. Despite a long standing history and the magnitude of the problem, rape and its consequences have remained relatively resistant to close scrutiny. The most obvious stumbling block to rape research is in the ethical arena. Ethical and design concerns can probably be cited as one of the major obstacles to rape research. Due to ethical considerations research is essentially limited to survey and victim analogue studies, both of which suffer from design fallibility. Survey methods must account for numerous intervening variables, all of which have the potential to negate any conclusions that may be drawn. Victim analogue studies carry the slur of artificiality, and generalizing results to the real world is never completely convincing.

Yet, in spite of numerous ethical problems the wave of consciousness raising over the past twenty years has resulted in more research on rape than ever before. Unfortunately though, an air of defensiveness is still projected in regard to research in this area. The methodology is often severely questioned, and there seems to be a general mistrust of results. A recent example of this can be seen in a popular magazine article on sexual abuse in NZ. In this article McLeod (1989) reports research on the statistics of child abuse, but unfortunately she also misleadingly critiques it. In challenging the response rate of Miriam Saphira's 1980 NZ study she renders the statistics meaningless, and instead of discussing the methodological problems rationally she prefers to imply this is a function of the researcher's sexual orientation.

The result of this type of article protects the public from research and correct information on rape, and it also deters researchers from continuing to work in the area. It is an example of the problematic and covert forces working against the advancement of rape research. These forces are both elusive and difficult to discern, but they can be described as the silence which surrounds rape and the rape mythology engrained in our belief systems. The hidden difficulty for research in this area is in counteracting the effect of these two elements.

Silence has played an important and subversive role in inhibiting research on two levels. Sexual concerns and behaviours have in the past been dismissed as not the proper thing to talk about, and rape has been hidden within a shroud of silence. Clark and Lewis (1977) describe this as a 'conspiracy of silence' reflecting the common and inaccurate belief that rape does not occur very often. They comment that this also reflects an underlying pressure for any occurrences of rape not to become public shame and knowledge. Clark and Lewis (1977) suggest that rape is viewed by society as an inevitable and degrading behaviour not to be dignified by publicity or research. Consciousness raising has relinquished the hold of silence

over rape, but old habits die hard and many still believe that rape is a distasteful conversation topic and subject for research.

On a more formal level rape is classed as sensitive research, and Sieber and Stanley (1988) report how socially sensitive research proposals are twice as likely to be rejected by review boards. Whether this is directly resulting from a belief that rape is a subject which should not be researched is not empirically known, but it is discouraging and does little to promote further work in the area. Secondly, researchers may have difficulties with subject recruitment. Research is often done with convicted rapists or the reporting rape victim, but statistics indicate that most rapes are not reported and/or processed through the courts. Subsequently, the population sample of the research is inherently biased. Reluctance by the public to contribute or participate in research about beliefs and attitudes to rape can also be a problem for the researcher requiring a representative sample of the general population. Once again these limitations do little to increase our understanding of the phenomenon of rape.

The silence surrounding rape is maintained and interwoven within rape mythology. In western society the topic of rape is steeped in mythology, and rape myths are closely connected with other attitudes on sexuality and sex role stereotypes (Burt, 1980). Rape myths appear as things we know intuitively, and they are powerful decrees on what values and beliefs are held in society. Over time rape myths have become institutionalised via social customs (prescribing what women should wear and how they should behave), the law (questioning the credibility of the victim before that of the accused) and theories on why rape occurs (rapists are psychopathological or suffer a psychobiological disorder). Janeway (1971) describes social myths as affecting the real world because those who believe in them act to make them come true. As a result exploring and disputing rape myths can be perceived as challenging the unspoken values of society. Research can

meet resistance, and although rape myths can be readily disputed with cold logic, results are not always accepted.

Recent research and legal discussion on rape stresses the importance of acknowledging rape myths, and questions the credibility of work that does not (Burt, 1980; Burt and Albin, 1981; Le Grand, 1973). Burt and Albin (1981) strongly affirm that researchers who do not consider the complexities of subjects' ideological baggage take the risk of doing misleading and worthless research. Amir, an earlier researcher of rape, has been criticised on his work of victim precipitation due to his acceptance of police reports at face value (Clark and Lewis, 1977). The challenge of investigating rape and the impact of rape is not just in summating facts and figures, but is in explaining what people believe and why they believe in it. Logic and concrete research techniques do not always prevail against the combined force of mythology and silence.

RAPE RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

The study and investigation of rape requires sensitivity toward both the silence which has suppressed open discussion in the past, and the mythology inherent within the topic. Erikson proposes that "to study a myth critically...means to analyse its images and themes" (cited in Janeway, 1971, p 28), advice which no doubt is meant well but provides little instruction on procedure and methodology. Research methodology is always an important issue when designing a research study, and this is especially so when the research involves social mythology. The following discussion is provided to clarify the methodological options available.

Methodology can be broadly split into two camps - quantitative and qualitative. On one hand, the quantitative research process is based on theory, and tests specific hypotheses using survey or experimental procedures. The objective of research is

nomothetic, seeking to establish general laws that can be generalised to larger populations (Bryman, 1988). There is generally a limited choice of answers, and the data is analyzed in the form of numbers giving the impression that the information is "hard, rigourous and reliable" (Bryman, 1988, p 103). The researcher remains distant from the research topic in order to gain a sense of objectivity, and may have minimal contact with the subjects. Quantitative research tends to take a structured approach to society, and social reality is perceived as static (Bryman, 1988).

Qualitative research on the other hand, does not limit the number of answers, and information is generally gained from open questions (Jayaratne, 1983). This method provides a greater opportunity to study the process of social life, which in itself implies social reality is never static but always changing and open to interpretation. Researchers do not always remain as detached from their subject as their quantitative counterparts, but tend to take an "insider standpoint" (Bryman, 1988, p 96). Analysis of data is done using the language of the respondent (Jayaratne, 1983), and can be rich in intricate and penetrating detail (Bryman, 1988).

Neither method can be said to hold exclusive rights over the other, but each has advantages depending on the research topic and mode of analysis. Quantitative methods allow a researcher to deal with information from a large number of subjects, and to analyse the data statistically. This provides a broad base of information from which to evaluate a hypothesis. However, quantitative methods have been criticised as superficial and simplistic (Jayaratne, 1983). Concern has also been expressed regarding the accuracy of the data. Problems can arise from the validity of the interview or questionnaire, generalizing results from a narrow population sample, reliability of coding and interpretation of the results. The handling of the raw data several times during analysis allows opportunities for errors to slip in. Despite the potential problems of quantitative research, the objectivity of this research style is appreciated by many social scientists and it has

maintained popularity over the years.

The main advantage of qualitative research is viewed as the depth of information gained. Data gained from qualitative methods appears to be more complex and detailed, but unfortunately the material can be bulky and difficult to manage. This practical aspect denies the researcher the opportunity to work with large numbers of subjects, and any conclusions drawn are generally based on narrow population samples. Consequently, while the data may yield some extremely meaningful information, in doing so it may be relatively meaningless overall. A further concern lies in the accuracy of the data analysis. The practicalities of handling and analysing so much material can become error prone, and the subjective processes used can be deemed dubious (Bryman, 1988). However, changing views regarding social science and ontology are promoting this research method, and it is viewed as the most effective method by some disciplines (Mies, 1983; Reinharz, 1983).

Jayaratne (1983) reminds us that the merit of both quantitative and qualitative research is dependent on the questions asked. Careful quantitative research design with the assistance of sophisticated computer packages can yield complex and significant data, while qualitative research asking inappropriate questions may yield poor findings. Another concern affecting both quantitative and qualitative method validity is subject reactivity (Bryman, 1988). Neither method is immune to subject reactivity to the research process, and neither can eliminate the problem entirely. While reactivity in the form of social desirability may be obvious in experimental and survey methods, it may be far more subtle and difficult to discern in a participant observation research project. Each method faces its own difficulties in every step of the research process from sample selection to data analysis, yet both methods can offer quality information. The art of research appears to be in not staying with one research method rigidly, but to yield and blend the two methods as necessary to maximum advantage.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STUDY - OBJECTIVES AND METHOD RATIONALE

OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

As mentioned previously, self blaming is a response that is received equivocally by researchers working in this area. It has been suggested that behavioural self blaming has a functional and adaptive role (Janoff-Bulman, 1979, 1982) but this has been recently challenged by Meyer and Taylor (1986). While they found evidence of self blaming in both forms (behavioural and characterological) they did not find support for the positive nature of behavioural self blame (Meyer and Taylor, 1986). The only attribution style associated with a positive outcome was societal blame, and Meyer and Taylor (1986) suggest this is compatible with the sociological / feminist analysis of rape.

This study intends to explore the self blaming response from the feminist perspective. The feminist perspective, as discussed in the previous chapter, views self blaming as a product of rape mythology in a rape culture. Rape mythology is believed to influence our attitudes to rape, how women are socialised, and women's sense of sexual vulnerability. It has also been suggested that rape mythology serves to shift the responsibility of rape back onto the victim. This encourages the tendency of women to doubt what role they played in their own rape and to internalise the responsibility for the rape. A diagrammatic representation of how rape mythology influences how rape victims attribute responsibility follows (Fig 1).

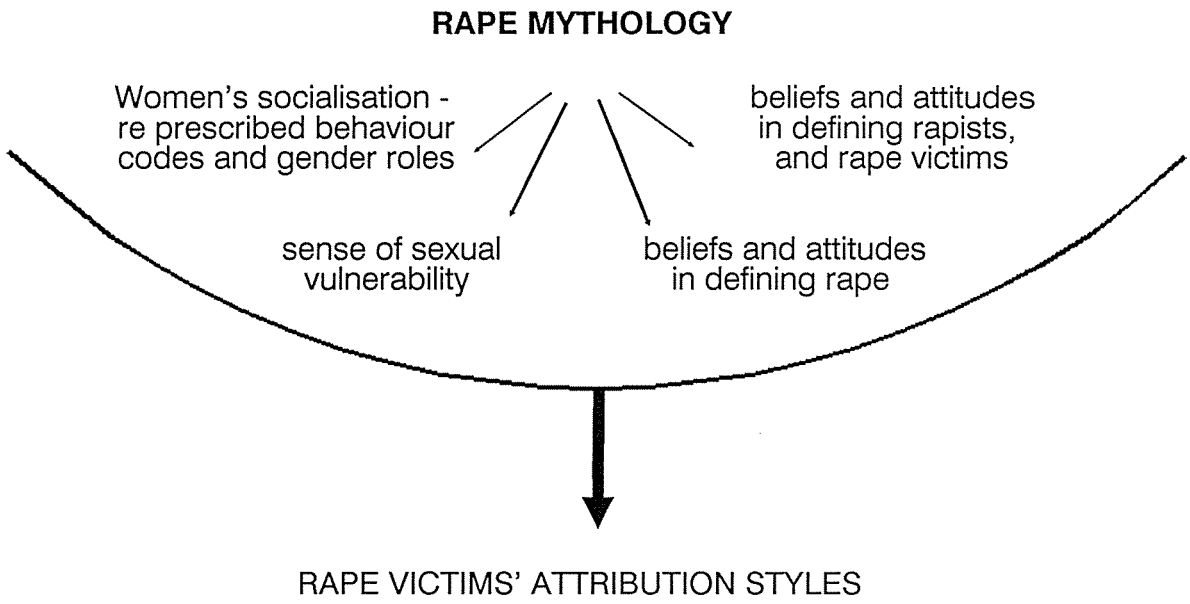


Figure 1: Diagrammatic representation of how rape mythology influences rape victims' attribution styles.

The objective of this study is to explore the relationships between the above concepts in order to understand more fully why rape victims tend to self blame. The study will involve two parts, the first involving a victim analogue study and the second involving a series of scales and questions exploring rape attitudes and beliefs.

The first part (Part A) will investigate the 'state or trait' nature of self blaming responses in regard to women. Victim analogue studies will be used to explore whether the self blaming response can be elicited, and the consistency of this response across different scenarios. It will involve young women being asked to empathically respond to three different scenarios, and answering an attribution scale in the same way. Empathic responding has been enhanced in the past by "imagine self" instructions (Regan and Totten, 1975; Aderman, Brehm and Katz, 1974), and Janoff-Bulman (1982) has used this method effectively in another study on self blaming responses to rape. It is believed the self blaming attribution style

will, as in Janoff-Bulman's study, be elicited with empathic responding instructions. While this will not conclusively prove self blaming to be a stable (or latent) characteristic of women, it will throw doubt on the assumption that self blaming is purely a response to the rape experience. This part of the study will also provide the opportunity to examine attribution styles, and to discern if the self blaming responses emerge as distinctly as they have in the past (Janoff-Bulman, 1978, 1979, 1982; Meyer and Taylor, 1986).

Specific objectives for this part are :

1. To elicit the self blaming response in a victim analogue study.

2. To determine if behavioural and characterological self blaming styles emerge as distinct attribution styles.

3. To examine the consistancy of attribution responses accross scenarios.

The second part (Part B) will examine the different concepts described by the feminist literature as contributing towards the self blaming response. Various instruments will be used to assess rape myth acceptance, sex role identity, rape defintion style, stereotypic beliefs and sexual vulnerability. The results from this part will then explore what relationships exist between the various concepts, and the attribution styles.

Specific objectives for this part are:

1. To describe the nature and incidence of rape myth acceptance, sex role identity, rape definition styles, stereotypic beliefs and sexual vulnerability.

2. To examine the relationship between rape myth acceptance and sex role identity, rape definition style, stereotypic beliefs and sexual vulnerability.

3. To examine the relationship between sex role identity and sexual vulnerability.

4. To examine the relationship between rape myth acceptance and the attribution styles expressed in Part A.

As this is an exploratory study, no predictions will be made as to the results. It is hoped that this study will however, shed some light on the viability of further research using a feminist framework and on what method may be most effective.

METHOD RATIONALE

As mentioned previously, this study intends to explore the self blaming response expressed by rape victims and the concepts described by the feminist explanation of self blaming. Exploratory research can be likened to a reconnoitring exercise where the layout of the subject area can be explored before more specific work is carried out. This may sound relatively clear, but the subject of rape does not readily lend itself to research which aims to gain a broad and superficial understanding.

The subject of rape contains hidden agendas which researchers need to deal with, and although qualitative methods are reputed to be more sensitive to subtle social processes required for this they do not allow an extensive exploration of a research area. Quantitative methods on the other hand, do have the ability to examine large population samples and to search for significant results. This method of research provides the means to scan the subject area from different angles and to test specific hypotheses. But unfortunately in doing this, quantitative methods tend to only skim the surface of the subject and do not reach the underlying structures.

Hence, the quandary of exploratory research on rape or the impact of rape. Neither method fully meets the demands of this study, and to avoid the trap of adopting an

either/or approach it was decided to exploit both quantitative and qualitative approaches by blending the two together. Bryman (1988) discusses this as 'triangulation', and cites several studies where this has been done successfully. It was believed that by combining the two methods, a balance would be struck between the degree of depth and the required extensiveness.

What resulted was a questionnaire screening the subjects' attitudes and beliefs through the use of established scales and open questions. Where appropriate and possible, established scales were utilised to provide a quantifiable measure. Where scales were not available, or it was felt that they would restrict subjects' responses, open questions were given priority. These two approaches were combined within the one questionnaire is such a way to encourage active participation and maintain the interest of the subjects.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHOD

SUBJECTS

The subjects involved in this questionnaire survey were 100 female undergraduate university students, aged between 18 and 25 years. The reasons for this select population group are as follows -

i) similar developmental age group in regard to their own sexuality and socialisation processes - Gagnon and Simon (1973) discuss sexual socialisation in terms of acquiring sexual scripts with which to interpret potentially sexual behaviours. They maintain that these scripts are not yet meaningful in childhood, but gain coherence in adolescence when adult society first begins to react to the adolescent as a sexual being. Burt and Estep (1981) have found support for this developmental theory in terms of female adolescents learning a sense of sexual vulnerability during this life stage. This age group was chosen on the assumption that their sexual scripts would be fairly well established and cohesive by late adolescence / early adulthood.

ii) similar levels of exposure to sexual issues - it has been assumed that a younger age group will have a limited amount, and less varied exposure to sexual issues than an older age group. It is believed that the individual will retain original family based attitudes and beliefs with less exposure and experience with sexual matters.

iii) similar education and intellectual level - it is hoped that young women with similar education and intellectual levels will have fewer extraneous variables than a population sample not restrained by this criteria. This education level was also chosen on the presumption that university students will have adequate literacy to

cope with a lengthy questionnaire.

iv) this group of young women are in the high risk age and occupational group for sexual assault (Koss and Oros, 1982; Koss and Gidycz, 1985; Koss, Dinero, Siebel and Cox, 1988)), and it is hoped that the victim analogue method will reflect the attribution style of the rape victim within this high risk group.

SUBJECT RECRUITMENT AND PROCEDURE

Undergraduate students in Social Science courses were approached by the researcher during their lecture and laboratory times, and invited to join this study. Students were briefly told what the subject of the study was, the criteria to join the study (females aged between 18-25 years) and what would be involved if they chose to participate. The subject of the study was described as researching women's socialization and attitudes to sexual assault. They were advised that there were two parts to the study - the first part was a victim analogue study requiring them to read a scenario, and then respond to an attribution scale as if the scenario situation had actually happened to them. The second part was described as a group of different questionnaires and scales looking at attitudes and beliefs. At this point students were advised that the study was confidential and independent of the courses they were taking. It was also suggested that if they had been involved in a sexual assault experience they may choose not to join the study. The students were invited to ask questions if they were uncertain about the nature of the study, and a few inquiries about the age limit were made. The reply to this question indicated that the age restriction was an attempt to reduce the number of intervening variables that may affect results. Any students interested were asked to give their name and contact phone number, and advised that they would be contacted to arrange a time to complete the questionnaire in the next few days.

Interested students were then contacted by telephone, and a time for the student and researcher to meet was made in order for the student to complete the questionnaire. Questionnaires were completed by subjects both individually and in small groups of up to seven subjects.

When the students met with the researcher to complete the questionnaire they were once again advised of the nature of the study and what was involved (information as before), and any questions or concerns were dealt with. Confidentiality was also reiterated. At this point they were asked to sign a consent form (Appendix 2), and advised that they could withdraw from the study at any stage, and again that this study was completely independent of their course work. The questionnaire was then given to the student to complete with a brief reminder on the different instructions for the two parts, and a request not to give a range of numbers in the questionnaire scales. The majority of the students completed the questionnaire in 30-45 minutes. Total time for recruitment and data collection was three weeks.

Of the students approached, 120 female students in this age group indicated interest in the questionnaire. From this group 100 were able to be contacted, and a time was arranged for the questionnaire to be completed. The following information (based on information gained from the demographic form in Appendix 2) is a breakdown of the subjects' age and university history.

Age : The majority of subjects interested were younger, and the numbers decreased steadily with increasing age. 42% of subjects were 18, 27% of subjects were 19, 11% of subjects were 20, 9% of subjects were 21 and the remaining 11% of subjects were over 21 years old.

Years of study at university : subjects were predominantly in their first year of study (65%), with 20% in their second year and 15% in third (or more) year of study.

Course at university : the majority of subjects were social science students (52%), and the remaining subjects were humanities students (20%); business studies students (16%) and science students (12%).

A breakdown of the subjects' family and social background is as follows -

Marital Status : 96 of the subjects reported their status as single, 3 reported their status as involved in de facto relationships and 1 subject omitted to answer this question.

Religion : 76% of the subjects described their religious affiliation as Christian, 31% omitted or preferred not to answer and 4% described their belief as atheist.

Ethnic group : The predominant ethnic group in the subject population was Pakeha (76%), and the remainder were Maori (4%); Polynesian (1%); and Asian (1%). 18% of the subjects omitted or preferred not to answer this question.

Family structure : The family structure was primarily nuclear based (85%), and of the remainder 7% of the subjects described their family structure as single parent family; 3% described the family structure to be an extended family and 5% described other family situations (e.g. adoption).

Predominant family location during childhood was reported as small town (31%); city (46%); rural (18%) and transient (4%).

Socio-economic status: (as based on highest level of parental occupation using the Elley and Irving Socio-Economic Index for NZ, 1972) : 25% of the subjects belong to SES Level 1 families (higher professional and administrative work); 56% of subjects belong to SES Level 2 families (lower professional and technical work);

9% of subjects belong to SES Level 3 families (clerical and highly skilled work); 8% of the subjects belong to SES Level 4 families (skilled work) and 1% of the subjects came from SES Level 5 families (semi-skilled repetitive work).

INSTRUMENTS - PART A

The first part of the questionnaire was a victim analogue study (Appendix 3). As mentioned previously, victim analogue studies using "imagine self" instructions have been found to enhance empathic responding (Regan and Totten, 1975; Aderman, Brehm and Katz, 1974; Janoff-Bulman, 1982). This involved the creation of three scenarios describing a situation which could be described as rape. They were based on rapes reported in various journal articles and books on the subject, and modified so as to not give any extraneous information on the victim or the male which may influence the subjects' responses. The scenarios have differing reasons for why the woman is in this situation, but only the behaviours and events leading up to the sexual assault are stressed. The issue of consent is not emphasised, and this was intended to encourage the subject to come to her own conclusion as to the definition of the situation as rape or not. The scenarios were written in the first person to encourage the subject to respond empathically.

Initial instructions were given prior to all three scenarios asking the subject to read the scenario as if the situation had actually happened to them. At this point instructions were also given asking the subjects to respond to the scales in the same way - as if the subject were the woman involved. Reminders were given prior to each scenario and questionnaire.

The attribution scale used in Part A was based on research working with rape victims by Meyer and Taylor (1986). Meyer and Taylor (1986) had partially developed a scale on how women attribute responsibility for their rape. The factor

construction identified two factors related to self blaming (poor judgement, victim type) and societal blame. Meyer and Taylor (1986) suggested the self blaming factors were related to the self blaming attributions identified by Janoff-Bulman. They linked poor judgement factors with behavioural self blame and victim type factors with characterological self blame (Meyer and Taylor, 1986). This scale was appropriate for this study as it had identified the two types of self blame, but it required further development due to the small sample numbers used in the original study as well as the heterogeneous nature of the original population sample. It was decided to proceed with this scale, but to analyse the scale (using factor analysis) further before interpreting results from the scale. Meyers and Taylor (1986) analysed their data using the principle components method, but this was not replicated due to a recent article by Snook and Gorsuch (1989) challenging the accuracy of principle components analysis for inflating results.

For use in this study some of the scale items were altered to relate more closely with the scenarios. The societal blame statements included two new statements on the role of the police in investigating rape and the effectiveness of the justice system in deterring rape. Changes were also made to accommodate for the tense of the statement as discussed by Janoff-Bulman (1979, 1982). Janoff-Bulman (1979, 1982) has identified the changes in tense between the two type of self blame statements and relates this to modifiability of the statement. It was felt that the two statements "I am too trusting" and "I am a poor judge of character" belonged to the characterological self blame set due to the non-modifiability implied. Two new statements were added to the behavioural self blame set ("I should have been more aware" and "I should have resisted more") and "I am too impulsive" was changed to "I was too impulsive". Items were randomly selected for their order in the scale. The scale consisted of fifteen statements in total, five assigned to each factor identified in the original Meyer and Taylor (1986) scale. These factors are behavioural self blame; characterological self blame and societal blame.

SCORING OF RMAS

P 34 - The RMAS (Appendix 4) consists of 14 items which reflect myths about rape. Thre first 11 items are rated on a 7 point scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (7). The remaining three, of which the last has six parts, are rated on five point scales.

To score each item on the RMAS, the ratings are reversed for all questions excluding Q 2 and Q 14 (i - iv). Thus on a 7 point scale, a rating of 1 (strongly agree) is scored as 7; a rating of 2 as 6; 3 as 5; 4 as 4; 5 as 3; 6 as 2; 7 as 1. On a 5 point scale a rating of 1 is scored as 5; 2 as 4; 3 as 3; 4 as 2; 5 as 1. The scores are then added to give an RMAS score with a range of 19 (low rape myth acceptance) to 117 (high rape myth acceptance).

The modified scale was administered three times during the questionnaire - once following each scenario. It was intended to be used to identify and measure consistency of attribution styles to rape scenarios in the victim analogue study. The end of Part A included a page where subjects were able to openly express any further thoughts about the scenarios and the attribution scale.

INSTRUMENTS - PART B

Part B of the study was concerned with exploring the concepts identified in the feminist explanation. It consists of three scales, one section on the definition of rape and an open question on stereotypic beliefs. Examples of each of the different sections in Part B are included in Appendix 4, and they will be discussed below.

The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale - The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (RMAS) was first developed by Burt (1980), and has since been used in rape research (Burt and Albin, 1981; Koss, 1985; Burt and Katz, 1987; Krahe, 1988). Concept validity has been satisfied in an English setting by Krahe (1988), but Briere, Malamuth and Check (1985) have expressed concern regarding the item analysis procedure used to develop the RMAS. Their concern relates to the fear that the actual scale might be measuring unrelated constructs even though the various items are correlated. Their study found four independent factors within the RMAS (disbelief of rape claims; victim responsible for rape, rape reports as manipulation and rape only happens to certain kinds of women), and suggest that Burt's analysis may have underestimated the variety of rape supportive beliefs tapped by her scales (Briere et al, 1985).

Although four different factors have been found within the RMAS they do however all belong to the broader subset of rape mythology. Rape mythology is inherently complex and multidimensional, and when attempting to measure rape mythology

with any instrument this needs to be accounted for. As this was an exploratory study it was decided to proceed with this scale, and to take into account the problems associated with the topic area.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory - The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) was initially developed by Bem (1974) to avoid the sex role dichotomy implied in previous psychology research, and to investigate the concept of androgyny. Considerable discussion continues in relation to the construct of androgyny and undifferentiated scoring, but it is well established in regard to the masculinity and femininity constructs. The scale has since become a popular measure of sex role beliefs and attitudes with the traits for femininity and masculinity being well validated (Shapcott, 1988; Ashmore and Del Boca, 1986; Hungerford and Sobolew-Shubin, 1987).

Criticism of this scale has questioned the lack of behavioural definitions for the different traits by Robinson and Follingstad (1985), but the scale designed to compensate for this was not considered appropriate for the purpose of this study. The Robinson Behavioural Sex Role Inventory was long and wordy with different forms for marital status, and it was felt that this would be detrimental to subjects' interest in participating and involvement. It was also believed this scale may tend to dominate the questionnaire overall because of its length. The BSRI was accepted because of its brevity and established validity.

Rape Definition Question - this section required the subject to choose what they believed to be the closest to their own definition of rape. The objective of this section was to determine if subjects held particular criteria as to how a rape is defined. The section was based on a study by Williams and Holmes (1981), and modified to suit the needs of the questionnaire and NZ law. Four definitions were provided in which the criteria to define rape varied. The 'stereotypic' definition had the greatest number of criteria to be met (unknown man, force by threat of violence,

sexual intercourse and/or violation), while the 'radical' definition required no criteria other than sexual intimacy forced on one person by another. The remaining two definitions were very similar to each other but differed in the issue of consent. The 'legal' definition stated that sexual penetration must occur without consent, and the 'liberal' definition stated that force must be used to gain sexual intercourse and/or violation. The issue of rape not possible within a marriage was dropped as a result of changes in the NZ law in 1986 (Sullivan, 1986).

Stereotypical Beliefs Regarding Rape - this section aimed to elicit any underlying beliefs subjects' may have held about rapists, rape victims and situations where rapes are likely to occur. To avoid limiting or restricting the answers, open questions were asked requesting the subjects to describe what characteristics they imagined a rapist / rape victim / rape situation to have. No prompts were given, and five lines were provided for each answer.

Sexual Vulnerability Scale - sexual vulnerability has been identified as a learned fear by females in their adolescent years (Burt and Estep, 1981). This self report scale was designed to tap into fears of vulnerability by asking the subjects if they 'felt vulnerable and concerned for their safety' in a number of different situations. They were asked to indicate the degree of vulnerability felt for each situation from a scale of 1 (no vulnerability) to 5 (very much feeling vulnerable). The subjects were not asked if these fears restricted their behaviour as it has been demonstrated that fears regarding sexually vulnerable situations do have behavioural consequences (Estep et al, 1977, cited in Burt and Estep, 1981).

ETHICAL CONCERNS

Several ethical concerns required consideration, and these affected both recruitment and procedure. These will be discussed following.

i) confidentiality - confidentiality was considered important for the subjects to feel safe in responding to the questionnaires honestly. Assurances were made at the time of recruitment and just prior to the questionnaire being given out, and the subjects were not asked to identify themselves on the response sheets. However, this denied any follow up of subjects where further discussion may have offered increased understanding of their beliefs and attitudes.

ii) informed consent - the nature of the topic is deemed socially sensitive, and it was required that the subjects be invited to join the study with some understanding of it and what was expected of them. The information provided was as brief as possible while fulfilling these requirements, and it is doubted if this information biased the responses of any of the subjects. However, the information provided may have deterred some subjects who believe this subject area is taboo, and their non-involvement may well influence the results in some way.

iii) sensitivity of the material used - the material used was not considered to be offensive, but the potential to evoke feelings of distress in subjects who had experienced similar situations was considered. In response to this concern it was decided to suggest at the time of recruitment that students who had past experiences of sexual assault may choose not to join the study. This suggestion was not always followed, and some students were willing to participate and discuss their own experience with the researcher. However, research indicates that a high proportion of women are sexually assaulted and raped (Hall, 1985; Russell, 1984), and the possibility of students in this category not participating needs to also be considered when interpreting the results.

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS

PART A

The Attribution Scale

As discussed in the Method section, further analysis of this scale was carried out using factor analysis (principal axis formation). Preliminary examination of the statistics indicated that the data was sufficiently correlated to make this a viable option, although the sample adequacy for Scenario 1 was not as high as could be desired (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure = 0.59). The number of factors was limited to three on the basis of the previous work on the scale (Meyer and Taylor, 1986). The results from each scenario were analysed separately, and the results were relatively consistent across the three scenarios. Two main factors were clearly identifiable, and the third had a scattering of loadings primarily from the second factor group.

The first factor contained both behavioural and characterological self blaming variables, and the second factor contained societal blame factors. The third factor displayed no real distinct character, but tended to contain societal blame factors with smaller loadings. This may indicate that only two factors were necessary due to the two types of self blaming variables being combined into one factor. Factor loadings for each scenario are listed in Tables 1, 2 and 3 (page 39).

The first factor (the self blaming factor) yielded eight to ten items across the scenarios. Items 11 and 13 tended to have lower loadings throughout, and are inconsistent in their loadings across the three scenarios. In the analysis of Scenario 1 item 11 was not included, and in Scenario 3 both items 11 and 13 were not included. Total variance accounted for by this factor is 18% in Scenario 1; 21.6% in Scenario 2 and 24.4% in Scenario 3. There is some inter-relationship of items 4 and

Table 1: Factor loadings for the Attribution Scale in Scenario 1.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
I should of been more aware (beh)	.6535	-.0226	-.0552
I can't take care of myself (char)	.6237	-.0198	-.1960
Violence on TV (soc)	.0241	.5741	.5592
I am too trusting (char)	.5349	.0718	-.0385
Re justice/legal system (soc)	.0601	.6691	-.3564
I was too impulsive (beh)	.4958	-.2909	.2712
I should have resisted more (beh)	.6258	.0879	.0959
Men have little respect for women (soc)	.1687	.5899	-.0667
I am a poor judge of character (char)	.5198	.0677	-.1856
I made a rash decision (beh)	.4636	-.1064	.1232
I got what I deserved (char)	.1819	.0072	.2542
Re police procedures (soc)	.0264	.4927	-.3313
I am a victim type (char)	.3562	-.0158	-.0432
I should have been more cautious (beh)	.5274	-.1300	.0414
There is too much pornography (soc)	-.0028	.5290	.4095

Table 2: Factor loadings for the Attribution Scale in Scenario 2.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
I should have been more aware (beh)	.5655	-.0065	-.2278
I can't take care of myself (char)	.5306	-.1357	-.0716
Violence on TV (soc)	.2556	.7447	.2739
I am too trusting (char)	.5514	-.0463	-.4312
Re justice/legal system (soc)	.1997	.4682	-.1151
I was too impulsive (beh)	.7097	-.1769	.2858
I should have resisted more (beh)	.5096	-.0155	-.0876
Men have little respect for women (soc)	.2574	.5864	-.3353
I am a poor judge of character (char)	.6243	-.1358	.0823
I made a rash decision (beh)	.5373	-.2493	.2239
I got what I deserved (char)	.3917	-.1204	.3268
Re police procedure (soc)	.0442	.4303	.0933
I am a victim type (char)	.4163	-.0569	.0771
I should have been more cautious (beh)	.6102	-.0500	-.1275
There is too much pornography (soc)	.1470	.6869	.1899

Table 3: Factor loadings for the Attribution Scale in Scenario 3.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
I should have been more aware (beh)	.7041	.1756	-.0613
I can't take care of myself (char)	.6539	-.0681	-.0559
Violence on TV (soc)	-.0794	.6915	-.5361
I am too trusting (char)	.7066	.2826	-.0452
Re justice/legal system (beh)	-.0984	.6080	.4457
I was too impulsive (beh)	.6206	-.1178	-.1226
I should have resisted more (beh)	.5969	-.1569	-.2062
Men have little respect for women (soc)	-.0199	.5131	.1262
I am a poor judge of character (char)	.6672	.2096	.1152
I made a rash decision (beh)	.6420	.1437	.0307
I got what I deserved (char)	.2262	-.1301	.0385
Re police procedures (soc)	-.0473	.4862	.4195
I am a victim type (char)	.2187	-.0292	.1393
I should have been more cautious (soc)	.6657	.0253	.1979
There is too much pornography (soc)	-.2257	.7619	-.2895

11 with the third factor, otherwise the self blaming items remain distinctly with this first factor. This factor (with all ten self blaming items) had a reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) of .76 (Scenario 1); .81 (Scenario 2) and .82 (Scenario 3).

The second factor consistently generated the five societal blame items in all three scenarios. The total variance accounted for by this factor is 11.9% in Scenario 1, 12.9% in Scenario 2 and 14.4% in Scenario 3. Inter-relationships between items in this factor and the third factor are common with all the items crossing into the third factor in the different scenario analyses. This societal factor had a reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) of .67 (Scenario 1); .73 (Scenario 3) and .72 (Scenario 3).

As mentioned previously, factor three contained remnants of the societal blame factor and no distinct structure was identifiable. Some crossing was evident also with items 11 and 4, but the self blaming items generally did not load very highly in this factor. Total variance for this factor was 6.4% in Scenario 1, 5.1% in Scenario 2 and 6% in Scenario 3. No reliability coefficient was computed due to the inconsistency in factor loadings.

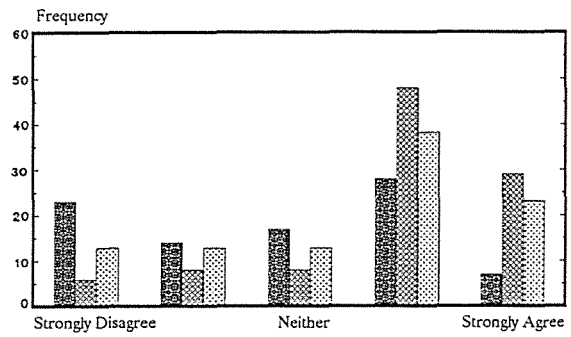
Although the factor analysis indicated that the two self blaming attribution styles may in fact be part of the same structure, the items for the two types of self blaming were separated to form sub groups in order to perform further analyses on attribution style. Sub totals of the behavioural self blame and characterological self blame were computed separately, with a third subtotal for societal blame. Scenario 1 reflects less of both types of self blame than in both Scenario 2 and 3, and behavioural self blame appears to be a more common response than characterological self blame. The subtotal averages for each group are listed in Table 4 (page 41).

Table 4: Subtotal scores of behavioural self blame, characterological self blame and societal blame across scenarios.

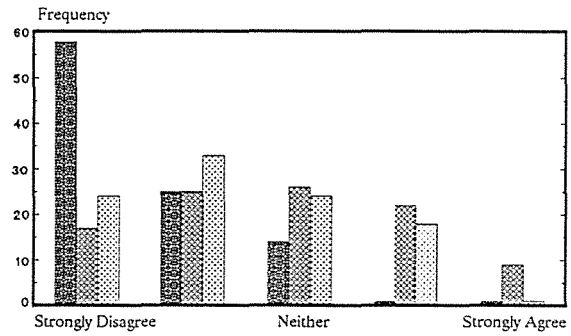
	Behavioural Self Blame	Characterological Self Blame	Societal Blame
Scenario 1	11.78	11.04	18.55
Scenario 2	16.55	14.22	19.0
Scenario 3	15.5	13.35	18.89

The self blame response style does not appear to be very strong in any of the scenarios when looking at the subtotals of each of the groups. However, this reflects the inter-item differences as they change across scenarios. Behavioural self blame is reported frequently in item 1 (I should have been more aware), item 7 (I should have resisted more) and item 14 (I should have been more cautious). This trend is particularly obvious in Scenarios 2 and 3. Characterological self blame is evident in item 4 (I am too trusting), item 9 (I am a poor judge of character and item 13 (I am a victim type), but is minimal in item 2 (I can't take care of myself) and item 11 (I got what I deserved). Societal blame displays more consistency across both items and scenarios, and the subtotal average is a more accurate reflection of the actual responses. Figures 2, 3 and 4 illustrate the inter-item and scenario differences for each group of items (pages 42, 43, 44).

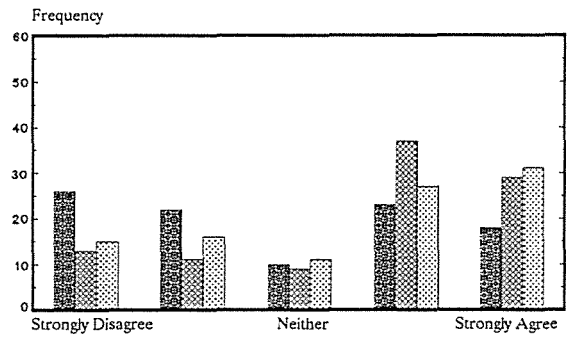
The reliability coefficients of these subgroups are not as high as could be desired, and this will need to be considered when interpreting correlations between these subgroups and the scales in Part B as the correlations may be underestimated. Characterological self blame reliability coefficients are lower than both the behavioural self blame and the societal blame reliability coefficients throughout the scenarios, and the reliability coefficients also tend to be lower across the subgroups for Scenario 1. These general trends are also reflected in the item total statistics. The reliability coefficients are listed in Table 5 (page 45).



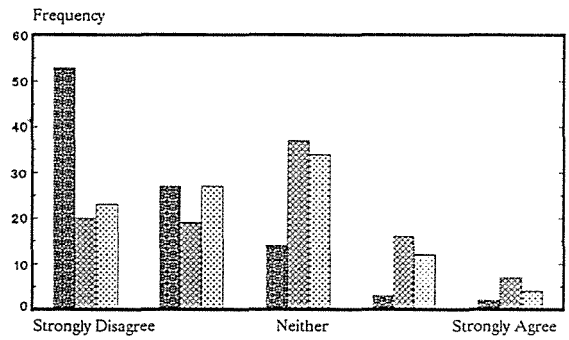
Q1: I should have been more aware



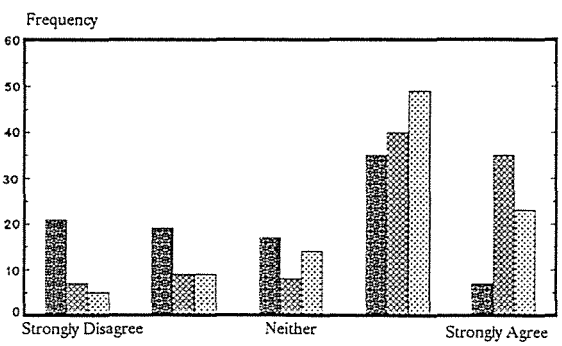
Q6: I was too impulsive



Q7: I should have resisted more



Q10: I made a rash decision



Q14: I should have been more cautious

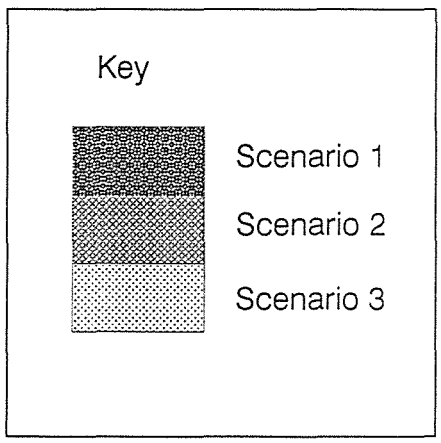


Fig. 2: Responses to behavioural self blame items in the Attribution Scale.

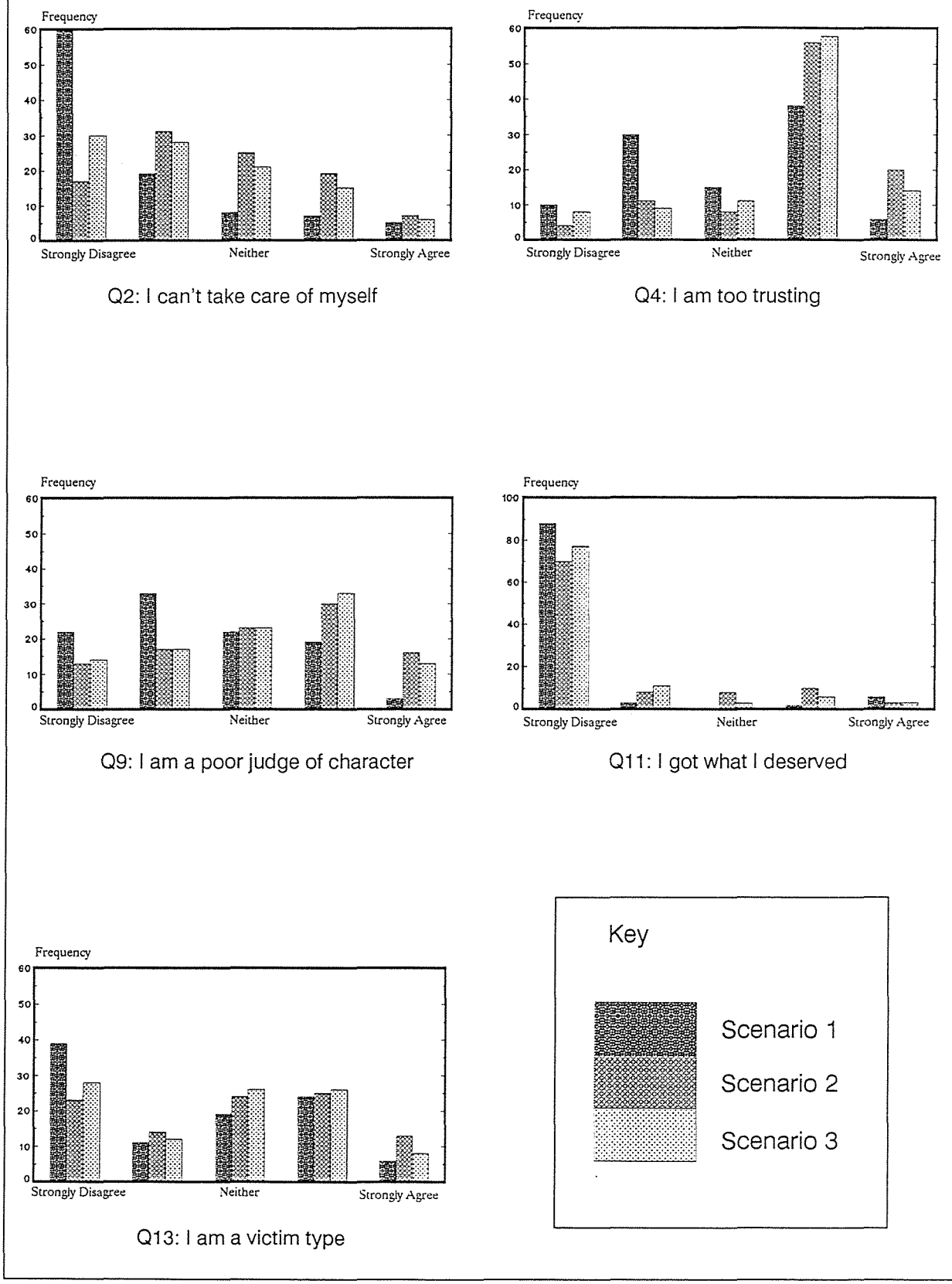


Fig. 3: Responses to characterological self blame items in the Attribution Scale.

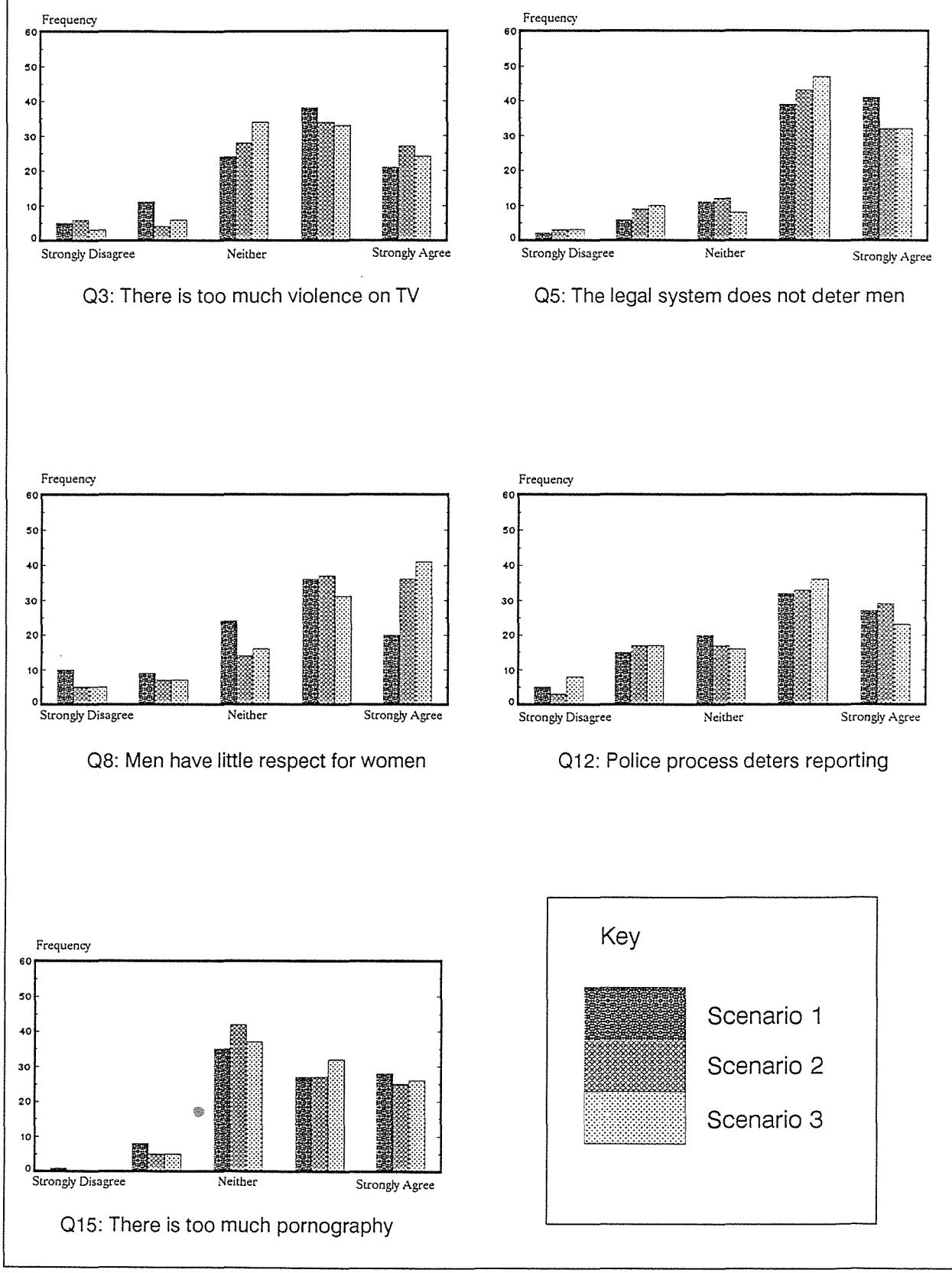


Fig. 4: Responses to societal blame items in the Attribution Scale.

Table 5: Reliability coefficients for each of the subgroups across scenarios.

	Behavioural Self Blame	Characterological Self Blame	Societal Blame
Scenario 1	0.68	0.54	0.67
Scenario 2	0.73	0.64	0.73
Scenario 3	0.77	0.63	0.72

Comments made by subjects regarding the scenarios in the open section.

Analysis of the subjects' written comments on the scenarios found expressions of empathy, acknowledgement of the social difficulties in reporting and preventing rape and judgements on the woman's behaviour in each of the scenarios. Some subjects continued to empathically respond in this section as if continuing in the victim analogue study, but most stepped out of this role and made comments from their own perspective. The subjects also reported that they had found the scenarios realistic, and reported that they or their friends had been in similar situations.

In relation to Scenario 1, 43 subjects wrote comments in the space provided. Of these comments, 18 were empathy based ('always hard to know what to do'; 'probably felt she had made the right decision'; 'no woman deserves rape'), and implied the woman had been the victim of the situation. A further 7 comments were judgmental ('should have judged his character better'; 'I would have fought more and yelled' 'she should of explained the situation better'), and three of these statements specifically indicated that the woman had failed as a mediator in the relationship. Difficulties in dealing with the situation were acknowledged for two reasons. These were because of the past relationship (6) and the fact the man was intoxicated (7). Comments also related to the difficulty of reporting this type of rape

to the police (5) and the lack of protection available for women in these situations (3). The realism of the scenario was also acknowledged with 3 subjects reporting they had been in similar situations, and 5 others expressed this is a common situation in society.

The comments in Scenario 2 reflect the role of the woman leading up to the sexual assault. Thirty-three subjects wrote comments on this scenario, and of these only 10 expressed empathy without commenting on the irresponsibility of the woman drinking excessively. In total there were 8 empathy/judgemental comments ('there was no way the woman asked for this...she should have been able to trust the man but was irresponsible to drink so much') and 10 judgemental comments ('she acted immaturely'; 'common sense should tell you not to get drunk'; 'she should have been more aware of little tricks such as detours etc'). Other comments also acknowledged the difficulty in reporting this situation because of the father's work relationship (3). In regard to the realism of the scenario only 1 subject commented that it was "good", and 1 subject felt that it was not as realistic as the first scenario.

The third scenario once again, elicited more comments that were empathy based. Of the total 35 comments written by the subjects, 17 expressed empathy for the woman ('the woman was totally innocent'; 'the knife just shattered my confidence'), acknowledging the difficult position she was in as an employee (7) and the threat of the knife (8). However, 12 subjects made judgemental comments on the woman's inability to assert herself ('should have made her intention known'; 'should have been more aware'; 'she should have made it obvious she didn't appreciate his touching'). The reality of this situation for women was also acknowledged in four of the comments.

Concluding comments regarding Part A

The scenarios prompted a variety of comments, and were believed to be realistic and easy for the subjects to relate to. Several subjects commented that Items 1 and 10 of the Attribution Scale were confusing, and one subject felt the items encouraged victim blaming unnecessarily. Overall, the subjects appeared to find both the scenarios and the attribution scale interesting and thought provoking to complete.

RESULTS - PART B

The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale

The RMAS was successfully completed by 97 subjects, and the results are based on these questionnaires. The distribution of results is positively skewed with a dispersion of scores from 19 to 64 and a range of 45. Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of total scores. The scores are relatively compact towards the lower end of the scale, remembering there is a potential total score of 117.

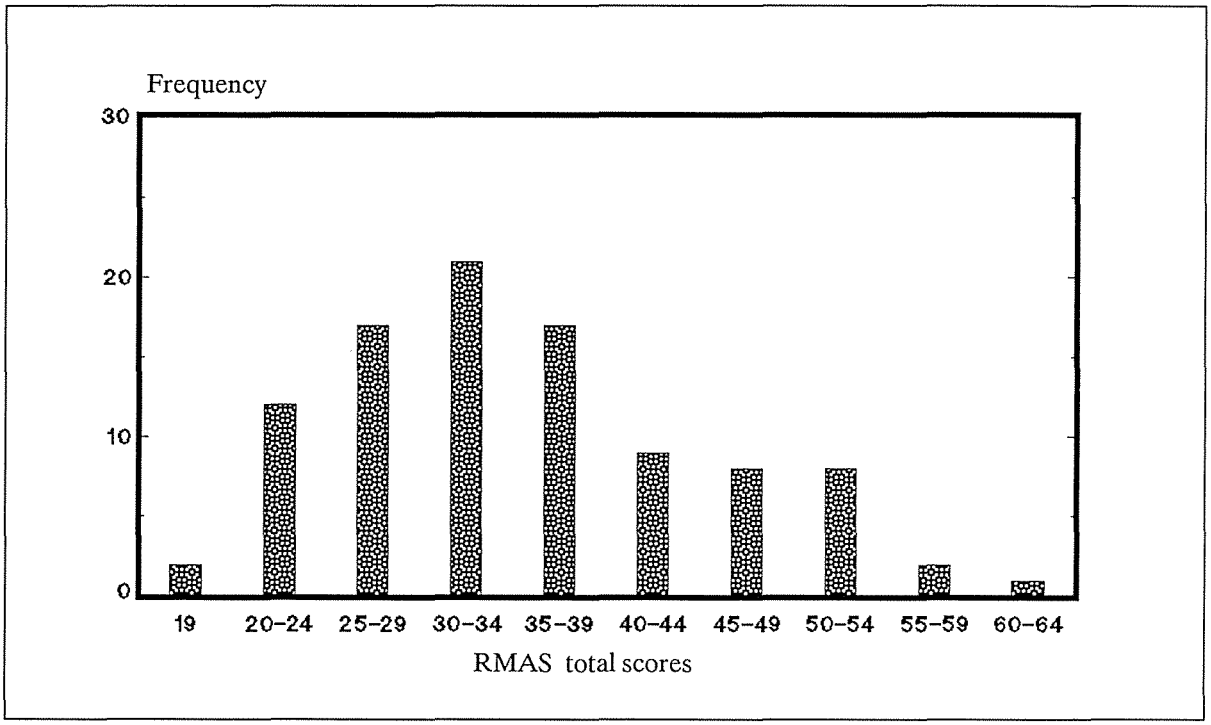


Fig. 5: Frequency of RMAS total scores.

The average score was 34.89 and the median score was 33 with a standard deviation of 9.97. The average response for each question ranges from 1.05 to 3.6, and all the questions but one had a modal score of 1. Question 4's modal answer was 4, and this is also reflected in the higher mean of 3.6. The average of each question was markedly higher in questions 1,3,4,5,7 and 8 and the frequency of scores across these individual questions tended to be more scattered. Lower

averages are seen in the questions tapping the subjects' tendency to believe women who claimed they had been raped (questions 12, 13, 14(i-vi)) and this could be related to the reduced choices available (a 5 point scale compared to 7 points on the previous questions) or the nature of the questions. Table 6 lists the means, modes and standard deviations of the individual questions.

Table 6: Mean, modes and standard deviations of the individual questions in the RMAS

	Mean	Mode	Standard Deviation
Q.1: goes to the home of a man on the first date	2.48	1	1.77
Q.2: any female can get raped	1.67	1	1.39
Q.3: attention seeking when falsely reporting rape	3.6	4	1.72
Q.4: any healthy women can resist a rapist	2.26	1	1.63
Q.5: women ask for trouble by what they wear	2.67	1	1.69
Q.6: usually the victim is promiscuous	1.54	1	1.06
Q.7: girls are responsible for sexual limit setting	2.08	1	1.37
Q.8: raped hitchikers deserve what they get	2.11	1	1.59
Q.9: stuck up girls deserve to be taught a lesson	1.32	1	0.73
Q.10: women have an unconscious wish to be raped	1.62	1	1.20
Q.11: drunk women at parties are fair game	1.78	1	1.39
Q 12: number of women who report rape maliciously	1.28	1	0.54
Q.13: number of women report rapes due to pregnancy	1.39	1	0.64
Q.14: how likely would you believe a rape report if			
i) your best friend	1.05	1	0.27
ii) a Polynesian woman	1.48	1	0.68
iii) a neighbourhodd woman	1.55	1	0.66
iv) a young boy	1.95	1	0.96
v) a Maori woman	1.49	1	0.61
vi) a Pakeha woman	1.56	1	0.8

Note: Responses were recorded on a 7 point scale except items 12, 13, 14(i-vi) which were recorded on a 5 point scale.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory

The BSRI was completed by 96 subjects, the four missing cases either not completing the inventory or giving a range of scores for certain items. The distribution of scores was from -2 to 2.65 with the majority of the scores towards the femininity end of the scale. Masculine scores were scored by 4 subjects, near masculine scores by 31 subjects, androgynous scores by 5 subjects, near feminine scores by 38 subjects and femininity scores by 18 subjects. No subjects scored in an undifferentiated style. Fig. 6 illustrates the distribution of the scores using the empirical classification system outlined by Spence (1984). The social desirability scale indicated that no subjects were responding in either a socially desirable manner or a socially undesirable manner. The scores for this scale ranged between 3.7 and 5.3.

MASCULINE	NEAR MASCULINE	ANDROGYNOUS	NEAR FEMININE	FEMININE
4.2%	32.3%	5.2%	39.6%	18.8%

Fig. 6: Bem Sex Role Inventory Scores as per Empirical Classification System (Spence, 1984)

The Rape Definition Question

The question on rape definition was completed by 97 subjects, three subjects omitting to answer this question completely. Three of the definitions were considered viable by the subjects, and the 'stereotypic' definition was not chosen at all. The remaining three definitions were chosen as follows - 15 (15.5%) subjects chose the 'legal' definition as closest to their own; 22 (22.7%) subjects chose the 'liberal' definition as closest to their own; and 60 (61.9%) subjects chose the

'radical' definition as the closest to their own definition of rape. Figure 7 illustrates the frequency of the definitions chosen.

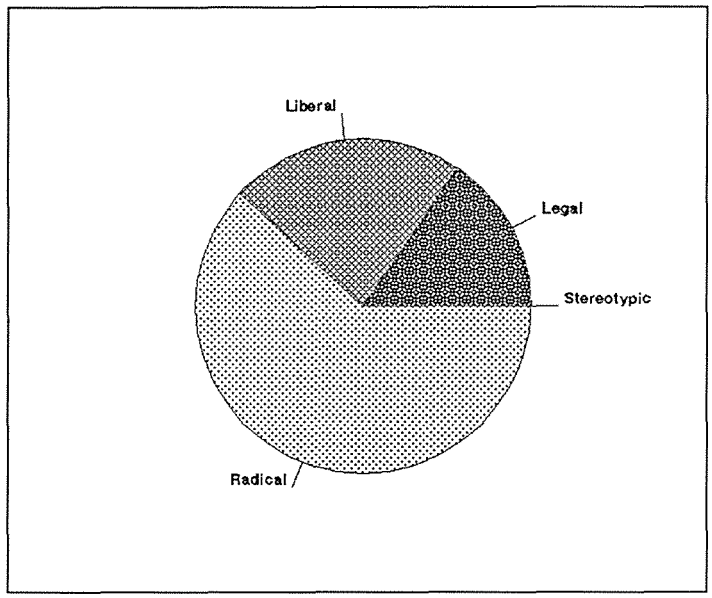


Fig. 7: Distribution of rape definition choices.

Stereotypical Beliefs on Rape

In responding to this open question most subjects tended to respond that any one could be a rapist (28 answers), a victim (60 answers) and a rape could occur anywhere (58 answers). However, there was also a tendency to qualify the statement that anyone could be a rapist or a victim by also describing possible personality and psychological characteristics of the rapist or victim. The added descriptions of the rapist tended to be negative, while those of the victim tended to be more positive although often very 'feminine'.

Table 7 lists the qualities that subjects used to describe the rapist either separately or in conjunction with the statement that anyone could be a rapist. The characteristics given have been loosely grouped under the headings of personality and personal adequacy, mental status, anger management skills, social skills and

relationships, attitude to women and physical characteristics. The language of the subjects has been retained as much as possible in this table.

Table 7: Characteristics suggested by subjects to describe an imagined rapist

i) Personality and personal adequacy

insecure (14)	thoughtless (3)	frustrated (8)
unfeeling (3)	self centred (5)	unromantic (1)
sly (1)	bored (1)	untrustworthy (1)
inconsiderate (1)	moody (3)	quiet (2)
withdrawn (1)	cruel (3)	revengeful (1)
jealous (1)	weak (2)	masculine (2)
opportunistic (1)	assertive (2)	inadequate (1)
(feels) inferior (1)	disrespectful (1)	arrogant (2)
sexual insecurity (2)	low self confidence (4)	

ii) Mental status

unstable (10)	sick (1)	demented (1)
scared (1)	low self esteem (4)	confused (1)
using alcohol/drugs (2)	childhood problems (4)	
sexual assault victim in past (2)		

iii) Anger management skills

aggressive (27)	intimidating (3)	forceful (2)
bad tempered (1)	unpredictable (1)	
needs to assert power (12)	needs to dominate (4)	
general anger and violence (16)		

iv) Social skills and relationships

lonely (9)	unpopular (2)	rejected (1)
alienated (1)	charming (3)	
poor communication skills (5)		

v) Attitude to women

chauvinistic (4)	sexually oriented (3)
negative opinion of women (7)	perceive women as sex objects (1)

vi) Physical characteristics

strong (10)	large/big (8)	fat (1)
long hair (1)	dark features (2)	well built (1)
ugly (3)	rough looking (4)	unclean (2)
attractive (1)	dirty old clothes (1)	pock marked skin (1)
30-50 years (1)	Pakeha (1)	Non-European (1)

Table 8 lists the characteristics used to describe a rape victim, and these have been loosely grouped into personality and physical characteristics. The response implying anyone could be raped was more frequently given (60), and subjects provided fewer additional characteristics in conjunction with this response. Seven subjects misinterpreted the question and responded to the question as if describing the victim after she had been raped (eg frightened, humiliated, depressed).

Table 8: Characteristics suggested by subjects to describe an imagined rape victim.

i)Personality		
gullible (3)	sensitive (2)	quiet (4)
shy (3)	well liked (6)	non-assertive (3)
weak (3)	naive (3)	polite (1)
trusting (5)	gentle (1)	meek (1)
timid (1)	helpful (1)	submissive (1)
innocent (1)	feminine (1)	independent (2)
outgoing (2)	not quick thinking (1)	
non-provocative (1)	poor judge of character (1)	
unaware (3)	drunk (1)	bad reputation (1)
ii) Physical		
small (3)	vulnerable (12)	defenseless (9)
attractive (9)	provocative/cheap appearance (4)	

In response to the question of what situation a rape was likely to occur in most of the subjects responded 'anywhere' (58) and often a suggested location was also noted. These included a remote situation (5); home or house (20); park (10); and alleyways (9). The situation rapes were imagined to occur in included at parties (20); domestic fights (2) or a babysitting situation (1). Who was likely to be the rapist was also noted by some subjects, and these included friend (1); boyfriend (1); relatives (5) and known men (7). Subjects also imagined the rape victim was more likely to be alone (32), and that rape was more likely to occur at night (12) or when it was dark (15). Use of alcohol and drugs was suggested by 13 subjects.

Sexual Vulnerability Scale

The scale measuring sexual vulnerability was completed by 98 subjects and the total scores ranged from 45 to 137. The distribution of scores was relatively normal with a slight negative skew. Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of total scores. The average score was 87.17 with a mean of 90 and standard deviation of 20.57.

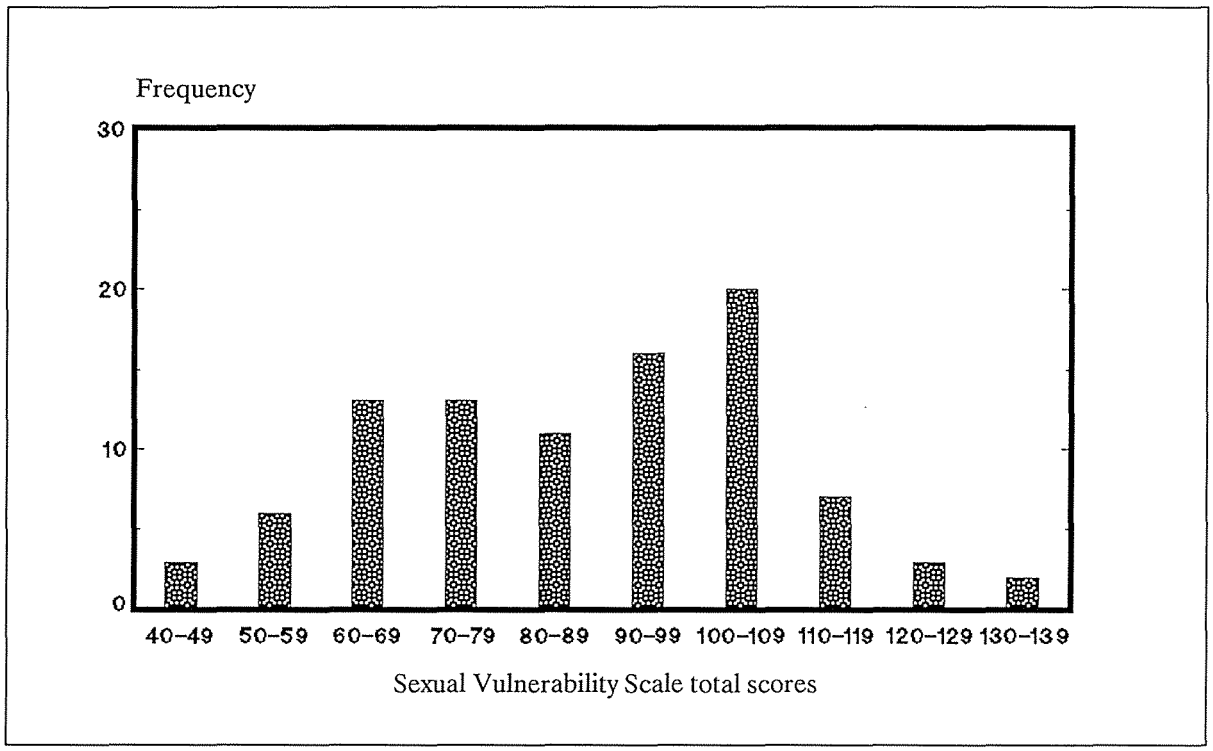


Fig. 8: Frequency of Sexual Vulnerability Scale total scores

Analysis of the individual questions identified some situations in which the subjects did not feel very vulnerable and the average score was 2 or below. These situations included taking a taxi home alone in the evening, going alone to a party held by an acquaintance, talking to a stranger when they come to your door in the daytime, going alone to a party of a friend and taking a taxi home alone after 10pm. There were two situations where the subjects reported feeling very vulnerable (walking on a dark street alone in the evening, walking through a park alone after 10 pm), both

situations with an average response of 4.05 and 4.46 respectively. Overall, the situations in the scale evenly tap into situations which were perceived as both threatening and non-threatening to the subjects. Table 9 lists the average scores and modal answers of the individual items.

Table 9:Means, modes and standard deviations of individual questions in the sexual vulnerability scale.

	Mean	Mode	Standard Deviation
Q.1: walking alone after 10pm (well lit street)	3.16	3	1.02
Q.2: alone in house in the country at night	2.79	2	1.16
Q.3: car park building after 10pm	3.81	5	1.09
Q.4: unfamiliar bar in evening	2.57	2	1.03
Q.5: alone with intoxicated man	3.64	4	1.17
Q.6: car park after 10pm	3.79	5	1.1
Q.7: alone with tradesman at home	2.09	2	1.0
Q.8: taxi in evening (alone)	1.73	1	0.9
Q.9: alone to party of acquaintance	1.89	2	0.89
Q.10: public transport after 10pm	2.81	2	1.14
Q.11: stranger at door	2.	2	0.94
Q.12: walking alone in evening (dark street)	4.05	5	1.0
Q.13: biking in suburbs after 10pm	3.18	3	1.06
Q.14: alone to party of friend	1.76	1	0.94
Q.15: sleeping in unlocked house	3.71	5	1.33
Q.16: walking alone in park (after 10pm)	4.56	5	0.73
Q.17: walking alone in evening (well lit street)	2.82	2	1.08
Q.18: alone in house in town at night	2.94	3	1.26
Q.19: only women with men after dark	2.08	2	0.95
Q.20: taxi after 10pm (alone)	1.94	2	0.99
Q.21: going past men making comments (after dark)	3.99	5	0.99
Q.22: stranger at door at night	3.48	4	1.17
Q.23: walking alone in park (evening)	3.86	5	1.03
Q.24: sleeping in house with unlocked windows	3.07	3	1.30
Q.25: public transport after 10pm (with friend)	2.33	2	1.06
Q.26: going to stranger's house after dark	3.02	3	1.09
Q.27: going to evening movies alone	2.45	2	1.05
Q.28: biking alone in suburbs after 10pm	3.1	2	1.12
Q.29: going past men making comments (daytime)	2.03	2	0.97
Q.30: car park building in evening	3.05	2&3	1.12

Results on relationships between Part B concepts

Correlational analyses were carried out to explore the relationship between rape myth acceptance (RMAS), sex role identity (BSRI) and reported sexual vulnerability measures. One tailed correlation analyses revealed no significant results although there was a slight positive correlation between RMAS and the sexual vulnerability scores (Pearson's correlation coefficient .23), and a slight positive correlation between the sexual vulnerability measures and the BSRI scores (Pearson's correlation coefficient .22). There did not appear to be any relationship at all between RMAS and BSRI (Pearson's correlation coefficient .12). Table 10 gives the correlation matrix.

Table 10:Correlation coefficients of the RMAS, BSRI and the sexual vulnerability scale.

	RMAS	BSRI	Sex Vuln.
RMAS	-	.1181	.2345
BSRI	.1181	-	.2240
Sexual Vulnerability	.2345	.2240	-

Analysis of the relationship between RMAS and the rape definition style was achieved through examining the twenty most extreme scores on the RMAS. The subjects scoring the ten highest and ten lowest RMAS scores were identified, and their rape definition style was examined to determine if any patterns emerged. Subjects who scored low on the RMAS tended to prefer the radical definition of rape as closest to their own. High RMAS scoring subjects also tended to prefer the radical definition for rape, but not as consistently as the low RMAS scorers. Table 11 lists the definition choice of these subjects.

Table 11: Rape definition choices of the subjects who scored high and low on the RMAS

Rape definition	High RMAS scorers	Low RMAS scorers
1. Legal - sexual penetration without the woman's consent	1	1
2. Liberal - woman is forced to have sexual intercourse	3	-
3. Radical - any sort of sexual intimacy forced on anyone	6	9

The same approach was used to explore the relationship between RMAS and stereotypic beliefs. High RMAS subjects used multiple description words to describe how they would imagine a rapist to be. These descriptive words commented on the rapists need to be aggressive and dominant (8) and their personality deficits (10). Mental instability was identified by 5 subjects, and one subject suggested a rapist would have a criminal history for sex crimes. Rapists were imagined to be physically unattractive (obese, pock marked skin) by one subject. Rape victims were described in a similar fashion but to a lesser degree. The victim was described as vulnerable (2), gullible (2), submissive (2), naive (2) and physically weak (3). Victims were also described as being physically attractive by three subjects, and four subjects suggested a rape victim may be someone "who may take an initial interest in a male" and "lead him on". One subject believed a rape victim could be anyone. The situations where rapes may occur were when the victim was alone, in dark places (an alley, park, secluded place) or in a situation where people had been drinking excessively (3). One subject suggested a rape could occur anywhere and suggested domestic or work environments.

Low RMAS scoring subjects were more decisive in their belief that rapists and rape victims could be anyone. The pattern of describing the rapist with various negative terms continued but to a lesser degree. Four subjects just described the rapist as anyone, and other comments included need for dominance (4), insecure (2), sly (1), frustrated (1), insensitive (1) and lacking concern for the consequences (1). One subject commented that a rapist would have a low opinion of women, while another suggested a rapist may have been drinking excessively or been a victim of sexual assault himself. A white middle class male was described as the typical rapist by one subject. Regarding the victim, all ten low RMAS scoring subjects stated the victim could be anyone. The situation a rape could occur in was also described loosely as anywhere by five subjects, the other subjects suggesting situations such as an opportune time, secluded, with few people about or a trusting situation.

Results on relationships between Part A and Part B concepts

Correlational analyses were also carried out on the attribution scale subgroups and the RMAS. One tailed correlational analyses were done as it was believed that self blaming would increase with rape myth acceptance. This was confirmed with highly significant results across all scenarios. Both behavioural and characterological self blame were positively related with rape myth acceptance scores. Societal blame did not appear to have any association with rape myth acceptance. Table 12 provides the correlation coefficients and the significance levels (page 59).

Table 12:Correlation coefficients of the RMAS, BSRI and sexual vulnerability scale with the attribution scale subgroups.

	RMAS	BSRI	Sex Vuln.
Scenario 1			
Behavioural Self Blame	.3356**	.0501	-.1231
Character. Self Blame	.4338**	-.1221	.2031
Societal Blame	-.0599	-.1113	.2975*
Scenario 2			
Behavioural Self Blame	.4107**	-.1247	.1016
Character. Self Blame	.4826**	-.2128	.2860*
Societal Blame	-.0973	-.1680	.2200
Scenario 3			
Behavioural Self Blame	.2845*	.0026	.0650
Character. Self Blame	.4339**	-.1694	.1679
Societal Self Blame	.0185	-.1322	.2660*

Note: Correlations may be underestimated due to the low reliability coefficients of the attribution scale subgroups.

NOTE: * $p = .01$ ** $p = .001$

Because of the significant results with the attribution scale and the RMAS it was decided to explore the relationship between the attribution scale subgroups and the BSRI and the sexual vulnerability measures. The correlational analyses between the BSRI and the attribution scale subgroups did not yield any significant results, but a positive correlation was noted between the societal blame factors and the sexual vulnerability scale. The figures for these correlations are also listed in Table 12.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

This study on self blaming has not only fulfilled the exploratory objectives, but in doing so it has yielded some very interesting results. Both parts of the study have realised the objectives of investigating the self blaming attribution response and the concepts of the feminist explanation, and together offer new information with which to understand the phenomena of self blaming by rape victims. Each part of the results will be discussed in turn, followed by a discussion on the implications of the results, methodological limitations and suggestions for future research.

PART A

The victim analogue design of Part A was able to elicit the self blaming response readily, and this in itself suggests the self blaming response of rape victims may be more than a response to the actual trauma of rape. Although the results do not deny the trauma of rape elicits the self blaming response, they do challenge the assumption that self blaming is purely a response to rape. Feminist writers propose that women are socialised to internalise responsibility for the rape, and that self blaming is a product of their socialisation. In light of the results of this study, this becomes a viable and attractive alternative. Further research regarding the latent potential of women to self blame will be required before any conclusions can be drawn, but the results do circumstantially suggest that self blaming is not just a response to the rape trauma.

The second objective of Part A investigated the two self blaming responses in terms of their separateness. Behavioural and characterological self blaming have been presented in the past as two distinct types of self blaming (Janoff-Bulman, 1978, 1979, 1982, 1985; Meyer and Taylor, 1986), and the impression gained from the

literature is that rape victims present with one or the other type of self blaming. This study was not able to identify these two distinct types of self blaming with a victim analogue design. The factor analysis yielded only one factor grouping of both behavioural and characterological self blaming, and both types of self blaming were found to be significantly correlated to rape myth acceptance. The original work on the attribution scale by Meyer and Taylor (1986) did differentiate between behavioural and characterological self blaming, and the inability of this study to replicate these results could be related to either practical or conceptual reasons. The two practical reasons identified as possibly contributing to the combined factor loadings involve the design of the study and the scale itself. Meyer and Taylor (1986) originally worked with a heterogeneous group of rape victims, while this study involved a homogeneous group of young female university students. Although the subjects of this study reported no difficulties with the empathic responding instructions, rape is a particularly personal assault. The responses of the subjects in this study indicates how they believe they would respond, but their responses may have differed if they had actually experienced a rape situation. Secondly, the minimal development and validation of the scale before its use, and the changes made to the scale in this study, may have created hidden differences compounding any problems with the victim analogue nature of the study.

Why this study did not differentiate between the two self blaming types in conceptual terms may be related to how self blaming is currently presented. Behavioural and characterological self blaming by rape victims was initially identified by Janoff-Bulman (1978), and the concept of two distinct and separate types of self blaming has since been promoted (Janoff-Bulman 1979, 1982, 1985; Meyer and Taylor, 1986). As mentioned previously, these two types of self blaming have always been presented as mutually exclusive - if a rape victim presented with self blaming it was either behavioural or characterological. Self blaming attribution responses made by subjects in this study were not in an either/or fashion. The

subjects' responses included both behavioural and characterological self blaming in the one scale. This suggests that the tendency to separate these two self blaming types dichotomously may be erroneous. By looking at the two types of self blaming as direct opposites, there is a tendency not to view them as parallels or as merging on a continuum. Although two types of self blaming can be easily identified and described, it may be that they do not fit comfortably as discrete propositions. Once again, further research in this area will be necessary to fully understand the nature of self blaming.

The third objective was concerned with how the attribution styles presented across the scenarios. The attributions for societal blame were consistent across scenarios, but this was not the case for the items investigating self blaming. Suggestions as to why the self blaming response appeared stronger in the second and third scenarios have been found in the literature concerning both observers' attribution styles and research with rape victims.

The first explanation involves how the subjects defined the situation in each scenario, and how this may extend to beliefs pertaining to traditional sex role scripts. Marolla and Scully (1986) discuss how the consensus of rape definition and attribution becomes problematic when the rape situation is not stereotypic. Williams (cited in Marolla and Scully, 1986) demonstrated how consensus occurs only when rape vignettes describe 'popular' noncontroversial rape (i.e. stranger rape, use of weapons and physical injury). The scenario rape descriptions were chosen because they were non-stereotypic and controversial, and the subject was left to make her own decision as to whether or not the situation could be described as rape. If the situations in the scenarios were not defined as rape by the subjects, the subjects may then have proceeded to attribute responsibility according to traditional sex role scripts. In potentially sexual relationships, these scripts prescribe the man take the initiative while the woman is responsible for setting the limits (Peplau et al,

cited in Lewin, 1985). For Scenario 1, comments by the subjects indicated they did not believe the victim precipitated the attack. The victim status of the women in the second and third scenarios was not so clearly expressed, and several subjects indicated that in some ways the victim was responsible for precipitating the attack. If the subjects believed the situation evolved as a result of the victim's behaviour then they may not so readily define the situation as rape. As a consequence of this decision they may perceive the victim as responsible for not controlling the situation. More information is required regarding how the subjects defined the situation in the scenarios, and how they define traditional sex roles before this hypothesis can be confirmed.

A second explanation may be related to the attribution styles of observers in rape scenarios. Burt and Albin (1981) have found observers express a more negative view of the victim if she has been drinking, is non-assertive and was not physically resistive to the rapist. The empathic responding in these scenarios may mirror the attributions of subjects in observer roles. The non-assertion and minimal physical resistance in the second and third scenarios, plus the alcohol involved in the second scenario may have contributed to the subjects forming a negative image of the victims. The negative view of the victim may have led the subjects to believe that these victims were more responsible for the situation they found themselves in. The responses made by the subjects in the open section supports this explanation as comments frequently judged the victim in terms of drinking alcohol, not resisting adequately or being non-assertive.

The lack of resistance by rape victims portrayed in the scenarios may also relate to why there is increased self blaming in the second and third scenarios. Renner et al (1986) discusses how most women believe they would resist rape to the point of personal injury, but statistics indicate that in an actual rape situation this does not occur. Subjects may have responded to the attribution scales retaining the belief

that they should have resisted more than what the scenario suggests. If this were so, they would be more harsh in their self blaming for the second and third scenario. Although unable to be confirmed in this study, this type of belief may also have influenced the subjects attribution style.

A fourth explanation for the subjects' inconsistent self blaming responses may be explained by some information gained in a study with rape victims. Koss, Dinero, Siebel and Cox (1988) found that raped women tended to feel more responsible for the rape if the rapist was an acquaintance or non-romantic than if raped by their husband or a family member. The reduced self blaming for Scenario 1 reflects Koss et al (1988) findings. Scenario 1 involved the victim being raped by her ex-partner, while in the other two scenarios the victims were raped by acquaintances only. The subjects may have responded in these scenarios similar to rape victims in real life when attributing more responsibility to the victims in Scenarios 2 and 3.

Once again, it is difficult to determine exactly what may have influenced the subjects in their responses in the second and third scenarios. Design weakness may have contributed due to the victim analogue design, or it may be the sequence in which the scenarios were presented to the subjects. The problems associated with the victim analogue design have already been discussed, but the sequencing of the scenarios has not yet been considered as an influence of the subjects' responses. The order of presentation of scenarios in rape research has not yet been investigated, and future research may wish to consider if this is a hidden variable.

PART B

The second part of the study yielded some promising results indicating support for the feminist explanation of self blaming by rape victims. Rape myth acceptance, as the central concept in this explanation, was measured as being relatively low with

this population sample. However, relationships with rape definition, stereotypic beliefs and sexual vulnerability were still evident. No significant relationship was found between rape myth acceptance and sex role beliefs, but this is believed to possibly be a result of the measuring instrument and population sample. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Rape myth acceptance was also found to be significantly related with the self blaming attribution style, suggesting self blaming responses increased with rape myth acceptance. All of the self blaming subgroups were significantly correlated with rape myth acceptance, and this may indicate that women who tend to self blame base their attribution decisions on mythical assumptions and beliefs. This is very supportive of the feminist explanation of self blaming, but as the correlational analyses only indicate if a relationship exists between concepts, at this stage the explanation remains hypothetical. Further inferential research will be necessary to extend our knowledge and confirm what these correlations suggest.

Although a broad overview of the study indicates pertinent relationships and support for the feminist explanation, closer examination of the results of each of the concepts reveals various quirks that may need further investigation. Item 3 in the rape myth acceptance scale ('one reason that women falsely report a rape is that they frequently have a need to call attention to themselves') scored considerably higher than any of the other items. Indirectly, this item suggests that women reporting false rapes is quite common, and the higher scoring may indicate that the subjects believe this myth to be true. By believing that rapes are frequently reported falsely the subjects can then choose to ignore the true incidence of rape, and their own vulnerability. More intense investigation may reveal if women do have a tendency to avoid acknowledging this vulnerability of their sexuality. While the explanation for the response to this item is only suggestive, specific research of this facet may indicate a mythical causality to the higher scoring.

The subjects' perceptions of their own sex role did not relate to rape myth acceptance, although this has been illustrated in other research (Utigard, Thalberg and Wheeler, 1986). Why this relationship was not found in this study could be a function of either the measurement instrument used in the study or the developmental stage of the subjects. The Bem Sex Role Inventory measures the subjects' sex role in relation to their perceptions of themselves. The developmental age of the subjects may have influenced their self reporting on the BSRI. Late adolescence is a time when traditional values are frequently challenged and the BSRI may have inadvertently measured this tendency. The current climate of popular feminist thinking, and the content of the social science courses from which the subjects were recruited, may have subliminally influenced the subjects' responses in the BSRI. The perception of what we would like to believe we are may in fact also differ from how we behave. Although the social desirability scale in the BSRI did not indicate any research biases it may not have been sensitive to this anomaly.

The BSRI did indicate a slight positive relationship with the sexual vulnerability scale. This may indicate the more feminine a woman perceives herself, the more sexually vulnerable she feels. However, this relationship was very slight and not statistically significant, and therefore it would be too presumptive to conclusively state this to be a causal relationship at this point. More searching research would need to investigate these two concepts before any firm conclusions can be drawn.

The next section on rape definition choice was based on a previous study by Williams and Holmes (1981), but the results of this study differed from those of the original study. Williams and Holmes (1981) found that the majority of their subjects (recruited from the general population) selected the stereotypic rape definition whereas in this study the radical definition was chosen most often. The difference in results may be a result of the homogeneous population sample of this study, and/or

the subjects' exposure to an awareness raising campaign regarding sexual harassment at the university earlier in the year. The radical definition for rape in the questionnaire is very similar to how one would define sexual harassment, and the subjects may have merged these concepts into an all absorbing definition.

In regard to the results on stereotypic beliefs of the actors in a rape situation, the subjects attended to the psychological characteristics more than any other means of describing a person. The rapist was generally described as maladjusted, and this is in line with much of the literature and research on rapists (Groth, 1980). However, Shapcott (1988) contends the literature available is generally based on research done with convicted rapists, and does not consider the number of rapes where there was no conviction or the rape was not reported. After examining the literature extensively, Shapcott (1988) concludes that the belief that rapists are abnormal is more of a 'comfort myth' rather than a reflection of the real world. Shapcott (1988) suggests that by believing rapists are 'abnormal', society can believe they are readily identifiable and that most men don't rape. Whether the subjects' responses to this section were based on the need to retain this 'comfort myth' or whether they had been exposed to material written by those working with convicted rapists is unknown, but the results once again indicates the scope for future research in this field.

The stereotypic beliefs expressed regarding rape victims were closer to reality with the majority of subjects recognising that no woman is immune to rape (The London Rape Crisis Centre, 1984), and several recognising that alcohol and drugs are often implicated (Koss, 1985). However, responses describing how the subjects imagine the personality of a rape victim to be were not always based on reality. Although past research has identified a 'rape victim personality' (Selkin, cited in Koss, 1985), Koss (1985) found in a study with hidden rape victims that rape victims cannot be differentiated by their personality. The subjects may have based their impression of

a typical rape victim on either past material indicating there is a 'rape victim personality', or be expressing a belief that a rape victim is somehow different from other women. The belief that rape victims are somehow different is also a 'comfort myth', and encourages a false sense of safety and invulnerability - that "rape won't happen to me".

An alternative explanation for the tendency of the subjects to concentrate on psychological descriptors for rapists and rape victims may be a consequence of the university courses the subjects were enrolled in. These results may eflect an element of demand characteristics filtering through as the study was implemented within the psychology discipline. Different population samples may have yielded different results, and research working with a wider demographic base may have gained a more substantial impression.

The sexual vulnerability scale results support the statement by Burt and Estep (1981) that virtually all women are aware to some extent of the fear and threat of sexual assault. Unfortunately how much this fear or threat restricts the subjects' freedom was not measured, but a study carried out in London indicated the majority of female respondents felt restricted in their lives because of this type of fear (Hall, 1985). There is no reason to suspect that the subjects in this study would respond any differently to questions investigating this, and Estep et al (1977, cited in Burt and Estep, 1981) has already demonstrated that sexually vulnerable fears do have behavioural consequences.

Interestingly, and unexpectedly, sexual vulnerability was positively related to societal attribution. A potential explanation for this may be that increased awareness of rape as a social problem also increases one's awareness of one's own vulnerability to rape. This indirectly supports the feminist explanation for rape - while women continue to accept the 'male protection racket' myth, they believe they will be

protected from rape if remaining within the restraints of the traditional sex roles. However, with increasing awareness of the reality of rape, women become more aware of their own vulnerability. This explanation of the relationship between the two scales is purely hypothetical, but in itself reveals an interesting phenomenon - that the social control component of rape as suggested by feminist writers, may be more powerful when overt than when hidden within social mythology.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS

As mentioned previously, these results have challenged the assumption that self blaming is a response to the trauma of rape. Although this does not automatically provide support for the feminist explanation of self blaming, it does suggest that self blaming may be more of a stable characteristic of women than previously anticipated. This, in conjunction with the significant relationship between self blaming and rape myth acceptance, promotes the feminist theory as a very promising explanation of the self blaming response of rape victims. The results of this study are stimulating as it moves the self blaming response away from being an individual's problem to something created by society. In doing this we are able to see the problem of rape, and how women respond to rape, as a social response rather than fragmented into the realm of the individual. This shifts the problem of rape from being a private dilemma into the public arena, and will challenge the old assumptions of how we should deal with rape at both the preventative and intervention stages.

The results of this study, in supporting the feminist analysis of self blaming, implies that we need to understand rape and the needs of rape victims within a social context. This claim has been supported by other researchers in the field. Koss and Burkhart (1989) suggest that in working with rape victims it is important to identify the pathogenic effects of rape mythology, and Renner et al (1988) have suggested

that not defining rape as a social problem may lead to an incomplete intervention. Identification of the relationship between rape myth acceptance and self blaming responses endorses the need to explore therapeutic interventions to encompass a psycho-social framework. This may include educating women in regard to rape mythology and their self blaming responses, and in doing so encouraging women to gain greater insight into their own development and socialisation processes. Intervention strategies would need to include both emotional and cognitive components. The emotional component would enable the rape victim to recognise and express how she is feeling about herself and the rape experience within an accepting environment; the cognitive component would enable the rape victim to understand the social processes associated with self blaming and guilt. Therapeutic interventions would be designed to counter the debilitative aspects of rape trauma and create a time for positive self growth.

Incorporating rape mythology into a psycho-social therapeutic model will enable rape victims to view their experience from an alternative framework, and in doing so understand the process of self blaming. This will inevitably result in attitude change within a rape victim population, but it would be preferable that the educative work move beyond the rape victim and into all parts of the society. Increased general understanding and appreciation of the pervasiveness of rape and rape mythology would encourage women to no longer accept rape as their lot in life, and it would also challenge the old assumptions and values restricting and victimizing women. However, to achieve this goal, more will need to be known about what purpose rape mythology serves within our society. Janeway (1971) comments that social mythology always serves a purpose for those who believe in it - and unless this purpose is known attitudes regarding rape will not be easily changed.

METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

Although the study has achieved what it set out to do, it has been handicapped by some methodological factors that were not fully anticipated. These factors have been mentioned in passing in the previous discussion section, and include the generalizability of the study, the quantifiable methodology and the question of demand characteristics. These factors will be discussed in more detail now.

The Problem of Generalizability

Under the heading of generalizability, two areas require consideration. The first is questioning how valid is it to generalize results from a victim analogue study onto women who have experienced rape. Empathic responding research has been studied with topics of minimal emotional content, but there have been no studies validating this type of research with a topic as intimate and intrusive as rape. Although a rape victim can be anyone, the question remains as to how well a woman can imagine and respond to an attribution scale as if she has been raped. Assumptions we hold about the world such as personal invulnerability and our personal control over the world are often shattered when a woman is raped (Koss and Burkhart, 1989; Janoff-Bulman, 1989), and it is unknown as to how these intact assumptions may influence responses in a victim analogue study on rape. At present there are no answers to this question, and until further information is available interpretation of the results will need to consider this factor.

The second concern regarding generalisation of this study concerns the population sample used in the study. The population sample was chosen for specific reasons as discussed previously, but this group is not representative of the general population. Problems relating to the homogeneous nature of this population sample have already been discussed when appropriate, and it is necessary always to keep

this in mind if generalizing the results of this study onto a wider population. Hypotheses about the general population based on the information from this study can be considered, but until further testing is carried out they do remain hypotheses.

The Quantitative Measures

Quantitative measures and scales were used primarily because this was an exploratory research project, and the objective of the study was to identify relationships within the research context. However, while the objectives were achieved some limitations in using these have been noted. The BSRI and the sexual vulnerability scale offered information on the subjects' perceptions of themselves, but unfortunately we had no means of measuring how these perceptions affected the subjects' behaviours. As mentioned previously, the self report scale of the BSRI measures how we perceive ourselves, but how we behave may be more informative in regard to sex roles. Similarly, the sexual vulnerability scale tells us how much vulnerability of fear a woman may feel in certain situations but we do not know if these fears actually restrict her behaviour. The limitations of these two scales were not recognised when the study was designed, and in future research it would be worthwhile to consider how to remedy these limitations. This may be achieved simply through asking for self reports on behaviours as opposed to self reports on characteristics and feelings.

The section on measuring rape definition also causes some concern. The concern is regarding the forced choice nature of the section, and whether or not this method was too restrictive. In defining rape, we can logically form a legal type definition, or we can bring into play a number of situational and mythical variables in forming a judgment. The forced choice nature of this section catered primarily for legal definitions and did not investigate the processes subjects use when defining rape. In this section an open question may have yielded more useful information, and

insight as to how the subjects defined each of the assaults in the scenarios.

The attribution scale may also have had similar problems to the BSRI and the sexual vulnerability scale if it had not been for the section where subjects could write comments of the scenarios. This section yielded some interesting information on how the subjects evaluated the victim's behaviour in each of the scenarios, and in doing so provided greater insight as to their attribution scale responses.

Subject Reactivity and Social Desirability

The sensitive nature of the research topic is prone to subjects responding in such a way that they believe is either socially acceptable, or in giving the answers they believe the researcher desires. The design incorporated means to reduce both these artifacts through anonymity and the material being presented in an objective manner, but ethical demands required the subjects knowing what was involved in the study at the recruitment stage. It is hoped that Part A remained relatively free of these biases as the subjects were not informed of the objectives for this part, but in Part B the subjects were aware that attitudes and beliefs to rape were being measured. It is felt that reactivity and social desirability is more likely to have occurred in Part B, and although not measurable it must be appreciated that the subjects may have responded to the questionnaire in a manner they believe was appropriate for a student in a social science courses, and for research in a social science discipline.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Throughout the discussion, comments have been made where future research could improve the knowledge base we already have. These suggestions have been quite specific and directly related to the concept being discussed. This next section

will discuss suggestions for research in the future on a much broader level.

Research potential in the area of rape, or in the area of how women respond to rape appears to be unlimited. Although much is already known about the response of self blaming, little is actually known about the process of self blaming. The feminist writers have created an image of what the process is about, but the image still remains illusory and hypothetical. Closer examination of both the cognitive and emotive components of the process of self blaming may provide us with some insight as to its role in the social context.

By examining the processes related to self blaming, research may also work towards understanding what purpose self blaming fulfils. This aspect is important as it is directly related to the original doubt regarding its therapeutic value. Rape mythology has been described as pathogenic by Koss and Burkhart (1989), and this study has identified self blaming as closely associated with rape mythology. There is a need for further research with these two concepts to understand why rape mythology and self blaming are not therapeutic, and what intervention would be most appropriate in countering their effect. Suggestions for therapeutic interventions have already been discussed, but more detailed research on development and evaluation of therapeutic interventions would be desirable.

A further area of research would be to work with the concepts the feminist writers describe as maintaining the rape ideology in our society. This study found relationships between rape mythology and all the concepts involved other than the sex role measure. Further research of the relationships between these concepts may yield information on the process of how rape mythology is maintained. Research methods would ideally contain both quantitative measures to gain empirical evidence of the here and now, plus also qualitative measures with which to gather the more subtle innuendoes involved in this research topic.

Investigating rape ideology from a feminist perspective would involve working with women of all ages, who have or have not experienced rape, and who follow different life styles. However, to balance the research and to complement the female understanding, one may also want to investigate rape and rape mythology from the male perspective. At the end of her analysis on rape, Brownmiller (1975) contends that women need to work together to deny rape a future, but in order to achieve this the co-operation of men is also required. The same goes for research; to understand rape there is a need to examine rape as problem for women, a problem for men and as a problem for society.

APPENDIX 1

RAPE MYTHOLOGY

APPENDIX 1 i) Introduction

APPENDIX 1 ii) Rape myths about the victim

APPENDIX 1 iii) Rape myths about the rapist

APPENDIX 1 iv) Rape myths in general

APPENDIX 1 i) INTRODUCTION TO RAPE MYTHS

"Many myths exist about sexual violation which provide men with perfect excuses to avoid taking responsibility for their violations and women with a false sense of security that they can control their environments and so prevent rape. ....Myths about sexual violation exist so that society does not have to acknowledge its ills..."

(Sullivan, 1986, p 12)

Myths about rape are numerous. Usually they focus on the victim, sometimes the rapist and sometimes they consist of general beliefs and assumptions. This list was compiled from several books and articles on rape, but in no way is this list conclusive. Although rape myths appear concrete and emphatic, they also hold a chameleon quality - subtly changing form to meet the demands of the current context. The myths listed in this appendix are all readily refuted, and simple arguments have been included to illustrate their mythical basis. They have been separated into the three groups depending upon their focus, but this is purely categorical as opposed to illustrating how they appear in reality.

APPENDIX 1 ii) RAPE MYTHS ABOUT THE VICTIM

Nice girls don't get raped - Research now indicates that there is no specific 'rape victim personality' (Koss, 1985), and no group of women is especially prone to rape. Victims come from all ethnic backgrounds, age groups and occupations (Barrington et al, cited in Sullivan, 1986).

Some women ask (deserve) to be raped - This myth sustains the illusion that women can be safe from rape. However, women from all walks of life have been raped. The London Rape Crisis Centre (1984) report helping girls and women from 3 years to 90 years of age. In conjunction with this, all women should have the right to say 'no', to wear what they like and to go where they want to go without being vulnerable to the accusation of provoking sexual assault.

Women fantasize about being raped - Women may fantasize about sexual encounters, but in their fantasies they can choose their partner and choose the sexual activity. This is not the same as being raped, a situation where the woman's choice is taken away from her. The media portrays rape as glamorous, but the reality for the woman is painful, humiliating and frightening.

Women can't be raped if they resist - Women are not always as physically strong as their rapist, or prepared for the attack. Often women's clothing is not conducive to fighting or running. Women's socialization also prepares the female to take a passive role as opposed to the male role which is aggressive. In addition to this, the woman may perceive herself to be in less danger behaving passively rather than being actively resistant.

Women enjoy being raped - Women do not report having enjoyed their rape. Long and short term effects of depression, loss of self confidence, somatic complaints, traumatophobia, nightmares and sexual dysfunction also indicate that rape is not perceived as a pleasant experience for the woman.

Women make false and malicious allegations about rape - In the 1970's the New York Police Force carried out an experiment to determine how frequently women reported rape falsely. The percentage of false allegations was found to be 2% - exactly the same as other crimes (London Rape Crisis Centre, 1984). This myth has led to the unique situation in the past where the victim has had to prove her credibility before that of the defendent.

Most rapes are committed at night on women who go out alone at night - Although many rapes are committed at night, it is frequently in either the victim's or the rapist's home (Hall, 1985). Often the rapist is known to the victim, or is a family member (Hall, 1985).

APPENDIX 1 iii) RAPE MYTHS ABOUT THE RAPIST

Men are unable to control their sexual desires - Many rapes are premeditiated. In many cases rapists are reported as requiring the victim to sexually stimulate them to encourage an erection. Men can also stop themselves at any stage during intercourse (Shapcott, 1988). Also, Groth (1979) reports that a third of the offenders he has worked with were married and describe their sex lives as relatively normal at the time they committed the rape.

Rapists are strangers - As mentioned earlier, women are frequently raped by someone they know, or a family member. Russell (1984, cited in Koss et al 1988) reports 88% of the rape victims in the San Francisco study knew their offender.

A real man doesn't take 'no' for an answer - The issue of consent is often the basis of confusion in rape cases where the man believes the woman consented to have sexual intercourse. What the man may describe as seduction is often what the woman describes as violation.

Rape is an act committed by a maniac - Rapists are not generally referred for psychiatric treatment as this has not been found to be successful in the past. Groth (1979) describes rape as a behavioural act as opposed to a psychiatric condition, and it is believed the rapist's behaviour can be changed through psychotherapy.

APPENDIX 1 iv) GENERAL MYTHS ABOUT RAPE

Rape is a sexual act - Groth (1979) describes rape as a pseudo sexual act, and discusses the motivation behind rape as not primarily for sexual satisfaction but power and hostility based.

Everyone is against rape - Rape and/or coerced sexual intercourse is often the butt of many jokes, and this in itself indicates some acceptance of this type of behaviour. Wilson (1978) comments on the the number of jokes and stories told about rape, and challenges the sincerity and concern of the general public in regard to denying rape a future.

Rape always involves physical violence - Weis and Borges (cited in Renner et al, 1988) discuss the criteria for a rape victim to be considered legitimate. These include a stranger rapist, involving violence and active resistance by the victim. Many rapes involve threats of violence and/or mental coercion and are committed by someone known to the victim. While these rapes may not fulfil the 'social' criteria as legitimate sexual assaults, they do fulfil the legal requirements and the victim may still feel violated as a result.

Rape is no big deal - This myth suggests that rape has no lasting effects on the victim, but in conjunction with the physical injuries a woman can receive research on the Rape Trauma Syndrome and long term studies on the effect of rape indicate that rape can be very detrimental to the victim's mental health.

There is no such thing as rape - This myth is interwoven with the mythcial beliefs that women cannot be raped if they resist, women actually enjoy being raped and that rape is no big deal. In regard to this belief the legal issue of consent is essentially a non-issue.

APPENDIX 2

CONSENT FORM AND DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS_

APPENDIX 2 i) The questionnaire consent form

APPENDIX 2 ii) The questionnaire demographic form

APPENDIX 2 i) - Consent Form

SURVEY ON SOCIALIZATION AND ATTITUDES
TO SEXUAL ASSAULT

CONSENT FORM

I ....., have had explained to me the nature of the above research study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions, and these have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent to take part in the study on the basis of the information provided. I understand that I am under no obligation to continue with the study if I wish to withdraw. A decision not to participate is not related to the grading of any of my papers.

Subject Name :

Signature : Date :

If you would like to receive information on results of study, please leave your address and telephone number in the space below.

APPENDIX 2 ii) - Demographic Questions

Please answer the following questions or tick the appropriate answer.

Age : years ____ months ____

Year at University : Year 1 ____
Year 2 ____
Year 3 ____

Course : Arts (Humanities) ____
(Social Sciences) ____
Science ____
Technology ____
Business Studies ____
Agriculture and Horticulture ____

Marital Status : Married ____
Single ____
De Facto ____
Divorced ____
Separated ____

Religion : _____

Ethnic Group : _____

Family Background :
Family life (predominantly) :
- nuclear family ____
- single parent family ____
- extended family ____
- foster family ____
- other (please describe)____

Family location during childhood predominantly) :
- small town ____
- city ____
- rural ____
- transient ____

Number of siblings : ____

Parents' Occupation :
- Mother _____
- Father _____

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE - PART A

APPENDIX 3 i) Part A instructions

APPENDIX 3 ii) Scenario 1

APPENDIX 3 iii) Scenario 2

APPENDIX 3 iv) Scenario 3

APPENDIX 3 v) The Attribution Scale

APPENDIX 3 i) Part A Instructions

PART A

The first part of this survey requires you to read three scenarios and to complete three questionnaires. Read each scenario before completing the following questionnaire. While reading each scenario imagine that the situation described actually happened to you and not to another woman. In other words, you are the 'I' described in the scenario. You may want to read the scenario in this way two or three times.

After reading the scenario, turn to the following page to complete the questionnaire. The questionnaire contains statements suggesting reasons why the situation developed as it did. Respond to the questionnaire the same way as you read the scenario - as if you were the woman involved.

Please indicate on the scale what you consider to be the most appropriate answer by circling one number only. Space is provided at the end of the questionnaires for you to add extra comments as necessary. Work through each scenario and questionnaire in turn. Please do not return to earlier scenarios or response sheets.

APPENDIX 3 ii) Scenario 1

Remember to read this scenario as if the situation actually happened to you - you are the 'I' described in the scenario.

My boyfriend and I had been living together for several months, but things hadn't been going very well since the end of summer. He was drinking alot, and seemed to be very sensitive over little things. His moodiness was wearing me down, and 2 months ago I decided to move out and find a place of my own. Unfortunately, he couldn't accept that I no longer wanted to live with him and he continued to come around and harrass me. Sometimes he would threaten to hurt me if I wouldn't move back in with him, and my friends advised me to take out a non-molestation order. Even this did not stop him, and it seemed impossible to talk to him about the situation. The last night he came around, he broke into my flat while I was having a shower and refused to go when I asked. He started touching my body intimately, and wouldn't stop even though I protested. Knowing from the smell of beer that he had been drinking, I tried not to anger him by fighting against him, but attempted to distract him by talking of other things. This didn't work, and when I asked him to leave me alone again, he became aggressive and dragged me out of the shower. I begged him to go, but he just kept on touching me and pushing me along the hall to the bedroom. He threw me on the bed and pinned me down with his elbows. He then forced intercourse on me although I had said I did not want to.

APPENDIX 3 iii) Scenario 2

Remember to read this scenario as if this situation actually happened to you - you are the 'I' described in the scenario.

I had been home to my parents' for the weekend, and I had arranged a ride back to Wellington with a guy that worked in Dad's office. Although we ha never met before we had quite a few things in common to talk about, and time was passing pleasantly enough. It was a hot day, and after a couple of hours of driving we stopped for a drink at a hotel. I don't normally drink beer very much, and as he kept filling up my glass it wasn't long before I was well on the way to being quite drunk. When I did realise tha I had been doing most of the drinking, he said that he was driving and filled up my glass again. After an hour or more we got back into the car, and started to drive south again. He asked me if I would mind if he made quick detour to check one of his favourite haunts - a picnic ground by th river we were driving past. Feeling obliged to him because he was giving me the lift I said that it was OK by me. When we got down to the picnic ground he parked the car down an old track away from sight of the road. A this point he grabbed hold of my arm and pulled me toward him. He started pulling at my T shirt, and I kept telling him to stop, that I didn't like being touched. He didn't stop, and as he was so much bigger than me it wasn't long before he had got my T shirt and skirt off. He then partially undressed himself, and had intercourse with me. I tried to resist, but he was much larger than me and my determination seemed drained after drinkin so much beer.

APPENDIX 3 iv) - Scenario 3

Remember to read this scenario as if this situation actually happened to you - you are the 'I' described in the scenario.

I had been finding it hard to budget on my wages, and had decided that I needed to find part time work to supplement my income. I had been checkin out the local newspaper and eventually there was a small ad for someone t work in a fast food place, requesting applicants apply in person. I did s and the manager asked me to come back that evening for a trial run. He said that I shouldn't have any bother learning the job but he always preferred to check this way. I was really pleased and more than happily went back that evening. We worked until closing time at 11.30 pm, and the began to clean up. I was quite certain I had got the job, as I didn't see to be having any bother with the work and the manager seemed to like me well enough. I didn't like the way he kept patting me on the shoulder and bottom, but thought that if I got the job that it was something I could live with. However, it seemed as if he saw my acceptance of his touching as something else, as when we had finished cleaning up he cornered me and began kissing me. I tried to wriggle my way out, but he blocked my way with his own body. I was beginning to get frightened as I knew I was alon with him, and had seen the knife he placed on the bench beside us. I had never been in a situation like this before, and as he persisted in touching me all over I just felt myself become numb. I was muttering "don't do this" over and over, but he carried on and had intercourse with me. When he was finished he paid me my wages and rang a taxi for me.

APPENDIX 3 v) - Attribution Scale

Please respond to the next section about the scenario you have just read, remembering to respond to the statements as if you were the woman described.

Circle the number you believe is most appropriate according to the scale below. Please do not leave any questions unmarked, and to circle only one number.

1 - strongly disagree with the statement
2 - moderately disagree with the statement
3 - neither agree or disagree with the statement
4 - moderately agree with the statement
5 - strongly agree with the statement

1. I should of been more aware	1	2	3	4	5(1)
2. I can't take care of myself	1	2	3	4	5
3. There is too much violence on T.V.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I am too trusting	1	2	3	4	5
5. The justice/legal system does not deter men from behaving this way	1	2	3	4	5(5)
6. I was too impulsive	1	2	3	4	5
7. I should have resisted more	1	2	3	4	5
8. Men have too little respect for women	1	2	3	4	5
9. I am a poor judge of character	1	2	3	4	5
10. I made a rash decision	1	2	3	4	5(10)
11. I got what I deserved	1	2	3	4	5
12. Police procedures discourage women from reporting these cases, and so they go on unchecked	1	2	3	4	5
13. I am a victim type	1	2	3	4	5
14. I should have been more cautious	1	2	3	4	5
15. There is too much pornography	1	2	3	4	5(15)

APPENDIX 4

QUESTIONNAIRE - PART B

APPENDIX 4 i) The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale

APPENDIX 4 ii) The Bem Sex Role Inventory

APPENDIX 4 iii) The Rape Definition and Stereotypical Beliefs Section

APPENDIX 4 iv) The Sexual Vulnerability Scale

APPENDIX 4 i) The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale

Please indicate your belief by circling the most appropriate number on each scale. Please do not circle more than one number or give a range of numbers.

1. A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Any female can get raped.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. One reason that women falsely report a rape is that they frequently have a need to call attention to themselves.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she really wants to.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. When women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. If a girl engages in necking (kissing) or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7

8. Women who get raped while hitchiking get what they deserve.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7

9. A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7

10. Many woman have an unconscious wish to be raped, and many then unconsciously set up a situation in which they are likely to be attacked.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7

11. If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her, whether she wants to or not.

Strongly Agree — Strongly Disagree

1_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7

12. What percentage of woman who report a rape would you say are lying just because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse? Please circle your choice

1) almost all
2) about 3/4
3) about half
4) about 1/4
5) almost none

13. What percentage of reported rapes would you guess were merely invented by women who discovered they were pregnant and wanted to protect their own reputation? Please circle your choice.

1) almost all
2) about 3/4
3) about half
4) about 1/4
5) almost none

14. A person comes to you and claims they were raped How likely would you be to believe their statement if the person were :

your best friend?
1) always
2) frequently
3) sometimes
4) rarely
5) never

a Polynesian woman?
1) always
2) frequently
3) sometimes
4) rarely
5) never

a neighbourhood woman?
1) always
2) frequently
3) sometimes
4) rarely
5) never

a young boy?
1) always
2) frequently
3) sometimes
4) rarely
5) never

a Maori woman?
1) always
2) frequently
3) sometimes
4) rarely
5) never

a Pakeha woman?
1) always
2) frequently
3) sometimes
4) rarely
5) never

APPENDIX 4 ii) - The Bem Sex Role Inventory

Please indicate on a scale from 1 to 7 how true of you these various characteristics are. A list of the weighting to each number follows:

1 never or almost never true
2 usually not true
3 sometimes but infrequently true
4 occasionally true
5 often true
6 usually true
7 always or almost always true

Please do not leave any characteristic unmarked, and give only one number per item.

_____1. Self reliant
_____2. Yielding
_____3. Helpful
_____4. Defends own beliefs
_____5. Cheerful
_____6. Moody
_____7. Independent
_____8. Shy
_____9. Conscientious
(10)_____10. Athletic
_____11. Affectionate
_____12. Theatrical
_____13. Assertive
_____14. Flatterable
_____15. Happy
_____16. Has strong personality
_____17. Loyal
_____18. Unpredictable
_____19 Forceful
(20)_____20. Feminine
_____21. Reliable
_____22. Analytical
_____23. Sympathetic
_____24. Jealous
_____25 Has leadership abilities
_____26. Sensitive to the needs of others
_____27. Truthful
_____28. Willing to take risks
_____29. Understanding
(30)_____30. Secretive
_____31. Makes decisions easily
_____32. Compassionate
_____33. Sincere
_____34. Self-sufficient
_____35. Eager to soothe hurt feelings
_____36. Conceited
_____37. Dominant
_____38. Soft spoken
_____39. Likeable
(40)_____40. Masculine
_____41. Warm
_____42. Solemn
_____43. Willing to take a stand
_____44. Tender
_____45. Friendly
_____46. Aggressive
_____47. Gullible
_____48. Inefficient
_____49. Acts as a leader
(50)_____50. Childlike
_____51. Adaptable
_____52. Individualistic
_____53. Does not use harsh language
_____54. Unsystematic
_____55. Competitive
_____56. Loves children
_____57. Tactful
_____58. Ambitious
_____59. Gentle
(60)_____60. Conventional

APPENDIX 4 iii) - Rape Definition and Stereotypic Beliefs Section

Please read the definitions of rape provided and select the definition that comes closest to your own definition of rape. Circle the number of that statement.

1. Rape is sexual penetration of a woman by a man, without the woman's consent.

2. Rape is when a man forces a woman to have sexual intercourse and/or some other sexual act.

3. Rape is when an unknown man attacks a woman and forces her (by threat of violence) to have sexual intercourse and/or some other sexual act.

4. Rape is any sort of sexual intimacy forced on one person by another.

In the space below could you please describe what characteristics you would imagine a rapist to have :

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

In the space below could you please describe what characteristics you would imagine a rape victim to have :-

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

In the space below could you please describe what situation you would imagine a rape to occur in :-

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX 4 iv) - Sexual Vulnerability Scale

Some women report feeling vulnerable and concerned for their safety in the following situations. Please indicate the degree of vulnerability that you feel by listing one number in the space provided after each situation listed below. Please do not miss out any situations.

Degree of vulnerability

1. None
2. A little
3. A fair amount
4. Much
5. Very much

1. walking alone in a well lit street after 10 pm _____
2. being alone in a house in the country at night _____
3. going to your car in a car park building after 10 pm _____
4. entering a unfamiliar bar alone in the evening _____
5. being alone with a man whose behaviour has changed due to drinking or taking drugs _____ (5)
6. going alone to car in car park after 10 pm _____
7. being alone when a tradesman comes to the house _____
8. taking a taxi home alone in the evening _____
9. going alone to a party held by an acquaintance _____
10. travelling on public transport alone after 10 pm _____ (10)
11. talking to a stranger when they come to your door during the day _____
12. walking on a dark street alone in the evening _____
13. biking in the suburbs alone after 10 pm _____
14. going alone to the party of a friend _____

15. sleeping in a house with unlocked doors _____ (15)

16. walking through a park alone after 10 pm _____

17. walking alone in a well lit street in the evening _____

18. being alone in a house in town at night _____

19. being the only women with a group of men after dark _____

20. taking a taxi home alone after 10 pm _____ (20)

21. walking past men on the street who make comments to you about your body after dark _____

22. talking to a stranger when they come to your door at night _____

23. walking through a park alone in the evening _____

24. sleeping alone in a house with locked doors but unlocked windows _____

25. travelling on public transport in a large city with another woman after 10 pm _____ (25)

26. going to a strange house where you are not acquainted with the householders after dark _____

27. going to the evening movies alone _____

28. biking alone in the suburbs alone after 10 pm _____

29. walking past men on the street who make comments to you about your body during the day _____

30. going to your car in a car park building in the evening _____ (30)

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