Teenagers' Attitudes towards Rape

Final Report

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Eleanor Hall

Chapter 1

Introduction

The rate of rape is increasing, and may be increasing even more than other crimes. Between 1970 and 1979, the rate of rapes per 100,000 inhabitants increased 84%, while the increase for all violent crimes was 47% and the increase in the crime index total was 39% (U.S. Department of Justice, 1979). Probably some of this increase was due to women's increased willingness to report rape.

Both rapists and rape victims tend to be relatively young. In 1979, 34% of those arrested for forcible rape were under 21[1] (U.S. Department of Justice, 1979). In his study of Philadelphia rape, Amir (1979) found that 40% of the offenders were between 15 and 19 years old. Victims were also youthful. Twenty per cent of the victims were age 10-14, a fourth were 15-19.

Adolescent rape victims are of concern not only because of their large numbers, but also because they are a difficult group to counsel. Burgess and Holmstrom (1974, pp. 52-56) describe a predominantly adolescent sample (which included some children as well). Immediately following the rape or assault, two-thirds of the sample manifested a "controlled style" in which the victim was shy, frightened and subdued, and had difficulty expressing herself and answering questions due to

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[1] They were typical of those who were arrested for all violent crimes, of whom 38% were under 21.

distress. The victim often wanted to put the assault out of her mind. She didn't want to talk about it because of the unpleasant feelings aroused. She didn't realize that her recovery might be facilitated by talking about it. Also, because of her immaturity, she might lack the cognitive ability and vocabulary to express her feelings and ideas. Girls who were virgins at the time of the assault had difficulty talking about sexual issues because of embarrassment and because sexual issues were so unfamiliar that they might not know how to talk about them or what to discuss. The present study was suggested by the staff of Pittsburgh Action Against Rape, as a result of their experience with adolescent victims. In counseling such victims, it would be helpful for counselors to know something about how teenage girls typically think about rape, how they think others will react to the knowledge that they have been raped, and so on. Counselors with such knowledge might be able to help the girl express her feelings.

The high rates of rape and the increasing concerns with women's issues have led to a large amount of research in the area of rape. Much research has been done on rape victims, but because of problems with doing research on minors, little has been done with adolescents. This omission is serious. The phenomenon of rape is different for adolescents than for adults. Adolescents are more likely to be sexually assaulted in certain types of situations (dating, hitch-hiking) than adults. Their experience of rape is probably somewhat different because of their level of cognitive and sexual development. Therefore, more research focused on adolescents is needed.

Another impetus for the present study was the need for knowledge to guide rape education and prevention programs. For such programs,

research is needed on the beliefs and attitudes of the population as a whole. Such studies have been done with adults (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978) but little has been done with teenagers. An unpublished pilot study conducted by Sandra Gross Behrends, a counselor with Pittsburgh Action Against Rape, indicated that many teenage girls had misconceptions about rape. High school students in Law and Justice classes filled out a true-false questionnaire. High percentages of students answered "true" to statements like "most rapes happen in the street during the late night hours" (research shows that the majority of rapes occur indoors, Amir, 1971), and "A woman asks for rape if she is dressed in a short skirt or halter," (experts believe that clothing has little to do with rape). Such beliefs might cause a teenage girl to conclude that rape could not happen to her because she isn't that kind of girl, would not be in that situation, etc. Therefore, she would probably be less likely to take the precautions which might prevent rape, and be poorly prepared to deal with a rape if it occurs. Research on teenagers' beliefs is needed, in order to know what areas of misinformation need to be focused on in rape education and prevention programs.

However, rape education and prevention and the counseling of rape victims undoubtedly involve more than simply correcting misinformation and misconceptions of rape. Beliefs about rape are probably deeply rooted in beliefs about sex roles and male-female relationships, including stereotypes about the male as dominant and aggressive and the female as acquiescent, the male as initiator of sexual relationships and the female as responsible for keeping them from going "too far,"

etc. Therefore, the present study included questions on attitudes towards rape, male-female relationships and sex roles.

Male beliefs and attitudes towards rape are relatively neglected areas of study. Very few males, of course, commit rape. But attitudes widely held in society may support rape directly, by blaming the victim (she was "easy," she led him on, etc.) or indirectly by defining masculinity in terms of aggression and domination of women, by emphasizing the sexual aspect of male-female relationships to the neglect of other aspects, etc. On the other hand, tolerance of rape may simply be the general expression of anti-social, violent personality. Some research has been done in this area with adults (Field, 1978; Burt, 1980) but more needs to be done with adolescents.

There is need for more thorough knowledge about female and male beliefs and attitudes towards rape, and about the attitudes towards sex roles which support them. Such knowledge could guide the design of rape education and prevention programs which could have a positive impact on the problem of rape. It could also be useful to those who counsel rape victims. The present study was designed to meet these needs.

Chapter 2

Method

In addition to the usual methodological problems of survey research, the study involved a number of particular problems, because the respondents were adolescents and the topics were the sensitive ones of sexual behavior and sexual assault.

Sample

The sample consisted of females and males between the ages of 14 and 17, living in the city of Milwaukee and the surrounding suburbs. An urban sample was chosen because crime statistics indicate that rape is more prevalent in urban areas.

The sample was obtained through a random digit dialing procedure. A random sample of telephone numbers was obtained,[2] from almost all of the telephone exchanges which were at least partly in the city of Milwaukee.[3] These telephone numbers were called to find out if the number was residential, and if so, whether a young person in the appropriate age group lived in the home. If these requirements were

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[2] The sample was chosen mathematically, so that every telephone number had the same probability of being chosen. By this procedure, a sample of telephone numbers was obtained which was representative of all the households in the area. Listed and unlisted numbers had an equal chance of being reached.

[3] One telephone exchange was omitted because the area which it covered was less than 5% within the city limits.

met, a letter describing the study was sent to a parent or guardian. An interviewer then contacted the parent or guardian and teenager, almost always in person, to lessen the likelihood of refusal. The interviewer explained the study and arranged for the interview, which was done in the home in most cases. Consent of parent (or guardian) and teenager was obtained before the interview, which was done in the home in most cases. Consent of parent (or guardian) and teenager was obtained before the interview.[4] The skills, personalities, and persistance of the interviewers were important factors in securing a good response rate. They were particularly trained to deal with the challenges of this age group and this sensitive topic.

The response rate was 56%. Although this percentage is relatively low by survey research standards, it is acceptable in comparison with other surveys of adolescents, especially considering the controversial area being studied and the necessity for parental consent.

Interview

The interviews were conducted in private by trained Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory interviewers. Male interviewers only interviewed male respondents; female interviewers interviewed respondents of both sexes. Previous research indicates that there is

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[4] Because of the difficulty in obtaining consent, teenagers who were not living with a legal guardian, for example, those in foster homes, were eliminated. However, teenagers who were married and therefore legally emancipated were included.

no reason not to have males interviewed by females.[5] However, some parents would undoubtedly have objected to or been suspicious of a male interviewer who wanted to interview their daughter. The staff consisted of white, black, and Hispanic interviewers. As much as possible, race of interviewer was matched to race of respondent.

The face-to-face interview has a number of advantages over a written questionnaire. The interviewer can explain the study to parent and teenager, answer their questions, gain their cooperation, and deal with any problems which might arise during the interview. Also, a verbal approach is more appropriate for respondents who do not read or write well. On the other hand, for particularly sensitive questions the teenager might prefer to write an answer rather than say it aloud to an interviewer. The design of the interview attempted to obtain the advantages of both of these approaches.

For some questions, the interviewer asked the question and the respondent answered verbally. On some of the more sensitive questions on attitudes towards sex roles and sexual assault, the teenager marked the answer on an answer sheet. The teenager had the option of reading the items him/herself, or having the interviewer read them aloud.

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[5] DeLamater and MacCorquodale (1969) interviewed young adults on their sexual behavior and attitudes. Male and female respondents were interviewed by male and female interviewers. Sex of interviewer had little effect on reported sexual behavior and attitudes. However, there was a tendency for the interview itself to be viewed more favorably when the interviewer was female. In particular, male nonstudents and female students said that they had answered the questions more truthfully with a female interviewer (DeLamater and MacCorquodale, 1979, pp. 263-4).

Particularly sensitive questions were on a sheet which the teenager filled out privately and placed in an envelope which was immediately sealed. These questions dealt with the respondent's experiences with sexual intercourse and sexual assault, and his or her friends' experiences in these areas.

The interview consisted of questions on self concept and ideal self, attitudes about sex roles, male-female relationships, and sexual assault, and hypothetical examples designed to indicate what the teenager would do if sexually assaulted and (for males) how the young man would react to a young woman who was assaulted. There were also questions about knowledge of and attitudes towards sexual assault treatment centers. Questions about favorite leisure time and social activities, and standard background questions, were included to see whether variations in the young people's lives would explain variations in the other questions. Males received a slightly modified version of the Gough Socialization Scale.

A number of considerations affected the design of the interview.

First, the vocabulary and phrasing had to be understandable and natural to teenagers and interviewers. Vocabulary and sentence structure were kept simple. However, slang was avoided because it would not be natural for the interviewers, and because all teenagers might not use the same slang. Particular attention was paid to the language of sexual assault, as popular conceptions of rape are not the same as legal definitions. Among adolescents, the amount of force used and the relationship between victim and assailant affect whether a given incident is viewed as rape (Zellman, Goodchilds, Johnson, and Giarusso, 1981). Therefore, as much as possible the word "rape" was

avoided and an expression such as "using physical force to make a girl have sex when she doesn't want to" was used.

Secondly, as much as possible the interview was designed so that vocabulary, phrasing, and content would not be upsetting to teenagers or their parents. For example, pre-testing indicated that the teenagers felt that the interview was depressing because it exclusively focused on the negative aspects of male-female relationships. The final interview was revised to include some material dealing with healthy, positive relationships.

Also, because the interview focused on opinions and information and had very few items on personal experiences, it was probably more acceptable than it might have been otherwise.

In general, the young people were able to take the interview in stride and were comfortable with it. They were probably able to handle it better than their parents thought they could. Many parents refused to let their daughter or son be interviewed because they thought s/he was too young, too shy, or too naive to handle it, because they didn't want to "put her (him) through it." But once the interview had begun, problems were few. There were no complaints to the UW-Milwaukee Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, and no teenagers needed to be referred to the Sexual Assault Treatment Center. This was in part because the interviewers had been trained to prevent and deal with possible problems.

Thirdly, one of the goals of the study was to compare the attitudes and opinions of males and females. Therefore, as much as possible the questions were phrased in such a way as to be appropriate for both sexes, and the same questions were used for both. The

questions which were the same for both sexes included the questions on attitudes towards male-female relationships and towards rape, and the ratings of self-concept and ideal self. These were placed at the beginning of the interview so that no sex differences would occur because males and females had had different questions previously. The latter section of the interview included some questions which were different for males and females, so as to include material that was particularly relevant to one sex without making the interview too long for the other sex. Males got questions involving sexual assault of a male, while females did not. Females got more questions on sexual assault treatment centers than males did. Males also answered the Gough Socialization Scale, while females did not. (Socialization was investigated as a possible correlate of attitudes towards rape.)

Chapter 3

Characteristics of Adolescents in the Survey

The sample included young people varying in race, religion, social class background, and neighborhood. On virtually all characteristics, it was representative of the Milwaukee area. Where Milwaukee statistics were not available, the sample was compared with national statistics.

The adolescents in the sample are described in Table 3-1.

The sample was evenly distributed among the ages in the sample, 14 through 17. The sample was 73% white, 23% black and 3% Hispanic.[6] With respect to religious background, the sample was 44% Catholic and 31% Protestant. About 20% were not brought up in any religion. About two-thirds of the sample lived in the city of Milwaukee, with about 15% in the inner city. About one-third lived in the immediately surrounding suburbs.

Almost two thirds of the young people were living with both parents, and almost a quarter were living only with their mothers.

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[6] In the 1980 census, the city of Milwaukee was 23% black and Milwaukee County was 16% black. The city of Milwaukee was 4% Hispanic and Milwaukee County was 3% Hispanic. (Rummler, 1981)

Statistical Procedures

(A Guide for Non-social Scientists)

Throughout the study, a number of statistical methods were used.

Chi square tests (Siegel, 1956) were used when two groups (for example, males and females) were compared on a variable which involved several categories which could not be arranged in any particular order (for example, ethnic background, with the categories of white, black, Hispanic, and other).

Tau c (Siegel, 1956) was used when sex was related to an ordinal variable, a variable for which there was some order but which did not involve an equal interval scale (a scale with numbers which are equal distances apart). An example of an ordinal scale is neighborhood, where the neighborhood was in order of socioeconomic status (inner city, other Milwaukee, suburban). This use of tau c was recommended by Marascuilo and McSweeney (1977, pp. 453-454). A positive tau c would indicate that females had higher scores on the variable; a negative tau c would indicate that males had higher scores (as in this case, where males tended to live in the neighborhoods with higher socioeconomic status).

For all statistical tests, the test indicates whether the value is statistically significant (that is, it is extremely unlikely that it occurred by chance). A single asterisk indicates that the result was significant, that is, that only five times out of a hundred would it occur by chance. Two asterisks indicate that the result was highly significant, that is, that it would occur by chance only one time in a hundred.

Table 3-1

Characteristics of Adolescents in the Sample

	Males	Females	Test of sex difference
Age			
14	25%	23%	n.s.
15	27	23	
16	24	29	
17	24	26	
Total	100%	101%	
N	460	513	
Ethnic Background			
White	78%	69%	Chi square = 14.0**
Black	18	28	df = 3
Hispanic	3	3	
Other	1	1	
Total	100%	101%	
N	460	513	
Religious Background			
Protestant	30%	32%	n.s.
Catholic	47	42	
Jewish	2	3	
Other	1	2	
None	20	21	
Total	100%	100%	
N	459	513	

** p less than .01

Table 3-1 (cont'd)

	Males	Females	Test of sex difference
Neighborhood			
Inner City	14%	17%	tau c = -.08**
Other Milwaukee	50	55	
Suburban	36	28	
Total	100%	100%	
N	448	489	
Living Situation			
With both parents	66%	62%	n.s.
With mother and stepfather	8	9	
With mother only	20	26	
Other	5	3	
Total	99%	100%	
N	451	504	
Grade of School Just Finished			
6-7	7%	3%	In vs. not in school:
8	26	24	Chi square = 8.2**
9	25	23	
10	22	27	Grade completed: n.s.
11	18	18	
12	1	2	
Not in School Last Semester	0	3	
Total	99%	100%	
N	459	513	

* p less than .05
** p less than .01

Table 3-1 (cont'd)

	Males	Females	Test of sex difference
Type of School Attended			
Public	80%	83%	n.s.
Private	20	17	
Total	100%	100%	
N	459	513	
Educational Goal			
Some high school	0%	1%	n.s.
High school degree	23	21	
Vo-tech school	10	8	
Bachelor's degree	52	58	
Master's degree	7	4	
Ph.D., M.D., etc.	8	8	
Total	101%	100%	
N	454	501	
Father or Stepfather's* Education**			
8th grade or less	4%	6%	n.s.
Some high school	15	16	
High school graduate	40	38	
Some college	13	14	
College graduate	28	25	
Total	100%	99%	
N	332	329	
Mother or Stepmother's* Education**			
8th grade or less	4%	5%	n.s.
Some high school	12	18	
High school graduate	50	46	
Some college	17	17	
College graduate	17	15	
Total	100%	101%	
N	411	474	

*p less than .05

***Asked only of those who had lived with a stepparent for five years or more.

Table 3-1 (cont'd)

	Males	Females
Father or Stepfather's* Occupation**		
Not employed	10%	4%
Professional, technical worker	15	17
Manager, proprietor	14	17
Clerical worker	3	6
Sales worker	6	5
Craftsman, foreman (skilled)	23	17
Operative (semi-skilled)	17	22
Household, service worker	6	7
Laborer	5	5
Total	99%	100%
N	351	345
Mother or Stepmother's* Occupation**		
Not employed	32%	38%
Professional, technical worker	9	9
Manager, proprietor	4	3
Clerical worker	22	23
Sales worker	6	3
Craftsman, foreman (skilled)	2	1
Operative (semi-skilled)	9	6
Household, service worker	17	15
Laborer	0	1
Total	101%	99%
N	488	422

***Asked only of those who had lived with a stepparent for five years or more.

Almost 10% were living with their mother and a stepfather. Virtually none were living only with their fathers.[7]

The parents' occupations were typical of Milwaukee, a city with a large amount of heavy industry. Of the fathers or stepfathers, about 40% were blue collar workers (craftsmen, foremen, skilled and semi-skilled workers). About 30% were in professional, technical, managerial, or proprietory jobs. Of the mothers and stepmothers, about two-thirds were working, the largest number in clerical jobs.

In education, about 80% of both fathers and mothers were high school graduates, and 40% of the fathers and a third of the mothers had some education beyond high school.

The adolescents in the sample aspired to more education than their parents. About 70% of both sexes said that they would like to get a bachelor's degree or more. Virtually all were attending school, and about a fifth were in private schools.

Females and males were compared to discover whether there were any sex differences in background.[8] On most variables, there were no statistically significant differences. The significant differences that did exist were slight, no more than 10% in any one category.

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[7] The young people in the sample were typical of the nation. According to the 1980 census, 20% of all children under 18 were living with only one parent (U.S. Census Bureau, 1981). The higher percentage in the present study would be expected for adolescents, as their parents would be more likely to be divorced than the parents of younger children.

[8] Chi squares were used with nominal variables, tau c's with ordinal variables. Because of the large number ofcases, a conservative test of significance, p less than .01, was used.

However, because of the large numbers of cases, even slight differences were significant. The male sample had a higher percentage of whites and was more suburban. The female sample had a higher percentage of blacks, and a higher percentage living in Milwaukee (both the inner city and other Milwaukee).

Chapter 4

Concepts of the Rapist and the Rape Situation

Eleanor R. Hall, Gilbert Gloyer, Jr. and Sherrie L. Boezio

Concepts of the rapist and the rape situation may be very relevant to rape prevention. If young people have misconceptions about rape, they may think, "It can't happen to me," or at least, not with this person in this situation. They may have a false sense of security which leaves them vulnerable to sexual assault.

To learn young people's conceptions of the rapist without channelling their thoughts in any particular direction, the following question was asked: "Sometimes a guy uses physical force to get a girl to have sex with him. He hits her or threatens to hurt her, to get her to have sex when she doesn't want to. Why do you think this might happen?" From a sample of responses to this question, categories of answers were developed and the answers for the total sample were coded into these categories. Each separate reason given was placed into only one coding category. Up to three reasons for rape could be coded for each respondent. The responses to this question are shown in Table 4-1.

The answers of males and females were very similar. For both, the most common reasons, mentioned by about a fourth, involved a physical sexual urge and sexual unattractiveness and feelings of inferiority ("thinks no girl would have sex with him," "no other way to get it," "desperate," "doesn't have a girlfriend," etc.). Experts agree that

Table 4-1

Reasons for Sexual Assault Given

by Males and Females

(Per Cents)

	Males (N=390)	Females (N=463)
Male's fault		
He "needs" it, physical urge	28%	28%
He is or feels sexually inferior	28	24
He has emotional problems	23	16
He wants to prove male domination	9	18
He feels sexually rejected by her	12	15
He feels peer pressure	7	12
He wants power by force	9	10
He is angry, getting back	4	7
He wasn't brought up right	5	6
Other	21	19
Female's fault		
She led him on	3	13
Other	3	4

power and anger are more important motives for rape than sexual desire (Groth, 1979). Also, most rapists have other sources of sexual gratification. Many are married; many of the single ones could have noncoercive sexual relationships (Groth, 1979, p.5).

About a fourth of the males mentioned emotional problems as a possible cause ("psycho," "crazy," etc.), but this response was only mentioned by 16% of the females. Male domination ("wants to prove his masculinity," "show that women are inferior to men") was mentioned by 18% of the females but only half as many males.

In other words, rape was linked with sexual desire, with inadequacy in obtaining sex in legitimate ways, and with emotional problems. Few of the females, and even fewer males, had a feminist perspective of rape as involving male supremacy feelings or anger. Even fewer mentioned female provocation ("she led him on"), probably because the question was phrased in such a way as to place the responsibility on the male in stating that "she doesn't want to."

A later series of questions asked about more specific aspects of the rape situation. Since many young people are not clear about what rape actually is, the interviewer started by saying, "Rape is the crime of using force or the threat of force to have sex with a girl or woman when she doesn't want to, for example, hitting her, beating her up, or threatening her to get her to have sex. A girl can be raped by her boyfriend if he does these things." The teenager was then asked a series of questions, including, "Out of every ten rapes, in how many do you think the guy is a complete stranger to the girl or woman who was raped...?" "...how many do you think are planned ahead by the guy?" and so on.

In interpreting the results, the teenagers' beliefs were compared with the available data, which includes a survey involving 26 American cities and over 12,000 rapes, many of which were not reported to the police (McDermott, 1979), as well as some studies based on police data (Amir, 1971; Battelle, 1978). Research on the types of rapes which are unreported (Belden, 1979) indicates that these studies underreport in particular directions. Rapes involving nonstrangers, rapes occurring inside the home, rapes where the attacker is respected in the community are likely to be underreported to the police, and probably to survey interviewers as well. Therefore, if the gap between teenagers' beliefs and the reported data is great, how much greater is the gap between teenagers' beliefs and the actual facts.

Table 4-2 shows the judgments of the teenagers in the present study, in comparison with the reported statistics.

The most striking result is the extent to which the rapist is seen as a psychologically abnormal person who would be recognized as such by the potential victim. When asked in how many out of every 10 rapes they thought the guy was "crazy or a sex pervert," both girls and boys said over 70%. However, studies of rapists show that less than 15% are psychotic or show extreme psychological abnormality. These studies are based on apprehended rapists, who are undoubtedly more likely to be abnormal than those who are not apprehended (Groth and Burgess, 1977).

When asked in how many rapes the girl or woman would know, just from looking at him beforehand, that something was wrong with the guy who raped her, both females and males said about half. Of course, there are no statistics on this issue, but these are undoubtedly

Table 4-2

A Comparison of the Teenagers' Estimates of the Rapist and the Rape Situation with Available Data

	Estimates by teenager respondents[a]		Available Data		
	Females (N=503-513)	Males (N=445-460)	Range	Mean	Percentage from available data is probably an:
Guy is "crazy or a sex pervert"	74%	73%	13%[b]	13%	Overestimate
Girl or woman would know "something was wrong with the guy"	52%	51%			
Happen out-of-doors	68%	65%	33-36%[c]	34%	Overestimate
Guy is a complete stranger	61%	61%	42-55%[d]	48%	Overestimate
Planned ahead	59%	57%	71%[e]	71%	
Guy and girl are high on drugs or alcohol	49%	47%	18-21%[f]	20%	Underestimate

[a]Expressed in percentages for comparison purposes, although the question was worded, "Out of every ten rapes, . . . about how many . . ."

[b]Percent psychotic, Groth and Burgess (1977) diagnostic center sample

[c]Amir (1971), McDermott (1979)

[d]Amir (1971), Battelle (1978). Similarly, McDermott (1979) reports that 80% involved a stranger or someone known by sight only.

[e]Amir (1971)

[f]Amir (1971), LEAA (1977)

overestimates. Many studies indicate that the rapist is often seen by the victim as a normal, friendly, even attractive person until suddenly his behavior changes. Teenagers seem to think of the rapist as sinister and obviously evil, and have great confidence in their own ability to judge character. This belief would obviously make them more vulnerable to rape, as they would be more likely to get involved with someone who, in their judgment, was all right.

When asked how many rapes were committed by a stranger, the average was six out of ten for females and for males. This is a slight overestimate, as statistics indicate that about 70% of rapes involved strangers. In actuality, the true percentage is lower, as women hesitate to report a rape by an acquaintance for fear of not being believed. Therefore, teenagers clearly overestimate the percentage of stranger rapes. They are more likely to be trusting of someone whom they know.

Similarly, when asked how many rapes occur out-of-doors, on the street, in a park, in a car, and so on, both females and males said more than six out of ten. This is clearly an overestimate when compared with statistics on rape, and probably even more of an overestimate when compared with the true state of affairs. Acquaintance rapes are less likely to occur out-of-doors (McDermott, 1979) and are less likely to be reported.

In summary, young people perceived the rapist as motivated by sexual desire. They saw him as feeling inferior, as unsuccessful in sexual relationships, emotionally disturbed, and obviously abnormal, a sort of "hunchback of Notre Dame" figure. They overestimated the percentage of rapes in which a stranger attacks a girl or woman in an

outdoor setting. They underestimated the percentage in which a girl or woman is attacked by someone she knows, someone who is without obvious abnormality.

Women want to have a sense of control over their lives. They do not want to feel continually vulnerable to attack. They do not want to feel that the nice, attractive man may be a potential rapist. The myth that the rapist is seriously psychologically abnormal and can be recognized as such fosters the woman's confidence in her judgment of character and creates an illusory sense of control. Much rape prevention education also contributes to a false sense of control. It focuses on protecting oneself against the stranger (not admitting strangers to the home, watching out for possible dangers on the street, keeping the car door locked, etc.). The rape prevention movement has given less attention to the problem of acquaintance rape. This issue must be addressed, if rape prevention efforts are to have an impact.

Chapter 5

Females' Reactions to Hypothetical Sexual Assault Experience

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For several reasons, vignettes describing sexual assault incidents were chosen as a way of obtaining data on views of sexual assault. First, Alexander and Becker (1978) state that attitude scales, the most common technique used, are unreliable because the items are too abstract. They recommend vignettes as a way of getting the respondent to react to a concrete, detailed situation. Secondly, reactions to sexual assault vary a great deal, depending on the assailant and the situation. Vignettes provide a way of assessing this type of variation. Burstin, Doughtie, and Raphaeli (1980) provide evidence that responses to contrastive vignettes are valid indicators of attitudes. Thirdly, vignettes may make the interview more interesting and real to the respondent. We hoped that the respondent would be more involved and would be able to enter into the question more in response to a vignette than if the interviewer simply asked, "If you were assaulted, what would you do? Who would you tell?"

One question which might be raised about the validity of this approach is whether there is any relationship between responses to the vignettes and the actual behavior of the interviewee, if s/he should ever be assaulted. Of course, it is impossible to predict how one would react to a situation which is very foreign to one's experience.

For example, the respondent probably cannot predict completely who she will tell about the assault, because that would depend on many situational factors. But responses do reveal attitudes. If she says that she would not tell parents or friends, such an answer suggests that being assaulted is shameful or that telling people would lead to negative reactions rather than to sympathy and help.

Similarly, the respondents probably cannot predict accurately how parents and friends would react to their being assaulted. Respondents' perceptions of others' reactions will affect their behavior, however, regardless of whether such perceptions are accurate or not.

No questions dealt with the respondent's emotional reactions, which are relatively unpredictable for a given individual. Rather, the questions covered aspects of the assault which are relatively predictable and which would give a picture of the person's view of sexual assault (worries and concerns, what s/he would do, who s/he would tell).

Almost all of the questions were open-ended, that is, the young person answered in her or his own words, and the interviewer wrote the response down verbatim.* For each question, coding categories for the answers were developed from 100 to 150 interviews. The answers from the remaining interviews were placed in those categories. Additional categories were developed if needed.

The young women were presented with three vignettes. The first described a girl who is assaulted by a boy she met at a party. This vignette read as follows:

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*The young person could give several answers to each question. For example, s/he could mention several concerns, several people whom she would tell, etc.

> A guy and girl who used to have á class together at school, run into each other one evening at a party. They go into an empty room and talk for awhile. Although they have never dated, they like each other and they start to hold hands and kiss. When the guy puts his hand inside the girl's blouse, she pulls away. He does it again and tells her that he wants to have sex with her. When she says no, he threatens to hurt her. Though the girl does not want to, they have sexual intercourse.

The second vignette described a girl who is assaulted by a stranger while she is on a public street. It read as follows:

> A girl is walking down the street about 9 o'clock at night on her way home from the library. A man whom she doesn't know pulls up in a car and offers her a ride. The girl tells him no and he drives off. She keeps walking. About five minutes later, the girl turns the corner of the street she lives on. The man in the car grabs her, hits her, and drags her to his car. He tells the girl not to try to escape or he will hurt her. The man drives to a park, and drags her out of the car. Although she does not want to, they have sex.

Because the first two vignettes could be disturbing and upsetting, the young women were given a third vignette involving consensual sex, to neutralize the effect of the first two and remind them that sex can be a positive experience. This consensual vignette also provided data which could be related to the data on the two rape vignettes. This vignette read as follows:

> In the third story, a girl and a guy who are dating, decide to study together for a school test. The girl's parents have gone out for the evening, so the two of them are alone in the house. After an hour of studying, they start to tell jokes and laugh. The guy tells the girl that he likes her a lot and she says that she likes him too. They begin to kiss and he starts to unbutton her blouse. They agree that it would be really great to have sex and, after awhile, they do.

For each incident, the respondent was asked to imagine that she was the girl in the story. She was asked about what concerns or worries she would have, what she would do and whom she would tell about the incident, etc. The same questions were asked for all vignettes.

The first question was, "I'd like you to imagine that you were the girl in the story. If this happened to you, after it was all over, what concerns or worries would you have?" The results for the three vignettes (consensual sex, assault by acquaintance at a party, and assault by a stranger on the street) are presented in Table 5-1. In this table and all the tables presenting the results for open-ended questions, percentages add up to more than 100% because most young women gave more than one answer. For the same reason, the percentages mentioning each concern of a particular type add up to more than the percentage for that type of concern. (For example, the sum of the percentages for prègnancy, VD or other disease, and infertility is more than the percentage for health concerns.)

Differences between vignettes were tested with chi squares computed with the McNemar test of the significance of changes (Siegel, 1956), a test which utilizes data obtained from the same person at two points in time.[1]

Because of the large number of cases, very small differences were statistically significant. For this reason, a conservative test of significance, the .01 level, was used. Nonsignificant chi squares were not listed.

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[1]The authors are indebted to Kevin Delucchi for suggesting this test.

For all three vignettes, health-related matters were the concern mentioned by most young women.

The most common health-related concern was fear of pregnancy, which was mentioned by about two-thirds of the respondents for all three vignettes. But pregnancy is not a major danger, realistically speaking. Only a very few women get pregnant as a result of rape. VD and other disease were mentioned by less than 15% of the respondents. Yet, realistically, VD is a far more likely consequence of rape than pregnancy. A few thought an assault might prevent them from having children, which is very unlikely. Clearly, the young women in our sample thought of the assault in sexual terms. Virtually none of them mentioned the physical injuries which commonly result from sexual assaults.

Social concerns were second most often mentioned to the party and consensual vignettes. Social concerns were significantly more often mentioned for the party vignette than for the other two. For the party vignette these concerns included what other people would think, concern about whether the assailant would tell, fear that her reputation would suffer, and concern about what parents would think. In spite of the greater prevelance of sexual activity among adolescents, the female is still expected to control sexual access. The definition of promiscuity may have changed, but the adolescent girl who is known as promiscuous still suffers. For the consensual vignette, the main social concern was what parents would think. Both in this and the party vignette, the concern with parents' reaction may have involved feelings that the parents would blame her for what happened, or restrict her social life.

Table 5-1

Concerns Anticipated by Young Women to Sexual Assault Vignettes
(Per Cents)

	Consent Vignette (N=498)	Party Vignette (N=497)	Street Vignette (N=507)	Chi square: Consent vs.Party	Chi square: Party vs.Street
Health	66%	72%	71%	8.0**	
Pregnancy	65	71	64		7.6**
VD, other disease	5	7	13		20.0**
Infertility	0	3	16		51.8**
Social concerns	39	49	16	11.4**	126.3**
What parents would think	23	12	7	26.1**	8.0**
What others would think	7	22	10	50.5**	29.0**
Whether assailant will tell	10	19	0	17.4**	90.0**
Bad reputation	5	12	1	16.4**	49.2**
Fears	1	19	39	82.1**	60.4**
Repeat of assault	1	18	28	77.1**	18.8**
Fear of walking streets	0	2	14		56.7**
Other psychological concerns	10	24	19	32.5**	
Emotional-mental effects	0	4	12		20.6**
Guilt, loss of self esteem	6	14	2	17.8**	46.4**
Reactions to men	0	3	6		
Self-blame	5	5	1		

Table 5-1 (cont'd)

	Consent Vignette (N=498)	Party Vignette (N=497)	Street Vignette (N=507)	Chi square Consent vs.Party	Chi square Party vs.Street
Action against assailant	0	2	12		34.7**
Catching, arresting assailant	0	0	8		38.0**
Other action against assailant	0	2	4		
Other					
Does "assailant" like victim	24	6	0	65.1**	28.0**
None, mutual agreement	14	1	1		
Fear for others	0	2	8		21.2**
Seeing assailant again	0	6	0		29.0**
Other	3	14	10		

**p less than .01

In rarely mentioning social concerns to the stranger vignette, the young women were probably being unrealistic. They were unaware of the extent to which the woman who is assaulted often suffers in the eyes of others, even in a situation in which she could not possibly have provoked the assault.

Fears were second most often mentioned to the street vigentte and were significantly more often mentioned than for the party vignette. Realistically, the young women thought that they would be afraid that an assault might happen again, and thus that they would be afraid to walk the streets.

The third set of responses most often mentioned to both the party and the street vignette were psychological concerns other than fears, including guilt, loss of self-esteem, reactions to other men, etc. The low percentage of young women who anticipated such concerns indicates that many young women would not expect the psychological reactions of shame, embarrassment, guilt, self-blame, and loss of sense of control over one's life which are felt by many sexual assault victims. If assaulted, they might not, therefore, take steps to deal with them through counseling. Moreover, they might feel that they were abnormal for having such reactions.

The concerns which the young women anticipated could be summarized as follows. If assaulted by a stranger on the street, they anticipated that health-related concerns would be most important. Pregnancy was most often mentioned; a few mentioned infertility and the possibility of VD or other disease. Fears, including fear of a repeat of the assault and fear of walking the streets, were mentioned by 39%. However, these young women were largely unaware of the possible social and

psychological effects of assault. Less than a fifth mentioned possible psychological effects, such as guilt, self-blame, and other emotional effects. Less than a fifth mentioned social concerns (what others would think, a bad reputation).

If assualted by an acquaintance at a party, the young women also anticipated that health-related concerns would be foremost, predominantly fear of pregnancy. Social concerns were second in importance, mentioned by about half. The social concerns anticipated included mainly what others would think and whether the assailant would tell others. Fears and other psychological concerns were mentioned by less than a fourth each.

To the vignette involving consensual sex, the major concern anticipated was concern about pregnancy. Social concerns were second in importance, particularly what parents would think. Other psychological concerns were mentioned rarely, and fears virtually never.

The next questions were, "If this happened to you, what would you do?" and "Would you tell anyone (else)?" with a possible probe, "Who?" The responses to these questions were combined, since many young women said that they would tell someone in response to the first question.

Telling someone is often an important step in getting help in dealing with an assault. For the adolescent who is shy and embarassed about going to strangers with a sexual problem, it may be important to tell an adult who will take her to a source of help. In his study of Philadelphia rapes, Amir found that "The younger the victim, the more often it was the mother who reported the offense to the police," (Amir, 1971, p. 288). Table 5-2 shows who the young women thought they would tell, if assaulted by a stranger on the street, if assaulted by an

acquaintance at a party, and if involved in consensual sex. Not surprisingly, they thought they would be much more likely to tell authority figures about the assault by a stranger. Almost 90% said that they would tell a parent and the police about it, and they were significantly more likely to tell a parent than to tell a friend (see Table 5-3). However, if assaulted by an acquaintance at a party, only slightly over half said they would tell a parent, about the same percentage would tell a friend, but only 13% said they would tell the police. The young women were significantly more likely to say that they would tell a friend about the assault at a party than about the assault by a stranger. For those who did not want to tell a parent, telling a friend might well be the first step in seeking some type of help or treatment.

To the vignette involving consensual sex, 38% mentioned telling a friend. The next most common type of response was a passive reaction, ("do nothing," etc.), mentioned by about a fourth. Only 13% said that they would tell a parent.

In an actual rape situation, probably far fewer would tell the people described. However, the differences between the street and party vignettes and the differences between the percentages who would tell parents or friends are probably realistic.

The next questions were, "Well, if you told your parents, how do you think they would feel?" and "Well, if you told your friends, how do you think they would feel?" Reactions were categorized as positive towards the victim, negative towards the victim, negative towards the assailant, and other feelings. Up to three reactions were coded for each question-vignette combination (e.g., parent's reactions to the

Table 5-2

Intentions Expressed to the Sexual Assault Vignettes
(Per Cents)

	Consent Vignette (N=495)	Party Vignette (N=502)	Street Vignette (N=501)	Chi square Consent vs.Party	Chi square Party vs. Street
People Told					
Police	0%	13%	87%	56.1**	359.4**
Parent(s)	13	57	87	183.6**	120.2**
Other family member	4	16	13	35.1**	
Friends	38	54	39	33.7**	33.5**
Warn, get advice	7	18	10	28.7**	15.9**
Girl friend	32	40	26		25.9**
Boy friend	0	4	9		14.8**
Human service professional[a]	0	5	10	15.0**	25.9**
Doctor (find out if pregnant)	14	14	10		
Other Reactions					
Passive reactions[b]	28	3	1	96.4**	
Stay away from guy	0	12	0	53.2**	58.0**
Discuss with guy	9	9	0		39.0**
Want to get even	0	7	0	31.0**	25.7**
Cry, feel guilt, regret	3	7	2		14.4**
Go home	0	4	5		
Other	22	36	12		

[a] Sexual assault treatment center, hotline, psychologist, counselor, teacher.

[b] Do nothing, etc.

Table 5-3

Intentions to Tell Parent(s) and Friend(s)

for the Sexual Assault Vignettes[a]

Vignette	Would tell parent(s)	Would tell friend(s)	Chi square
Consent	13% (495)	38% (495)	71.5**
Party	57% (502)	54% (502)	
Street	87% (501)	39% (501)	178.5**

** Difference between parents and friends significant, p less than .01.

[a] N's on which percentages were based in parentheses.

stranger vignette). In addition, separate codes were developed which indicated whether the respondent anticipated that the parents or friends would have any positive reaction (none vs. one or more) and any negative reaction reaction (none vs. one or more). Some young women anticipated both positive and negative reactions. The results are shown in Tables 5-4 and 5-5.

For both parents and friends, a positive reaction was anticipated by the highest percentage for the street vignette, next highest for the party vignette, and lowest for the vignette involving consensual sex. (All differences between vignettes were statistically significant at the .01 level). Similarly, for both parents and friends, a negative reaction was anticipated by the highest precentage for the consent vignette, next highest for the party vignette, and least for the street vignette. (For the parents, all differences between vignettes were statistically significant. For friends, the difference between the street and party vignettes was significant at the .01 level, but not the difference between the party and consent vignettes.)

These results suggest that there is a continuum between an incident in which the young woman consented to sex and one in which she was forced into sex against her will, with the party incident intermediate between the two extremes. The more involuntary the relationship, the more likely respondents were to anticipate a positive reaction from parents and the less likely to anticipate a negative reaction. The party vignette may have been intermediate in two respects. First, the young woman was seen as consenting more to the relationship than in the street vignette, and therefore more to be blamed. The young women in the survey were significantly more likely to anticipate that parents

Table 5-4

Anticipated Parents' Reactions to the Three Vignettes
(Per cent anticipating each type of reaction)

	Consent Vignette (N = 489)	Party Vignette (N = 495)	Street Vignette (N = 497)	Chi square: Consent vs.Party	Chi square: Party vs.Street
Positive towards "victim"	17%	37%	61%	56.3**	58.8**
Feel sorry for "victim"	2	11	28	30.7**	44.9**
Understanding, concerned	8	20	26	27.0**	6.4*
Fear for victim, protect	0	3	17		48.2**
Want to help, advise	2	7	6	7.9**	
Other positive feelings	5	2	1		
Negative towards victim	76	54	11	51.8**	168.1**
Disappointed, hurt	30	23	2	7.8**	90.5**
Angry	35	20	4	27.1**	57.8**
Not trust, "ground" victim	13	8	1	7.0**	26.3**
Blame, think victim is "easy"	7	11	5		12.7**
"Kill" victim	7	2	0	12.9**	
Other negative feelings	4	6	1		

Table 5-4 (cont'd.)

	Consent Vignette (N=489)	Party Vignette (N=495)	Street Vignette (N=497)	Chi square: Consent vs.Party	Chi square: Party vs.Street
Negative toward assailant					
Be angry at, hate assailant	6	26	30	75.9**	
Call police	0	4	13		26.4**
Revenge, "get" assailant	0	6	8	26.3**	
Other negative feelings	1	5	0		20.3**
Other Feelings					
General negative emotion	22	20	25		
Anger, unspecific	0	4	11		
Think too young	6	1	0	17.9**	
Other nonspecific feelings	4	5	1		

** p less than .01

Table 5-5

Anticipated Friends' Reactions to the Sexual Assault Vignettes
(Per cents)

	Consent Vignette (N = 489)	Party Vignette (N = 479)	Street Vignette (N = 486)	Chi square Consent vs. Party	Chi square Party vs. Street
Positive towards victim	25%	50%	66%	56.8**	30.6**
Feel sorry for victim	1	24	44	85.5**	51.9**
Understanding, concerned	7	24	19	52.0**	
Want to help, advise	2	13	8	34.5**	
Happy for me	13	1	0	41.4**	
Other positive feelings	3	1	4		
Negative towards victim	36	32	6		97.0 **
Blame, think victim's "easy"	15	15	2		47.4**
Disappointed, hurt	8	4	0		
Other negative feelings	17	17	3		
Negative toward assailant					
Fear for selves	0	6	30	20.3**	105.6**
Be angry, hate assailant	1	17	7	66.3**	30.0**
Other negative feelings	4	5	2		
Other Feelings					
General negative emotion	19	16	17		
Angry, non-specific	0	0	5		17.0**
Not care, normal	23	5	1	59.8**	
Curious	9	3	1	13.0**	
Other	7	3	1		

** p less than .01

[a] Feelings mentioned by less than 5% on all three vignettes were combined into "other" categories.

would be angry, disappointed or hurt with the victim in the party vignette than in the street vignette. They also feared that parents would ground or not trust the victim and blame her or think she was "easy." Similarly, the young women were more likely to anticipate that friends would blame the victim or think her "easy" for the party vignette than the street vignette.

Secondly, the victim's life and well-being were more threatened in the street vignette than in the party vignette. Therefore, respondents anticipated more sympathy. Specifically, they were significantly more likely to anticipate understanding/concern and that parents and friends would feel sorry for them in the street vignette than the party vignette. They were significantly more likely to anticipate that parents would be fearful for them and want to protect them in the street vignette than in the party vignette.

The young women were significantly more likely to anticipate favorable reactions from friends than from parents, for both the consent and party vignettes (see Tables 5-6 and 5-7). For the party vignette, 37% anticipated a positive reaction from parents, while 50% anticipated a positive reaction from friends. Similarly, 54% anticipated a negative reaction from parents, while only 32% anticipated a negative reaction from friends. Clearly, the reaction of parents to the party vignette was expected to be on the negative side; while the reaction of friends was expected to be more positive than negative. Only for the street vignette was the reaction of both parents and friends expected to be overwhelmingly positive.

The consistency of the responses was checked by correlating anticipation of a positive or negative reaction from parents or friends

Table 5-6

Comparison of Parents' and Friends' Anticipated Reactions to the Sexual Assault Vignettes -- Positive Reactions

Vignette	Percent with one or more positive reactions to "victim" Parents	Friends	Chi square
Consent	17%	25%	
Party	37%	50%	14.6**
Street	61%	66%	

** p less than .01.

Table 5-7

Comparison of Parents' and Friends' Anticipated Reactions to the Sexual Assault Vignettes -- Negative Reactions

Vignette	Percent with one or more negative reactions to "victim" Parents	Friends	Chi square
Consent	76%	36%	127.0**
Party	54%	32%	53.8**
Street	11%	6%	13.4**

** p less than .01.

with an intention of telling parent(s) or friend(s) about the assault. (Complete consistency would not be expected. When asked, "What would you do? and "Would you tell anyone?" the young woman might mention telling one or both parents, and one or more friends. But the questions about anticipated reactions referred to parents and friends in the plural.) The results are shown in Table 5-8 and are what would be predicted.

Intending to tell parent(s) about the assault was positively correlated with the number of positive feelings anticipated from parents, and negatively correlated with the number of negative feelings anticipated. The same was true of friends. The correlations were higher for the party vignette than the street vignette, as there was less variation in reactions anticipated to the street vignette. Feelings anticipated from parents were virtually unrelated to telling friends. Feelings from friends were virtually unrelated to telling parents. These results indicate that the young women's responses to the questions were internally consistent.

However, telling people was not entirely dependent on the reactions anticipated. Although the young women anticipated a more positive reaction from friends to the street assault than the party assault, they were significantly less likely to intend to tell friends about it than about the party assault. For both the street and party vignettes, there was a significant negative relationship between intention to tell parent(s) and intention to tell friend(s) (see Table 5-9).

Table 5-8

Relationships between (a) Positive and Negative Reaction(s) Anticipated from Parents and Friends, and (b) Intention of Telling Parent(s) and Friend(s) about Vignette Incidents

(N = 474 - 490)

	Would tell parent(s)	Would tell friend(s)
Parents		
Party Vignette		
Positive reaction(s)	.21**	n.s.
Negative reaction(s)	-.14**	n.s.
Street Vignette		
Positive reaction(s)	.14**	n.s.
Negative reaction(s)	n.s.	n.s.
Friends		
Party Vignette		
Positive reaction(s)	n.s.	.21**
Negative reaction(s)	n.s.	-.19**
Street Vignette		
Positive reaction(s)	n.s.	.19**
Negative reaction(s)	n.s.	-.13**

** p less than .01

Table 5-9

Relationships between Intention to Tell Parent(s) and Intention to Tell Friend(s), for the Sexual Assault Vignettes

(N's are in parentheses)

Vignette	tau b
Consent	n.s. (495)
Party	-.20** (507)
Street	-.14** (513)

In summary, there was evidence that the street vignette was seen as an attack in which the victim would receive sympathy. The young women anticipated predominantly positive reactions from both parents and friends, if told. They were significantly more likely to intend to tell parents and the police about the street assault than the party assault. However, they were significantly less likely to intend to tell friends about the street than about the party assault, perhaps because of fear of gossip.

The party assault was seen as intermediate. From parents, a higher percentage of young women anticipated a negative reaction than positive, but from friends a higher percentage anticipated a positive reaction than a negative one. However, the same percentage intended to tell parents as friends. The percentage intending to tell parents was significantly lower than for the street vignette; the percentage intending to tell friends was significantly higher than for the street

vignette. These data indicate the potential value of peer counselors in dealing with problems of acquaintance and date rape among adolescents.

In many sexual assaults, the victim's behavior may contribute to the assault more than in the case of the party vignette. She may have accepted a ride with a stranger or otherwise "picked up" some one. If the victim was with people she was not supposed to be with, in a place she had been told not to go, out later than she was supposed to be, etc., some people might regard her as partly responsible for her assault. A vignette describing this type of situation was not included in the interview, because of the possibility that some respondents would refuse to identify with it, saying that they would not do such a thing. However, it is possible to extrapolate from the above results and hypothesize that parents would be even less likely to be told about such an assault, and peers would be an even more important source of help.

For all three vignettes, a final question was, "Do you think this was rape? Would you say it definitely was, probably was, probably wasn't, or definitely wasn't?" (See Table 5-10.) Virtually all of the young women thought that the street vignette definitely described a rape. For the party vignette, the results were more variable. About a fifth thought it definitely was rape, and half thought it probably was. But a fourth thought it probably or definitely wasn't rape. The difference between the street and party vignettes was significant, according to a matched pairs t-test ($t = 29.10$, d.f. = 500, $p < .01$). Virtually all of the young women said that the consent vignette definitely was not rape.

Table 5-10

Females' Opinions as to Whether the Vignettes Described a Rape

Vignette	Opinion as to whether incident was rape: Definitely was	Probably was	Probably or definitely wasn't	Total	Base N
Consent	1%	1%	98%	100%	509
Party	21%	52%	28%	101%	495
Street	96%	3%	0%	99%	497

Because of the almost unanimous agreement that the street vignette definitely was rape, opinions as to whether it was rape were not related to other variables. But for the party vignette, scores on the four-point scale (definitely was, probably was, probably wasn't, definitely wasn't) were related to both positive and negative feelings anticipated from parents and friends, and to intention to tell parents and friends. The results are shown in Table 5-11. Young women who thought that the party vignette was rape were significantly more likely to anticipate a positive reaction from friends, and significantly less likely to anticipate a negative reaction from both parents and friends. Those who thought that the party vignette was rape were significantly more likely to intend to tell a parent (see Table 5-12). Two-thirds of those who said that it definitely was rape intended to tell a parent, while less than half of those who said that it probably or definitely wasn't rape intended to tell a parent. However, intending to tell a friend was unrelated to perceiving the party vignette as rape.

The results for the street and party vignettes can be summarized as follows. For the street vignette, virtually all of the respondents said that it definitely was rape, and the majority anticipated a predominantly positive reaction from both parents and friends. About 80% said that they would tell their parents about the assault. About 40% said that they would tell a friend, and telling a friend was related to whether a positive or negative reaction was anticipated from the friend.

Table 5-11

Relationships between Defining the Party Vignette as Rape and Intention to Tell Parent(s) and Friend(s)

	Percent[a] who would tell parent(s)		Percent[a] who would tell friend(s)	
Definitely was	66%	(104)	56%	(104)
Probably was	53%	(255)	54%	(255)
Probably wasn't	48%	(103)	63%	(103)
Definitely wasn't	42%	(33)	39%	(33)
tau c	-.14**		.00	

** p less than .01.
[a] N's on which percentages were based in parentheses.

Table 5-12

Relationships between (a) Defining the Party Vignette as Rape[a] and (b) Positive and Negative Reactions Anticipated from Parents and Friends (tau b's)

	Parents (N = 484)	Friends (N = 469)
Positive reaction(s)	+.10*	+.13**
Negative reaction(s)	-.16**	-.12**

* p less than .05.
** p less than .01.
[a] 1 = definitely wasn't, 4 = definitely was rape.

For the party vignette, most of the young women thought that it involved rape, but about a fourth said that it probably or definitely didn't. Those who thought it was rape anticipated a more positive reaction from parents, and were more likely to intend to tell parents. Those who thought it was rape also anticipated a more positive reaction from friends. Intending to tell friend(s) was related to the type of reaction anticipated from them, but was not related to whether the young women thought that the vignette was rape.

The young women were more likely to intend to tell parents about the street vignette than the party vignette. They were more likely to intend to tell friend(s) about the party vignette than about the street vignette. For both vignettes, those who said that they intended to tell a parent were less likely to say that they intended to tell a friend, and vice versa.

These results suggest that the young women saw parents and friends as playing different roles. They intended to tell a parent when the incident was seen as rape, a serious problem with regard to which the parent was more likely to react in a positive way. Intending to tell a friend was not related to whether the incident was perceived as rape; in fact, the young women were more likely to say that they would tell a friend about the party vignette than about the street vignette. But intending to tell a friend was related to whether a positive or negative reaction was anticipated from the friend. Since there was a negative relationship between intentions to tell parents and friends, the results suggest that the young women intended to tell a friend when they would not tell a parent, and when they anticipated a sympathetic reaction from the friend.

Chapter 6

Males and Females' Reactions to a Hypothetical Assault by a Stranger

Eleanor R. Hall and Patricia J. Flannery

Sexual assault is much rarer among males than among females. In the present sample 12% of the young women said that they had been sexually assaulted, but only 2% of the young men.

In order to obtain comparative data on the reactions of males and females to sexual assault, a vignette describing the sexual assault of a male was given to the males in the sample. The vignette was designed to be comparable to the vignette describing the assault of a female by a stranger, in that it occurred on the street at night and involved the use of force. The male assault involved two assailants, so that the male respondents could not deny that such a thing could happen to them, saying that they would fight the man off, etc. The vignette read as follows:

> ...a guy about your age is walking home from a basketball game. Two men he has seen before in his neighborhood but doesn't know, offer him a ride home. The guy gets in the car. Instead of taking him home, the two men drive through an alley. They tell the guy to get out of the car and take him into a garage. While one man holds a knife on the guy, the other man has sex with him against his will.

Following this vignette, the males were asked the same questions that were asked of the females, questions about their concerns and worries, what they would do, who they would tell, and so on. (Of course, their answers indicate how they <u>think</u> they would respond, not

how they would actually respond to an assault situation.) The significance of sex differences in the responses to each question were tested by chi-squares. Only differences significant at the .01 level were considered significant. (Because of the large number of cases, very small differences were significant at the .05 level.)

The results to the question, "If this happened to you, after it was all over, what concerns or worries would you have?" are shown in Table 6-1. The most obvious sex difference was in the area of health concerns, the most often mentioned concern for the females and far more important than for males. A health concern was mentioned by 71% of the females and only 10% of the males. Naturally, females mentioned concerns about possible pregnancy while males did not. Females were also significantly more likely than males to think they would be concerned about getting VD or some other disease, as well as about infertility. The percentage for VD was unrealistically low for both males and females. For females, VD is a more likely result of rape than pregnancy. VD is also common among male homosexuals and might be a likely consequence of a male sexual assault.

Fears were a major concern, mentioned by almost 40% of both males and females. There was no significant sex difference in the overall level of fear concerns. For respondents of both sexes, fear of the same thing happening again was the major concern.

Social concerns were mentioned by 40% of the males and were significantly less important for females. Males were significantly more likely than females to think they would be concerned about what people other than parents would think.

Table 6-1

Concerns Expressed by Males and Females to Assault by a Stranger

	Males	Females	Chi square
Health	10%	71%	346.1**
Pregnancy	0	64	408.5**
VD, other disease	4	13	22.4**
Infertility	6	16	19.3**
Social Concerns	40	16	66.4**
What parents would think	3	7	
What others would think	38	9	103.9**
Bad reputation	3	1	
Fears	37	39	
Repeat of assault	30	28	
Fear of walking streets	9	14	
Other Psychological Concerns			
Emotional-mental effects	12	12	
Guilt, loss of self esteem	8	2	16.2**
Reactions to men	1	6	15.8**
Self-blame	1	1	
Action Against Assailant	21	12	13.0**
Reporting to police	5	3	
Catching, arresting assailant	5	8	
Getting even, revenge	14	1	60.4**
Other	12	9	
Seeing assailant again	6	0	30.1**
Never get talked into assault again	4	0	20.0**

** p less than .01.

Males were also significantly more likely than females to think they would be concerned about getting back at the assailant. This intended retaliation seemed to refer to a private type of revenge. Significantly more males than females mentioned getting even, or revenge. But there were no significant sex differences in the percentage who said that they would call the police, or catch and arrest the assailant.

There were no overall differences in psychological concerns, which were mentioned by about a fifth of both males and females. However, there were significant sex differences in the type of psychological concerns. Males were significantly more likely to mention guilt and loss of self-esteem, while females were likely to mention concern over their reactions to men. In an actual assault situation, psychological consequences would undoubtedly be experienced by far more. Feelings of shame, embarrassment, self-blame, and a loss of sense of control over her life are frequent among women who have been raped. These types of psychological concerns were mentioned by very few of the young women in the survey.

In summary, females thought that their most important concerns by far would be health concerns, particularly pregnancy. Fears were next most often mentioned, and psychological concerns were third. For males, the most often mentioned concerns were social concerns, mainly what others would think. Fears, particularly fear of the same thing happening again, were next most common. Psychological concerns and revenge concerns were mentioned less.

The next two questions were, "If this happened to you, what would you do? And "Would you tell anyone (else)?" with a possible probe,

"Who?" The data for these questions were combined, as many respondents said that they would tell someone when asked what they would do. The data are presented in Table 6-2.

Clearly, males were less likely than females to think they would tell someone. The sex differences were significant for telling the police (57% vs. 86% for females), parents (57% vs. 86% for females), friends (22% vs. 39% for females) and human service professionals (5% vs. 10% for females). Since getting help in dealing with an assault often involves telling someone, these results indicate that males are probably much less likely to get help. (In fact, males were significantly more likely to say that they would tell no one (11% vs. none for females).

Both males and females were significantly more likely to intend to tell a parent than a friend (chi square = 96.2, p less than .01 for males; chi square = 178.5, p less than .01 for females).

In an actual assault situation, probably far fewer of both males and females would tell someone. But females might probably be more likely to report. In the present study, about six times as many females as males reported that they had been assaulted. But among clients of the Milwaukee Sexual Assault Treatment Center, females outnumbered males by more than twenty to one (Sobczak, Peterson, Steele, and Linnane, 1979).

It was hypothesized that the males' anticipated lack of communication was due to their expectation that others would react negatively. There was no evidence that this was the case in the responses to the question, "Well, if you told your parents, how do you think they would feel?" Anticipated parents' reactions were virtually identical for

Table 6-2

What Males and Females Would Do If Assaulted by a Stranger

(Per Cents)

	Males (N=447)	Females (N=495)	Chi square
People told			
Police	57%	86%	98.5**
Parent(s)	57	86	97.4**
Other family member	10	13	
Friends	22	39	31.5**
Warn, get advice	22	10	25.3**
Girl friend	0	26	127.4**
Boy friend	0	9	41.1**
Human service professional	5	10	7.6**
Doctor	5	10	8.7**
No one	11	0	55.2**
Other reactions			
Want to get even	23	1	118.9**
Try to identify, find assailant	8	2	19.5**
Other	15	32	

** p less than .01

males and females (see Table 6-3). Both males and females anticipated that their parents would react to them in a predominantly positive way, if they were assaulted. There was no significant sex difference in the percentage who anticipated at least one positive reaction from parents. For both males and females, the most common anticipated positive reactions were understanding, concern, and feeling sorry for the victim. Females were significantly more likely to anticipate that their parents would be fearful on their behalf, and would want to protect them. Few anticipated negative reactions. In reality, the reactions of parents of females would probably be not nearly as positive as those anticipated by the young women in the sample.

General negative emotions (shock, general upset) were mentioned by equal percentages of males and females.

There was a significant sex difference in negative reactions towards the assailant, with females significantly more likely to anticipate that their parents would be angry at and would hate the assailant.

In summary, males and females anticipated equally positive reactions of parents towards themselves, were they a victim of the assault described. However, the responses imply that the females felt themselves to be under their parents' protection, while the males thought they would be expected to fend for themselves. Females were more likely to anticipate that their parents would be fearful for them and angry at the assailant than males were. It seems that females thought that their parents would be more emotionally involved in the assault, more in the sense that someone under their protection had been

Table 6-3

Anticipated Parental Reactions to Sexual Assault by a Stranger

(Per Cent Anticipating Each Type of Reaction)

	Males (N = 398)	Females (N = 486)	Chi square
Positive towards victim	58%	61%	
Feel sorry for victim	29	28	
Feel understanding, concern	27	26	
Fear for victim, want to protect	9	17	13.4**
Want to help, advise	9	6	
Other positive feelings	0	1	
Negative towards victim	14	12	
Blame, think victim is "easy"	5	5	
Other negative feelings	9	8	
Negative towards assailant			
Angry, hate assailant	18	30	17.6**
Call police	9	13	
Want revenge, to "get" assailant	7	8	
Other negative feelings	1	0	
Other negative feelings			
General negative emotions (shock, etc.)	23	25	
Anger, not specific	9	11	

** p less than .01

injured, than in the sense of being more concerned about their daughters.

There were more striking sex differences in the anticipated reactions of friends (see Table 6-4). Both males and females anticipated predominantly positive reactions from friends. But females were significantly more likely to anticipate at least one positive reaction. In particular, female respondents were significantly more likely to anticipate that friends would feel sorry for them.

In addition, males were significantly more likely to anticipate at least one negative reaction. The most common negative reaction anticipated by males was that friends would think they were homosexual (12%). This reaction was obviously not appropriate for the female vignette. Yet the percentage of females who anticipated that friends would think they were "easy" (the equivalent female category) was much lower, 2%. Also, males were significantly more likely to say that friends would not be their friends, or would think that they were different because it happened to them. Obviously the anticipated social stigma of an assault was considerably higher for males than for females.

Females also were significantly more likely to anticipate a negative reaction to the assailant. Females were more likely to anticipate that their friends would fear for themselves.

Males were also significantly more likely to anticipate that friends would laugh and joke about the assault (24% vs. 1% for females). This anticipated response might reflect the inability of adolescent males to deal comfortably with sensitive personal topics. Also, males were significantly more likely to say that the reaction would depend on the friends.

Table 6-4

Anticipated Reactions by Friends to Assault by a Stranger
(Per Cents)

	Males (N = 398)	Females (N = 486)	Chi square
Positive towards victim	39%	66%	62.7**
Feel sorry for victim	23	44	44.0**
Understanding, concern	15	19	
Want to help, advise	8	8	
Other positive feelings	0	4	
Negative towards victim	37%	6%	137.9**
Think victim is homosexual	12	0	56.9**
Think victim is different, it happened to him/her	8	1	19.9**
Not be friends	8	0	36.5**
Not trust	6	1	
Blame, think victim "easy"	4	2	
Other negative feelings	6	1	
Negative towards assailant			
Fear for themselves	7	30	73.8**
Revenge, "get" assailant	8	2	16.0**
Be angry, hate assailant	3	7	
Other negative feelings	1	2	
Other negative feelings			
General negative emotions (shock, etc.)	9	17	12.3**
Anger, not specific	3	5	
Neutral			
Laugh, joke	24	1	111.5**
Other neutral feelings	3	2	
Other responses			
Depends on friends	9	0	39.1**
Wouldn't tell friends	6	3	

** p less than .01

In other words, the males' reactions to sexual assault were similar to the ways in which females have traditionally reacted to assault. Males expressed a desire to keep the assault hidden, reluctance to tell others, and concern with what others would think. This last reaction, in the case of friends, was to some extent based on anticipations of the friends' reactions. The males anticipated that their friends would be more negative towards them, as well as joking more, which would be felt as callous. Males who anticipated one or more positive reactions from friends were significantly more likely to say that they would tell a friend. Those who anticipated one or more negative reactions were significantly less likely to say that they would tell a friend (see Table 6-5). However, the males' reluctance to tell their parents was not based on anticipated reactions. Males anticipated predominantly positive reactions from the parents, and reactions which were just as favorable as those anticipated by females. The relationships between anticipated positive and negative reactions from parents and intention to tell parents were not significant (Table 6-5).

These data indicate that males believe that they would experience sexual assault as more stigmatizing than females do, probably because male sexual assault has not been the target of community education efforts, as female sexual assault has. However, the females' anticipations were probably unrealistically positive. Research on women who have been raped indicates that they often do not receive the positive, sympathetic reactions which the young women in the present survey thought that they would receive.

Table 6-5

Male Street Vignette--

Relationships between (a) Positive and Negative Reaction(s)

Anticipated from Parents and Friends, and

(b) Intention of Telling Parent(s) and Friend(s)

(tau b's)

(N = 384 - 389)

	Would tell parent(s)	Would tell friend(s)
Parents		
Positive reaction(s)	-.03	-.02
Negative reaction(s)	.00	.04
Friends		
Positive reaction(s)	.08	.18**
Negative reaction(s)	-.08	-.25**

** p less than .01

It is possible that the frequency of the assault of males is greater than statistics indicate. Many males undoubtedly do not report assault because of the negative reactions that they anticipate (Schultz and DeSavage, 1975; Groth, 1979, p. 119).

Chapter 7

Prevalence and Correlates of Sexual Assault

Eleanor R. Hall and Patricia J. Flannery

At the end of the interview, the young people in the survey were given a sheet of paper with some questions which were more personal than those which were asked in the interview itself. They were asked to answer the questions if they wished, put the sheet in the envelope, and seal it. They were told that the interviewer would not see their answers. Over 97% of the young people answered these personal questions.

For females, one question read, "Has a guy ever used physical force or threatened you, to make you have sex when you didn't want to?" For males, the corresponding question was "Has a guy ever used physical force or threatened you to make you do something sexual when you didn't want to?"

Sexual assault was startlingly common among the sample. Twelve percent of the females and two percent of the males answered "yes" to the questions, indicating that they had been raped or sexually assaulted.

Also, no segment of the population was immune from sexual assault. Too few males were involved in assaults for conclusions to be drawn concerning them. But for females, the percentage who had been raped was almost identical for whites, blacks, and members of other ethnic groups. Rape was not significantly related to neighborhood; it was as frequent in the suburbs as it was in the inner city and in the rest of Milwaukee.

Variables which were significantly related to rape victimization among females are shown in Table 7-1. Rape was significantly related to family living situation; the lowest rates of assault occurred among young women living with both parents. There is no evidence that this difference was due to a possible lack of parental supervision in mother-headed households, as sexual assault was not significantly related to whether the mother worked.

Having been raped was significantly related to having been brought up in no religion and to having no current religious preference. These two variables both contributed to the incidence of rape independently of each other. The lowest prevalence of rape was found among young women who had been brought up in a religion and who had a current religious preference (see Table 7-2). However, the particular religion did not relate to rape victimization. There were no significant differences in the rates of rape between those brought up as Catholics or Protestants, or between those whose current religious preference was Catholicism or Protestantism. (There were too few members of other religious groups for tests to be made on them.)

These results do not necessarily mean that religion was in itself negatively related to sexual assault. Being religious and having a religious upbringing may be associated with a more conservative, restricted lifestyle which protects the young women against sexual assault to some extent.

Also, the sexual climate of the peer group was related to having been sexually assaulted. One of the questions on the personal question sheet was, "Of the five girls who you know best, how many would you say have had sex with a guy?" Of young women who said that none of their

Table 7-1

Variables Associated with Rape Victimization

	Per cent raped	N	Significance Test
Age			
14	11%	115	Chi square = 9.0*
15	15	109	
16	6	137	
17	17	127	
Living situation* **			
With both parents	8	308	Chi square = 9.8*
With mother and stepfather	17	47	
With mother only	18	131	
Brought up in some religion			
Yes	10	400	Chi square = 5.9*
No	19	108	
Had current religious preference			
Yes	9	301	Chi square = 4.8*
No	16	204	
Number who have had sex, of five girls known best			
None	6	144	tau c = .14**
One or two	10	208	
Three to five	22	156	
Having sex expected, by five girls known best			
Don't	9	303	tau c = .06*
Some or a lot	16	200	

* p less than .05
** p less than .01
*** Respondents in other living situations were too few to permit comparisons and were eliminated.

Table 7-2

Prevalence of Rape by Religious Upbringing and Current Religious Preference (Percent Who Had Been Raped)[a]

Brought Up in a Religion	Religious Preference Now: No	Religious Preference Now: Yes
Yes	14% (124)	8% (274)
No	20% (80)	19% (27)

[a] N's on which percentages are based are in parentheses.

friends had had sex, 6% had been raped. Of young women who said that three to five of their friends had had sex, 22% had been raped.

It might be hypothesized that if a young woman is part of a group of friends who are known to be sexually active, males are likely to perceive her as interested in sex and to have "led them on." They therefore might feel more justified in forcing sex upon her. Giarruso, Johnson, Goodchilds, and Zellman's (1979) research on Los Angeles adolescents provides some support for this hypothesis.

The data provide no information about whether the respondents themselves had had intercourse before they were sexually assaulted. But it is possible that they had, as in a survey of young adults, DeLamater and MacCorquodale (1979, pp. 121-126) found that church involvement was associated with less lifetime sex experience.

It is also possible that young women whose friends are sexually active have a more unconventional life style and are therefore more likely to be in situations and social groups where they are likely to be assaulted.

The variables associated with having been raped were also associated with each other. Having been brought up in a religion and having a current religious preference were associated with living with both parents. Young women who had been brought up in a religion and had a current religious preference were least likely to have a sexually active peer group (see Table 7-3). Young women living with both parents were less likely to have a sexually active peer group (see Table 7-4).

Table 7-3

Religious Upbringing, Current Religious Preference, and Sexual Activity of Peer Groups for Females (Per cent with majority of peer group sexually active)[a]

	Religious Preference Now	
Brought Up in a Religion	No	Yes
Yes	40% (125)	24% (275)
No	39% (80)	37% (27)

[a] N's on which percentages are based are in parentheses.

Table 7-4

Living Situation and Sexual Activity of Peer Group, for Females

Living Situation[a]	Percent with majority of peer group sexually active	N
With both parents	22%	310
With mother and stepfather	51	47
With mother only	40	131

Chi square = 24.7
df = 2
[a] Those in other living situations were too few to permit comparisons and were eliminated.

The fact that religious young women with fewer sexually active female friends were less likely to be assaulted should not be interpreted to mean that "nice girls don't get raped." Of the young women who were raped, two-thirds were brought up in some religion, 45% had a current religious preference, and almost half said that two or less of their five best female friends had had sex. The relationships of religion and friends' sexual activity to sexual assault were extremely slight, although they were statistically significant.

The present results are only suggestive. The causal mechanisms underlying the relationships are not clear from the present data. Further research is needed to determine the nature of the relationships between family living situation, religious background and preference, life style, and vulnerability to sexual assault.

Chapter 8

Views of Sexual Assault Treatment Centers

Eleanor R. Hall and Gilbert Gloyer, Jr.

Sexual assault treatment centers (SATCs) have been leaders in the treatment of rape victims. They provide services which are often unavailable elsewhere, since many doctors, social workers, and psychologists have no skills in dealing with sexual assault. Also, SATCs provide integrated services. In one location, the sexual assault victim can often obtain medical help, psychological counseling, legal advice, and other services. Sexual assault treatment centers may be particularly important for adolescents, since many centers provide services free of charge. Many adolescents do not want to tell their parents about the assault, which would usually be necessary in order to pay for services. Therefore, adolescents' views of sexual assault treatment centers were an important focus of the survey.

The section of the interview on SATCs attempted to focus on several issues which might affect SATC utilizaton by adolescents.

1. Are adolescents motivated to use SATCs? Do they perceive the services that such centers provide as important and valuable?
2. What barriers exist to adolescents' use of SATCs? Possible barriers include lack of awareness of the existence of the center, worry about confidentiality, and some special circumstances (not being a virgin, which

might lead to accusations of having provoked the assault, and being assaulted by a boyfriend, whom the girl might not want to get into trouble).

The questions on SATCs were introduced with the following explanation of sexual assault: "Sexual assault includes more than rape.[9] It involves using force or the threat of force to make a person do something sex-wise that she or he doesn't want to do. It can involve rape, but it doesn't necessarily mean going all the way. So boys and men can be sexually assaulted. According to Wisconsin laws, all kinds of sexual assault are illegal, not just rape." This explanation was included so that young men would perceive the sexual assault treatment center as relevant to themselves as well as to female clients.

Motivation to Use an SATC

To learn about the incentive to utilize an SATC, the young people were asked about the services which a sexual assault treatment center could offer, and whether they thought these services were very important, somewhat important, or not at all important. The results are presented in Table 8-1. Females and males were in agreement about the relative importance of different services; sex was not significantly related to the ratings of importance. Parallelling the concerns expressed to the vignettes, health-related services were considered most important. Over 85% said that medical treatment for injuries and testing and treating VD were very important. (However, only about half

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[9] In the immediately preceding section of the interview, the respondents were told, "Rape is the crime of using force or the threat of force to have sex with a girl or woman when she doesn't want to..."

Table 8-1

Importance of SATC Services

(Per Cent Saying Very Important)

	Males (N=451-460)	Females (N=505-509)
Testing for and treating VD	91%	94%
Medical treatment for injuries	85	92
Helping get rid of fears	84	86
Talking over feelings (fear, anger, shame, getting even)	70	79
Helping with legal matters	69	75
Helping decide whether to tell parents and other relatives	64	62
Offering morning-after pill	56	58
Teaching girls not to be sexually easy[a]	51	58

[a] Included to discourage a response set of "very important."

thought a morning-after pill to prevent pregnancy was very important, perhaps because many of the sample were Catholic.) Psychological issues were considered next most important. Helping the person get rid of fears, such as fear of being alone or going out at night, was considered important by about 85%, and talking about feelings about what happened, such as anger, shame, and getting even, were considered very important by about three-fourths. Lower percentages thought that it was important to help people who were assaulted decide whether to tell their parents, and to help them deal with legal matters, such as whether to report to the police. Every service was considered important by a majority of the young people in the sample. Clearly, there was a strong incentive to use the services of an SATC, if necessary.

Barriers to Use of an SATC

The next series of questions dealt with barriers to going to an SATC, and particularly with concerns about confidentiality.

The Milwaukee SATC's policy is absolute confidentiality, telling neither parents of adolescents nor the police about the assault. To determine whether adolescents were aware of this policy, they were asked, "If you reported a sexual assault to a sexual assault treatment center, do you think they would tell the police if you didn't want them to?" and "...do you think they would tell your parents if you didn't want them to?" The results in Table 8-2 show that the young people in the sample were generally aware of sexual assault treatment centers' policy of confidentiality.[10]

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[10] Later questions indicated very little awareness of sexual assault treatment centers. In answering the questions about confidentiality, the young people were probably generalizing from their knowledge of other social agencies.

Table 8-2

Beliefs about Confidentiality of SATC Services
(Per Cent Saying Definitely or Probably Would)

	Males (N=450-457)	Females (N=499-504)	tau c[a]
SATC "would tell your parents if you didn't want them to"	29%	26%	n.s.
SATC "would tell the police if you didn't want them to"	27	22	n.s.
Friends would find out	15	12	-.12**

** p less than .01
[a] Based on a four-point scale.

This policy was obviously important to the young people who were interviewed. They were asked, if they were raped or sexually assaulted, whether they would go to a sexual assault treatment center if the center told their parents, if they thought friends would find out, if the center told the police about the assault, and if they were sure the center wouldn't tell parents, the police, or anyone else. The results to these questions are shown in Table 8-3.

Table 8-3

Willingness to Go to An SATC Under Certain Conditions
(Per Cent Who Said That They Definitely or Probably Would Go)

	Males (N=452-457)	Females (N=496-508)	tau c[a]
If SATC told no one	89%	95%	.20**
If SATC told the police	69	70	.01
If SATC told parents	52	54	.03
If friends found out	33	42	.13**
If not a virgin	--	81	--
If boyfriend forced sex	--	50	--

** p less than .01.
[a] Based on a four-point scale.

Almost all said that they would go if they were sure that no one was told against their will, and about 70% would go if the police were told. But only half said they would go if the SATC told their parents, and even fewer if their friends found out. Males were significantly less likely than females to say that they would go to an SATC if their friends found out. The wide differences in the percentages who would go to an SATC under different conditions of confidentiality indicate how important the policy of confidentiality was to young people in the sample.

Because they believe that a visit to an SATC would be kept in confidence, concerns about who would find out would prevent only a very few from using an SATC. However, because confidentiality is important, the policy should be emphasized in rape education efforts, particularly with groups including males.

Worry over accusations of promiscuity were apparently not a barrier, as four fifths of the young women said they would go to an SATC if not a virgin. But only half would go if a boyfriend forced sex.

The teenagers' willingness to go to a sexual assault treatment center, as reported in our survey, is probably higher than it would be in a real life situation, for a number of reasons.

First, within an interview context the respondent cannot imagine the emotions of embarrassment, guilt, and shame which frequently accompany sexual assault. These would be real barriers to reporting, particularly for inexperienced adolescents who are not used to discussing personal matters with strangers. If a young person went to the SATC without telling her/his parents, s/he would be dealing with a social agency which is unfamiliar.

Secondly, in the vignettes our interview presented sexual assault in a situation in which the victim was in no way doing anything that s/he should not do or responsible for the assault. The vignettes were designed in this way for the following reasons: First, we did not want to ask the teenager to identify with a situation where s/he was doing something s/he would not ordinarily do. ("Imagine that you were hitchhiking....") Secondly, we did not want to lay ourselves open to the criticism that we might be encouraging anti-social behavior by asking the teenager to imagine that s/he was behaving in a disapproved way.

This decision meant that the situations presented in the vignettes did not cover the whole range of rape situations. In fact, many young women are assaulted when doing something they should not

do, hitchhiking, going somewhere they have been told not to go, with people their parents don't want them to associate with, and so on. Therefore, if the teenagers' responses to the questions about going to an SATC were influenced by seeing rape in the context of the vignettes, which preceded the SATC questions, they might report being more willing to go to a sexual assault treatment center than they would be in a real life situation.

Therefore, the absolute percentages saying that they would go to an SATC under certain conditions are probably too high. However, there is no reason to believe that there is bias in the relative differences between the percentages who would go under certain conditions.

Preferred Types of Sexual Assault Treatment Centers

Sexual Assault Treatment Centers differ widely. Some are affiliated with a hospital or other community institution, have a professional orientation, and are apolitical. Others developed out of the feminist movement. They tend to be independent of other institutions, and rely heavily on volunteer staff. They are similar to "free clinics," that is, clinics operated by those who are dissatisfied with the health establishment, many of them volunteers. Free clinics are designed to meet hitherto unmet needs, particularly the needs of those who are alienated from establishment institutions (Bearman, 1974). A number of questions dealt with which type of center young women would feel most comfortable with. Because they are probably less likely to be assaulted, these questions were not asked of males. The results are shown in Table 8-4.

The first question was, "If you wanted to get help, which kind of sexual assault treatment center would you rather go to: one located in a hospital, one located in a mental health center, or one completely separate and independent from any other organization?" Almost two-thirds said that they would prefer an independent center, probably because they perceived it as less bureaucratic. About one-third preferred a hospital-affiliated center. Virtually no one preferred a center affiliated with a mental health center, probably because of the stigma of mental illness.

The next question was, "Some sexual assault treatment centers are run by women who are active in women's rights or the women's movement. Other centers are run by people with no special point of view. Which kind would you rather go to?" Over 60% said that they would prefer a feminist center, one run by women who are active in the women's movement. Adolescent girls are not particularly feminist in their views, so this choice may simply mean that they preferred talking with a woman on a personal, sensitive topic.

The third question read,

> I'll describe two kinds of sexual assault treatment centers, and I'd like to ask you which kind you would rather go to. The first kind is staffed entirely by professional people: doctors, nurses and counselors. These professionals have had training and experience in helping people who have been sexually assaulted. The second kind has some professional staff--doctors and nurses--and also some trained volunteer counselors. These counselors volunteer their services because they are concerned about sexual assault. Some have been assaulted themselves. Some of them are close to you in age. Which kind of center would you rather go to, if they provided equally good services and both were free? Would you rather go to the one staffed entirely by professionals, or the one staffed partly by concerned volunteers?

Table 8-4

Young Women's Preferences for Sexual Assault Treatment Centers
(Per Cent Preferring Each Alternative)

Organizational Affiliation	
Separate and independent	65%
Located in a hospital	32
Located in a mental health center	2
No preference	1
Total	100%
N	507
Staff (Philosophy)	
Women active in the women's movement	62%
People with no special point of view	32
No preference	5
Wouldn't go to any	1
Total	100%
N	497
Staff (Qualifications)	
Some concerned volunteers	81%
All professionals	19
Total	100%
N	508

Over 80% said that they would prefer a center with some volunteers who were concerned about sexual assault, some of whom had been assaulted and were close to the victims in age, rather than the center which was staffed entirely by professional doctors, nurses and counselors. When asked why, the most common answer was that if the volunteers had been sexually assaulted they would be more able to understand how the victim felt and to help her.

In saying that they preferred the independent center run by women who are active in the women's movement and staffed by some concerned volunteers, the young women in the survey showed a preference for the "free clinic" type of SATC on all three questions.[11] Obviously, these results do not imply that all SATCs should follow the "free clinic" model. In the first place, older clients may prefer an "establishment" model and the security involved in a hospital setting. In the second place, many adolescent rape victims are brought to the SATC by a parent, an aunt, or another relative. Such people may feel more comfortable bringing the rape victim to the hospital-type center. Last but not

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[11] There was a significant relationship (tau b = .16) between preference for a separate and independent center and preference for a center with a partly volunteer staff. In other words, a nonbureaucratic preference on one question was associated with a nonbureaucratic preference on the other. However, preference for a separate, independent center was unrelated to preference for a feminist center. And there was a negative relationship (tau = -.16, p less than .01) between preference for a feminist center and preference for a center with a partly volunteer staff. Of those who preferred a feminist center, 77% wanted a center with some volunteer staff. Of those who did not prefer a feminist center, 89% wanted a staff with some volunteers. Apparently preference for a feminist center is independent of, or slightly negatively related to, preference for a nonbureaucratic center.

Table 8-5

Awareness of Rape Education
(Per Cent Yes)

	Males (N = 460)	Females (N = 513)	tau c[a]
Saw TV program about rape	65%	63%	n.s.
Heard talk about rape at school, club, or church group	36	45	+.09**
Knew there is an SATC in Milwaukee	61	55	n.s.

** p less than .01
[a] Based on a three-point scale (no-maybe-yes)

least, many hospital-based clinics are doing excellent work and should certainly not be disrupted. However, hospital-based clinics could increase their appeal to adolescent victims by adding volunteer counselors and adolescent counselors to their staff, and by using young people as speakers in their community education efforts. Also, they could emphasize the degree to which the clinic staff is female, not necessarily feminist but female.

Awareness of Rape Education and Services

Table 8-5 shows awareness of rape education efforts. Almost two-thirds of the sample had seen a TV program about rape. Most commonly, it was a documentary or news program, or a soap opera or other dramatization which involved rape.

Forty-five percent of the females and 36% of the males had heard a talk about rape at school, or at a club or church group. Over half knew that there was a sexual assault treatment center in Milwaukee. However, their knowledge was very vague. When asked what they knew

about it, they most commonly said nothing or that they just knew there was one. Less than a fifth knew either the name of the center[12] or that it was located in Family Hospital.

Summary

To summarize, the results showed that the attitude towards sexual assault treatment centers was positive. The young people in the sample believed that the services offered by such a center were important. They generally were aware that their visit to such a center would be kept in confidence. Only a few said that they would be prevented from using such a center from fear of who would be told or find out. (Of course, if they were actually assaulted shyness and embarrassment might prevent them from contacting an SATC.) A major barrier to use of an SATC was lack of awareness of it. Only a little over half of the young people knew that there was a center in Milwaukee. Of those, most did not know the name of it or where it was located. When asked what they would do in various sexual assault situations, almost none mentioned an SATC. Therefore, rape education efforts in the community should emphasize the existence of the sexual assault treatment center. Emergency room personnel and others who come in contact with rape victims should be sure to suggest the SATC to them.

Also, the young women in the sample preferred a "free clinic" type of SATC, one independent of other institutions, one run by women active in the women's movement, and one with a partly volunteer staff. SATCs

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[12] The question involved a broad hint, since the name of the center is the Sexual Assault Treatment Center of Greater Milwaukee.

with these characteristics should publicize them in their community education work with young people. More traditional SATCs should consider acquiring a more feminist image, and using volunteers as counselors.

Chapter 9

Attitudes towards Rape

Eleanor R. Hall and Sherrie L. Boezio

Of course, virtually no one approves of rape. Yet attitudes of tolerance of rape are held by many rapists and are also widespread in society at large. Tolerance of rape involves the following attitudes: (a) excusing the rapist and blaming the rape victim by saying that she provoked the rape or precipitated it ("she led him on," etc.); (b) denying that the rape actually occurred, claiming that many accusations of rape are false; (c) denying the seriousness of rape and the injury done to the victim ("when rape is inevitable, relax and enjoy it.")[13]

Tolerance of rape has important consequences. First, it may make it difficult to achieve a rape conviction, if the members of the jury blame the victim or do not believe that a rape actually occurred. Secondly, it may make the life of the rape victim more difficult. She does not receive the support and sympathy which she should, from those who have rape-tolerant attitudes.

Many researchers and theorists believe that rape tolerance has its roots in the sexist attitudes of society, to the effect that women should be dominated and viewed as "sex objects." A relationship

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[13] These attitudes are similar to the methods which delinquents use to neutralize guilt and disapproval (Sykes and Mazda, 1957).

between attitudes towards rape and attitudes towards sex roles has been found in surveys of the general population. Feild (1978) found relationships between attitudes excusing rape and preference for egalitarian male-female relationships. However, these correlations may have been spurious, as they were not computed for men and women separately. In a survey of 598 Minnesota adults, Burt (1980) found a relationship between Rape Myth Acceptance (beliefs that rape victims are promiscuous, provoke the rape, etc.) and Sex Role Stereotyping (beliefs that women should be traditional, submissive, restricted, their lives centered around marriage and the family). This relationship was found in both men and women.

An alternative possibility is that tolerance of rape is related to a generally antisocial attitude, similar to that of delinquents and criminals. Researchers who have studied rapists have stated that many of them are sociopathic (Littner, 1973; Rada, 1978), or generally violent and amoral (Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, and Christenson, 1965).

Research with the general population has provided some support for a relationship between attitudes towards rape and towards violence. Burt (1980) found that Rape Myth Acceptance was strongly related to acceptance of interpersonal violence. However, most of the items in the Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence scale dealt with violence in male-female relationships (is a man ever justified in hitting his wife, being roughed up is sexually stimulating to women, etc.).

An important goal of the study was to measure tolerance of rape among adolescents, and to relate it to attitudes towards male-female relationships and to socialized as opposed to anti-social attitudes.

Measuring Instruments

Rape Attitudes

Attitudes towards rape were measured with items involving acceptance of rape, excusing the rapist, blaming the rape victim, and minimizing the seriousness of rape. The Rape Attitudes Scale was developed through item analysis of a larger pool of items which were given to a university sample as well as to the adolescents in the main study. The scale was validated by giving it to men who had been convicted of sexual assault and to a control group of men in the Milwaukee community. The development and validation of the scale are described in Appendix A. The scale items are in Table A-1.

Heterosexual Relationships

Many attitude scales on sex roles have been developed. However, Brannon (1978) has pointed out that many of the scales are very heterogeneous. No available scale specifically measured attitudes towards male-female relationships. Therefore, a scale was developed, designed to measure the extent of which the subject believed that males should dominate and control male-female relationships, and valued sex vs. love in such relationships. (See Table A-3). The high scorer would believe in male domination and would treat members of the opposite sex as "sex objects."

The Heterosexual Relationships Scale was developed from a larger pool of items which was given to the university sample mentioned above as well as to the adolescent sample. Information on the development and validation of the scale is presented in Appendix A.

The items dealing with rape tolerance and heterosexual relationships were included in one instrument, along with some filler items.

Socialization

As a measure of anti-social or delinquent tendencies, the Gough Socialization Scale was given to the males.[14] This measure has a number of advantages. It has been shown to differentiate between delinquents and normals (Stein, Gough, and Sarbin, 1966; Smith and Austrin, 1974). It is appropriate to adolescents. Also, it is not obviously related to delinquent behavior. Most of the items involve behaviors which have been shown to be related to delinquency (general adjustment, home life, getting along with parents and teachers, etc.).

Some of the items were omitted or modified to make the scale appropriate to teenagers and more current in vocabulary.

In order to test the validity of the revised version of this scale, it was given to men in prison who had been convicted of nonsexual crimes of violence, as well as those who had been convicted of sexual assault. Both groups obtained significantly lower scores than the Milwaukee community control group.

To make the scale more appropriate to adolescents, the version which was given to the teenagers was slightly modified in wording and vocabulary from the version given to the men in prison.

Samples

The Rape Tolerance and Heterosexual Relationships Scales were given to a sample of 119 male and 174 female students at the University

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[14] This scale was reproduced by special permission from the California Psychological Inventory, by Harrison Gough, Ph.D. Copyright date, 1957. Published by Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc.

of Wisconsin-Madison.[15] The Rape Tolerance Scale and a slightly longer version of the Heterosexual Relationships Scale were given to the females in the survey of teenagers; the male teenagers received those scales and the Gough Socialization Scale as well.

Results

Student t-tests were performed between the scores of males and females in both samples. The results are shown in Table 9-1. Males obtained significantly higher scores on the Heterosexual Relationships Scales in both samples (that is, they were significantly more likely to favor male domination of women, relating to the opposite sex as "sex objects," etc.).

For the Rape Attitudes Scale, males had significantly higher scores in the university samples (i.e., they excused rape more). There was no sex difference in Rape Attitudes for adolescents.

Pearson product-moment correlations between the variables among adolescents are presented in Table 9-2. The correlations between the Rape Tolerance and Heterosexual Relationships Scales were .49 for the university males, .52 for the university females, .54 for the younger males, and .44 for the younger females. All of these correlations were significant at the .01 level. The replication of the results in both samples provides strong evidence for the relationship of tolerance of rape to an attitude which involves perception of women as sex objects and condones male dominance of women. Also, the relationship was

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[15] The researchers are indebted to Judith A. Howard for obtaining these data.

Pearson r, the Pearson Product-moment Correlation

(A Guide for Non-social Scientists)

The Pearson product-moment correlation (Pearson r) measures the strength of the relationship between two variables. It can vary between -1.00 and +1.00. A positive Pearson r indicates that a high score on one variable is associated with a high score on the other variable. (For example, there is a possitive correlation between IQ and grades in school.) A negative correlation indicates that a high score on one variable is associated with a low score on the other (as between test anxiety and grades in school). A correlation of zero or close to zero indicates that there is no relationship between two variables (for example, between hair color and grades in school).

The statistical significance of Pearson r is assessed in the same way as the significance on other statistical tests. That is, a significant correlation could occur by chance only five times out of a hundred. A highly significant correlation could occur on chance only once out of a hundred times.

Table 9-1

Means on the Rape Attitudes and Heterosexual Relationships Scales

for the University and Adolescent Samples

	Mean		Standard Deviation		N		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	t
Rape Attitudes Scale[a]							
University Students	45.4	34.5	12.7	11.3	119	174	7.69**
Adolescents	33.8	33.0	6.9	7.2	455	510	1.76
Heterosexual Relationships Scale[a,b]							
University Students	30.6	24.3	8.0	7.4	119	174	6.87**
Adolescents	29.8	26.5	6.5	6.1	455	508	8.18**

** p less than .01, two-tailed test

[a] Scores for university students and adolescents are not comparable. The university students used a nine point agree-disagree scale; the adolescents used a five-point scale.

[b] Scores for university students and adolescents are not comparable. The university students' scale consisted of nine items, the adolescents' scale had twelve items.

Table 9-2

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations
among Attitude and Socialization Scales[a]
for the Adolescent Sample
(Females above the diagonal, males below)

	Rape Tolerance	Heterosexual Relationships
Rape Tolerance	-	.44**
Heterosexual Relationships	.54**	-
Socialization[b]	-.31**	-.33**

** p less than .01, two-tailed test
[a] For males, N=455
For females, N=508
[b] Females did not receive the Socialization Scale

significant for females as well as for males. Researchers in the area of rape have commented on the fact that in some cases, women jurors show a lack of sympathy for rape victims. The present results indicate that rape tolerance has the same attitudinal correlates among women as among men.

Among the male adolescents, the Gough Socialization Scale was significantly negatively correlated with the Rape Tolerance Scale (Pearson r = -.31, p less than .01) and the Heterosexual Relationships Scale (Pearson r = -.33, p less than .01). That is, males who tended to condone and excuse rape, males who believed in male dominance towards women and viewed women as sex objects, also tended to be less socialized, that is, to be reckless, rebellious, impulsive and cynical

rather than conforming, responsible, cooperative, and kind (Gough, 1972). However, the relationships with socialization were relatively weak, although statistically significant.

The relationship of rape tolerance and attitudes toward heterosexual relationships to the actual commission of rape is still undetermined. The commission of rape by particular men may have different roots than the attitudes prevalent in the society at large. Some experts in the area of rape have linked rape to an insecure male identity or to repressed homosexual tendencies, and believe that rape may be an attempt to validate masculine identity by playing an exaggerated male role of dominance and aggression. Some have linked rape to hostility towards mother, girlfriend, or wife, or to situational stress in the life of the rapist (Rada, 1978). In addition, opportunity undoubtedly plays a part in the commission of rape. A number of possible relationships between rape tolerance and the commission of rape may be hypothesized. It is possible that, first, rape tolerance precedes the commission of rape and to some extent causes it. Secondly, it is possible that the man who commits rape develops rape tolerant attitudes after the fact, as a way of justifying his behavior to himself and others. Thirdly, it is possible that rape tolerance in the society as a whole lessens the social disapproval of rape and makes it difficult to get a conviction for rape, but has no relationship to the actual commission of rape, which occurs for other reasons. The resolution of these issues will await on future research.

Chapter 10

Summary

The study involved interviews with young people between the ages of 14 and 17 in the Milwaukee area. The sample consisted of 513 young women and 460 young men. They were interviewed in private.

The young people perceived the rapist as primarily motivated by sexual needs and desires. They perceived the rapist as unsuccessful in heterosexual relationships and someone who felt inferior. They thought the rapist was emotionally disturbed, someone who was obviously abnormal to those in contact with him. In other words, they saw the rapist as trying to satisfy sexual motives which had been thwarted and/or psychologically distorted. They were relatively unaware of power and anger as motives for rape. They overestimated the percentage of rapes which are committed by a stranger, probably because they were less likely to think of rape by an acquaintance as being rape.

The young people were asked if they had been sexually assaulted. Twelve percent of the young women and two percent of the young men said that they had been. For the young women, those who had been sexually assaulted were more likely not to be living with both parents, to have been brought up in no religion and/or to have no current religious preference, and to have a sexually active peer group. The relationships were slight and should not be interpreted to mean that "nice girls don't get raped" -- many of those who were assaulted were religious girls who were living with both parents. Also, the relationships of religion and family background to family assault may be due not to those variables per se, but to differences in lifestyle (e.g., girls

from single parent families may be more likely to go places on their own rather than being taken by a parent).

Information on the young women's perceptions of sexual assault were obtained by giving them vignettes, brief stories which described sexual assault incidents, and asking them about their reactions if such a thing should happen to them. In one vignette, the victim was attacked by a stranger on the street. In another, she was attacked by an acquaintance at a party. For both vignettes, the young women felt that if such a thing happened to them, health worries would be a major area of concern, particularly fear of pregnancy. Fears (fear of being assaulted again, etc.) were a frequently mentioned concern for the street vignette. The young women were relatively unaware of the other psychological consequences of rape (guilt, loss of self-esteem, etc.). For the party vignette, social concerns (what would people think, etc.) were important.

Virtually all of the young women thought that the attack by a stranger was rape. They thought that they would probably tell their parents about it, and anticipated that their parents would react in a positive, sympathetic way. They were less likely to think that they would tell a friend or friends.

A lower percentage thought that the attack by an acquaintance at a party was rape, and perceiving it as rape was associated with intention to tell parents about it. Overall, they were less likely to intend to tell parents, and more likely to intend to tell friends than about the assault by the stranger on the street. They anticipated a less positive reaction from both parents and friends than to the assault on the street.

For both vignettes, the young people anticipated that friends would react more positively to them than parents. Anticipation of positive feelings from parents was associated with intentions to tell parents; the same was true for friends.

The results suggested that the young women saw parents and friends as playing different roles. They intended to tell a parent when the incident was seen as rape, a serious problem to which the parent was likely to react positively. Since there was a negative relationship between intentions to tell parents and friends, the results suggest that the young women intended to tell a friend when they would not tell a parent, and when they anticipated a sympathetic reaction from the friend. Perceiving the incident as rape was not related to intention to tell a friend about it.

The young men were given a vignette in which a young man was sexually assaulted by two strangers on the street. If such a thing happened to them, high percentages thought that social concerns and fears would be felt. Lower percentages expressed intentions to tell parents and friends than young women did to the comparable stranger vignette. Also, they anticipated more negative reactions from friends than the young women did. In other words, the young men perceived sexual assault as more stigmatizing than the young women did.

A separate series of questions dealt with sexual assault treatment centers. The young people had a positive attitude towards them, and perceived their services as important. The young women said that they would prefer the "free clinic" type of center, one independent of other institutions, run by women active in the women's movement, and staffed by some volunteers. The main barrier to use of a sexual assault

treatment center was lack of awareness. Over half knew that there was a sexual assault treatment center in Milwaukee, but less than a fifth knew either the name or the location of the center.

Attitude scales were used to measure attitudes towards rape (tolerating, excusing or condoning it) and attitudes towards heterosexual relationships (beliefs that men should control male-female relationships, viewing members of the opposite sex as "sex objects," etc.). The Gough Socialization Scale, which is associated with delinquent tendencies, was administered to the males. Tolerance of rape was strongly related to "male chauvinist" attitudes towards heterosexual relationships, and for males, was somewhat related to low scores on the Socialization Scale. Males with "male chauvinist" attitudes also tended to be less socialized.

The study has a number of implications for rape prevention and education:

1. Young people thought of the rapist as someone obviously abnormal, probably a stranger. They should be aware that the rapist is often an apparently normal acquaintance.
2. Some teenagers did not define rape by an acquaintance, in a social situation, as rape. They should be made aware that acquaintance rape is rape and should be reported to the police.
3. Teenagers anticipated more positive reactions from friends than from parents, to hypothetical assaults by a stranger and an acquaintance. This finding suggests that peer counseling could be a useful component of the treatment of adolescent rape victims.

4. Lack of awareness was the major barrier to the use of sexual assault treatment centers. More publicity about them should be directed at young people.
5. The young women said that the would prefer a sexual assault treatment center independent of other institutions, run by women active in the woman's movement, and partly staffed by volunteers. Other types of centers should move towards this model in their services to adolescents.
6. The data indicate that young men perceived a sexual assault as more stigmatizing than young women did, and that they would be less likely to tell parents, the police, or friends. These data suggest that more education on male sexual victimization is needed.
7. Among males, rape-tolerant attitudes were related to "male chauvinist" attitudes (beliefs that men should control male-female relationships, a view of members of the opposite sex as "sex objects"). Rape prevention efforts should attempt to reduce male chauvinism in order to create a climate which discourages rape.

Appendix A

Development of the Rape Attitudes, Heterosexual Relationships, and Socialization Scales

Three scales were used to measure attitudes and personality in the adolescents being studied. The Rape Attitudes Scale was designed to measure attitudes of tolerating or condoning rape, excusing the rapist and blaming the rape victim. The Heterosexual Relationships Scale was designed to measure "male chauvinist" attitudes towards male-female relationships, that is, the belief that males should dominate and control women, an emphasis on the sexual rather than the affectional aspect of male-female relationships, etc. The Gough Socialization Scale was used to measure the anti-social attitudes which are typical of delinquents.

In order to test the reliability and validity of these scales, versions of them were given to three samples in addition to the adolescents in the main study: a sample of University of Wisconsin introductory psychology students, a sample of men in prison who had been convicted of sexual assault and of other crimes of violence, and a community control group comparable to the prison sample in age. Data from these samples and from the adolescent sample were used in the development of the scales.

Instruments

Rape Attitudes Scale

The Rape Attitudes Scale consisted mainly of items developed by others and modified to make them appropriate to adolescents.

The item pool included items from the factors discovered by Feild (1978), especially those which weighted on factors which differentiated rapists from the general public, and items which differentiated sexually aggressive from nonagressive men in Aronson, Olah, and Koss's (1978) study.[16] Also, some items from Burt's (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance Scale were included. The items reflected many of the common myths about rape (that women enjoy violence, that the rape victim often provoked the rape, that seductive clothing and behavior precipitate rape, etc.). Vocabulary and sentence structure were simplified to make the items more understandable to adolescents.

The rapist's beliefs about rape are similar to the rationalizations which delinquents in general use for their behavior (the victim wasn't really hurt, the victim provoked the crime, etc.) (Sykes and Matza, 1957). Therefore, some statements reflecting these points of view were included (for example, the idea that rape is not a very serious crime).

Previous research (Zellman et al., 1981) indicates that many teenagers are not sure what rape is. Therefore, as much as possible, the items referred to "using physical force to make a girl have sex when she doesn't want to," or used a similar expression.

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[16] The researchers are indebted to David W. Aronson for providing unpublished data on these items.

Heterosexual Relationships Scale

Since no existing scales measured the attitude towards male-female relationships which we were concerned with, the items for the Heterosexual Relationships Scale were mainly developed by the researchers.

Gross (1978) has described the typical male heterosexual role, as documented by research. He states that sex is more central to a relationship for males than for females. Males tend to isolate sex from other aspects of social life, separating it from love and friendship, more than females do. They have a success orientation towards sex, thinking of it in terms of striving for and achieving some goal. Males typically feel that they should initiate male-female relationships and control them.

A scale was developed to measure adherence to the male heterosexual role as described by Gross. Items were developed to indicate the various aspects of the male role; however, the items were worded so as to be appropriate to both sexes.

In order to make the scale more meaningful for adolescents, there were no items dealing with adult relationships (between husband and wife, for example), that might tend to be answered in stereotypic, conventional, or socially desirable ways. Rather, the items dealt with issues that are salient for adolescents, including what is important in deciding who to date, who takes the initiative and is in control in a dating relationship, etc.

The items were worded so as to be appropriate to both sexes. Both "positive" items (items expressing a stereotypically "male chauvinist" point of view) and "negative" items (items expressing the opposite point of view) were included.

The rape attitudes and heterosexual relationship items were combined in one instrument, along with some filler items.

Gough Socialization Scale

The Gough Socialization Scale measures anti-social or delinquent tendencies. It was modified to make it more contemporary, more appropriate to adolescents, and more acceptable to the groups who received it. Two items dealing with stealing (Item 74) and trouble with the law (Item 37) were omitted as possibly objectionable to parents and teenagers. Item 18, "I often feel that I made a wrong choice in my occupation," and Item 65, "I would never play cards (poker) with a stranger," were omitted. In addition, some of the items were altered to make them more appropriate to adolescents and more current in vocabulary.

The modified version of the Gough Socialization Scale was validated with the prison and community control samples. The version given to the adolescents in the main study involved only slight changes in wording from the version given to the prison and control samples.

Samples

University Sample

The items related to rape attitudes and heterosexual relationships were given to a sample of 173 female and 119 male students at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The item wording was slightly different from that used with the adolescents, mainly in order to make the items appropriate to an older group (for example, "girl" was replaced by "woman" and "guy" with "man"). These items were part of a

larger self-administered questionnaire which also contained other items on attitudes towards rape, the Spence and Helmreich (1972) Attitudes Towards Women Scale, and items related to personal experiences with crime.

Prison Sample and Community Control Group

From the men who were admitted to three prisons in the Wisconsin state system during the first half of 1979, the population included:

1. All those convicted of rape (under the previous criminal code) and first and second degree sexual assault (equivalent to rape under the current criminal code). A random sample was drawn from this group, and 27 men were interviewed.

2. Men convicted of violence.

   a. Men convicted of assault.

   b. Men convicted of armed robbery.

Men convicted of assault and armed robbery were chosen at random from the lists of men convicted of those crimes, so as to obtain equal numbers of each. These two crimes were chosen as examples of relatively serious nonsexual crimes involving violence. Nineteen men from this group were interviewed.[17]

The sample was limited to men between the ages of 18 and 39. Men under 18 were not included in the sample because it would have been necessary to obtain their parents' consent to interview them.

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[17] We are indebted for the assistance of Perry Baker of the Wisconsin Division of Corrections, Ronald Giannoni of Waupun Correctional Institution, Harvey Wynans of Fox Lake Correctional Institution, and Donald Donlevy of Green Bay Correctional Institution for providing lists and arranging these interviews.

Men aged 40 and older were not included in the sample because there were very few of them, and they are probably atypical in a number of respects.

A control group was formed of thirty men between the ages of 19 and 39 from the Milwaukee community. It included fourteen men from an Opportunities Industrialization Center job program, seven men recruited through the National Guard, and seven men recruited through the Lutheran Church.[18] To the researchers' knowledge, it included no men who had been convicted of a crime.

The men were interviewed in private. The interviewers were two male graduate students in Social Welfare and Urban Social Institutions. Both had had experience in corrections. They did not know whether the men in prison had been convicted of sexual assault, assault, or armed robbery.

For some respondents, the interviewer read the item aloud, and the interviewee responded by circling a number on a five point agree-disagree scale on an answer sheet. This procedure was adopted in order to give the respondent privacy and at the same time compensate for the poor reading ability of some respondents. However, if the respondent wanted to, he could read the items himself.

The interview began with statements relating to attitudes towards crime in general, and opinions about what situations violence is

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[18] The researchers are indebted to Charlotte Hall of the Opportunities Industrialization Center, Major Vince Pinterro of the Army National Guard, and Pastor Wilber Hagebusch and Alice Koepke of the Faith Lutheran Church for help in obtaining these samples.

appropriate in. These items were included for two reasons: first, so that the emphasis on sexual assault would not be too pronounced, and secondly, to see if convicted rapists were similar to men convicted of other violent crimes in their attitudes towards violence in general, as well as violence towards women. Next came the items on rape attitudes and attitudes towards heterosexual relationships, combined in one instrument with some filler items. Lastly, the men responded to the modified version of the Gough Socialization Scale.

Method and Results

Items for the final scales were chosen by analysis of the item characteristics for the university and prison and control samples, as well as the main adolescent sample.

Rape Attitudes Scale

The scores of men convicted of sexual assault were compared with those in the control group, and some items which did not differentiate the two groups were not included in the adolescent scales.

For the adolescent and university samples, the rape attitude items were analyzed with the LIKERT program.[19] This program computes the correlation of each item with the score on the total scale (correcting for the contribution of that item), and calculates Cronbach's alpha and an index of homogeneity. Some items with low

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[19] This program was provided by Stephen E. Winckelman, Program Librarian, Computation Center, The Pennsylvania State University. His assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

item-total correlations were eliminated from the scale. Data on the final scale are shown in Table A-1. Cronbach's alpha for the final scales was .66 for the adolescent sample and .78 for the university sample. The indices of homogeneity were .12 and .20 respectively. The statistics were similar for males and females. The low index of homogeneity indicates that the scale was not very homogeneous, perhaps because it contained items from different factors in Feild's study.

As a test of face validity, the rape attitudes and heterosexual relationships items used in the final adolescent interview were given to 20 students in a UW-Milwaukee course in sex roles, in questionnaire format.[20] The students were asked to judge whether the item was relevant to attitudes towards rape, attitudes towards male-female relationships, or neither. The students had no difficulty making this differentiation; most items were clearly in one category or the other.[21] For almost all items, the items were included in the scale to which the majority of the students assigned them.[22]

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[20] We are indebted to Jane Hood for making her class available.

[21] Two-thirds or more of the students placed 12 items in the rape category, and 15 items in the male-female relationships category. A majority, but less than two-thirds, placed one item in the rape category and three items in the male-female category.

[22] Two items were placed in the rape category, on the final scale, even though the judges placed them in the male-female category. These items dealt with the girl's right to say no to sex and giving the impression that she wanted sex when she didn't. These items were considered the opposite of items which were judged related to rape, items relating to girls leading guys on, etc.

Table A - 1

Item - Total Correlations for the Rape Attitudes Scale
(Adolescent and University Samples)

Item[a]	Correlation of Item with Total Score[b]	
	Adolescents (N = 971)	University Students (N = 293)
Having sex forced on her against her will is extremely painful for a girl, even if the guy doesn't beat her up.	.23	.28
No matter how a girl acts, she never deserves to have someone use force to make her have sex when she doesn't want to.	.20	.38
Often, girls falsely report a rape in order to get attention.	.33	.45
A girl who goes to a guy's house when no one else is there is letting the guy know that she is willing to have sex.	.49	.49
Most girls who have sex physically forced on them are easy and loose.	.46	.47
When a guy is so turned on he can't stop, it is OK for him to force a girl to have sex even if she doesn't want to.	.44	.54

[a] Wording used for adolescents. For the university sample, the vocabulary was slightly modified to make it appropriate to an older group.

[b] Corrected for the contribution of that item to the total score.

Table A-1 (con'd.)

Item	Adolescents (N = 971)	University Students (N = 293)
Many girls make a guy think they want sex when they really don't because the girl doesn't know any better.	.40	.50
Murder and kidnapping are much more serious crimes than rape.	.16	.51
Most girls secretly want some guy to use violence to force them to have sex.	.47	.44
A girl has a right to say "no" to sex, even if the guy thought she wanted it.	.17	.62
Any healthy girl can successfully resist a guy who's trying to force sex on her, if she really wants to.	.24	.21
When girls go around braless or wearing short shorts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble.	.40	.38
If a girl is making out and she lets things get out of hand, it's her own fault if the guy forces sex on her.	.46	.57
If a guy has spent a lot of money on a date, he has a right to expect that the girl will have sex with him.	.44	.64

There is evidence for the validity of the scale, as it significantly differentiated between men who had been convicted of sexual assault and men in the control group (see Table A-2).

Table A-2

Means on Rape Attitude, Heterosexual Relationships, and Gough Socialization Scales (Prison and Control Samples)

Scale	(1) Control (N=30)	(2) Violent (N=19)	(3) Sexual Assault (N=27)	(1) vs. (2)	(1) vs. (3)	(2) vs. (3)
Rape Attitudes	28.1	32.5	34.7	-2.26*	-3.14**	-.94
Heterosexual Relationships	16.1	20.3	18.7	-3.40**	-2.16*	1.17
Socialization	47.0	41.1	43.1	4.81**	3.56**	-1.59

* p less than .05
** p less than .01

Heterosexual Relationships Scale

Responses to the heterosexual relationships items from the university and adolescent samples were analyzed with the LIKRT program. Items with low item-total correlations were dropped from the scale. The final scale consisted of nine items for the university students and twelve items for the adolescents. (After the university data was collected, additional items were included for the adolescent sample.) Cronbach's alpha was .64 for both samples. The indices of homogeneity were .17 for the university students, .13 for the adolescents. Data on the final scale is shown in Table A-3.

Table A-3

Item - Total Correlations for the Heterosexual Relationships Scale (Adolescent and University Samples)

Item[a]	Correlation of Item with Total Score[b]	
	Adolescents (N = 971)	University Students (N = 293)
It's OK for a guy to punch a stranger who makes a pass at his girlfriend.	.44	.44
It's more important for me to go out with someone I can really relate to than someone who has a good build.	.35	.41
Most girls like kind, considerate guys better than tough ones.	.15	.27
It is all right for a girl to ask a guy out, even if he has never asked her out.	.10	.35
When a girl goes out with a guy, he should mainly decide where they will go and what they will do.	.35	.17
In choosing who to go out with, looks are more important than brains.	.47	.51
A guy has got to show a girl who's boss or she'll end up bossing him.	.58	.54

[a]Wording used for adolescents. For the university sample, the vocabulary was slightly modified to make it appropriate to an older group.

[b]Corrected for the contribution of that item to the total score.

Table A-3 (con'd.)

	Adolescents	University Students
When going out together, it's OK for a guy and a girl to each pay their own way.	.26	.54
Most girls like to go out with a guy who is the boss.	.36	.43
I like to get someone I'm going with to do what I want rather than what he or she wants.	.29	---
When I go out with someone, I usually try to see how far I can get the other person to go sexually.	.50	---
I like going out with someone who others want to go out with but can't.	.41	---

Gough Socialization Scale

The Gough Socialization scale, for the male adolescents, yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .71 and a homogeneity index of .08. (The scale was not given to female adolescents.)

The prison sample provided evidence for the scale's validity. Men convicted of violent crimes obtained significantly lower scores on the scale than the community group; i.e., they scored in the less socialized direction (see Table A-2).

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