Sexual Violence as a Form of Social Control: The Role of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

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Abstract

This thesis examines the feminist hypothesis that rape functions as a tool of social control through which women are kept in subordinate social positions (Brownmiller, 1975). In examining this hypothesis, the current thesis explores the role of benevolent and hostile sexism in accounting for people's responses to different types of rape (i.e. stranger vs. acquaintance rape). An examination of the literature suggests that there are general societal beliefs in the distinction between "good" and "bad" rape victims (Pollard, 1992). Interestingly, researchers have observed that benevolent sexism (BS) is related to the idealisation of women in traditional gender roles (i.e. "good" women; Glick et al., 2000). It is, therefore, argued that individuals who idealise women in traditional roles (i.e. high BS individuals) are more likely to negatively evaluate rape victims who can be perceived as violating these norms.

Nine empirical studies are presented in this thesis. Study 1 examines the potential role of BS in accounting for previously observed differences in the amount of blame attributed to stranger and acquaintance rape victims (e.g. Pollard, 1992). Studies 2 and 3 examine the psychological mechanisms that underlie the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape situations. Studies 2 and 4 also explore the psychological mechanisms that underlie the relationship between hostile sexism (HS) and self-reported rape proclivity in acquaintance rape situations (c.f. Viki, 2000). In Study 5, the relationship between BS and paternalistic chivalry (attitudes that are simultaneously courteous and restrictive to women) is examined. Studies 6 and 7 examine the role of BS in accounting for participants' responses to stranger vs. acquaintance rape perpetrators. The last two studies (Studies 8 and 9) examine the potential role of legal verdicts in moderating the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape cases.

Taken together, the results support the argument that BS provides a psychological mechanism through which differences in the amount of blame attributed to stranger and acquaintance rape victims can be explained. In contrast, HS provides a mechanism for explaining differences in self-reported proclivity to commit stranger and acquaintance rape. The thesis concludes with a summary of the findings, a discussion of the methodological limitations of the studies and suggestions of directions for future research.

Memorandum

The research for this dissertation was conducted while the author was a full-time postgraduate student in the Department of Psychology at the University of Kent at Canterbury (September, 2000 – October, 2003) on a post-graduate scholarship from the Beit Trust, UK (grant number F3-37A-2).

The theoretical and empirical work herein is the independent work of the author. Intellectual debts are acknowledged in the text. The execution of the studies reported in this thesis required some limited assistance from other people. Their role consisted of assisting with aspects of the experimental procedure and administrating questionnaires.

The author has not been awarded a degree by this or any other university for the work included in this thesis.

Above all people, animals, objects and places in the world, I would like thank God, the Son and the Holy Spirit; the Holy Trinity through which all things that have happened in my life up to today have been possible. From the place where I began to the place where I will end, please stay with me, for I am ***absolutely*** nothing without you. Amen.

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Love Always

Tendayi

December, 2002

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INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THESIS

Background and Aim of Thesis

The effects of rape and other forms of sexual violence on the quality of women lives cannot be exaggerated. The importance of research into the causes of this phenomenon and the development of useful intervention programmes can also not be over-emphasised. As such, over the last 50 years, a vast number of researchers have made important attempts to examine the nature of sexual violence against women (e.g. Bohner, 1998; Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Pollard, 1992). A majority of this research has examined factors that influence the way in which society and individuals respond to rape victims and perpetrators (e.g. victim blame and perpetrator blame). It has been observed that certain victims of certain types of rape (e.g. acquaintance rape) are more likely to be blamed in comparison to victims of other types of rape (e.g. stranger rape; see Pollard, 1992). Similarly, laypersons and legal practitioners have been found to be lenient towards certain types of perpetrators (e.g. rapists who have had previous relationships with their victims; cf. Weller, 1992).

However, almost all of the research that has been conducted on people's perceptions of rape has been broadly informed by the notion that people's responses to rape victims and perpetrators result from hostile attitudes towards women (see Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995 for a review). This approach is broadly consistent with social psychological and feminist accounts of sexual violence (see Ellis, 1989). Feminist and social psychological researchers have argued that rape results from the current socio-political climate in which men dominate women (e.g. Brownmiller,

1975). Rape is seen as an expression of this dominance. Attitudes towards rape victims are also viewed as broadly resulting from these hostile sexist attitudes.

Unfortunately, the above analysis of rape and attitudes toward rape victims is informed by a conceptualisation of sexist attitudes that views sexism as a unitary antipathy towards women. Thus, feminist and social psychological writers have neglected the potential role of benevolently sexist attitudes in people's responses to different types of rape. Recently, Glick and Fiske (1996; 2001a) have provided a perspective on sexist attitudes that considers the role of benevolent attitudes. They argue that sexism may not manifest as a unitary antipathy towards women. Rather, hostile attitudes towards women co-exist with subjectively positive benevolent attitudes, potentially resulting in *ambivalent sexism.* According to Glick and Fiske (1996) benevolent sexist attitudes, although positive, are still a form of sexism because they are based on the same assumptions as hostile sexist attitudes (i.e. that women are the "weaker" sex). Glick and Fiske (1996) have developed a measure of individual differences in ambivalent sexism (The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory). The validity and reliability of this measure have been established in a number of studies (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000; Masser & Abrams, 1999).

Given the recent turn in sexism research towards considering the nature and effects of benevolent sexist attitudes, the aim of the current thesis is to explore the potential role of benevolent sexism in accounting for people's responses to different types of rape (e.g. stranger vs. acquaintance rape). The exploration of this issue is important because, prior to this thesis there was no published research that explored the role of benevolent sexism in people's perceptions of different types of rape.

Overview

Chapter 1 provides a review of the available literature on the prevalence of rape worldwide. The effects of rape on the victims' psychological well-being are also discussed. The chapter then reviews the feminist perspective on rape and sexual violence. Theoretical and empirical literature concerning rape myth acceptance and its role in the perceptions of rape is discussed. Finally, Chapter 1 explores the myth that only "bad girls" are raped. It is concluded that attitudes and responses to rape victims may be influenced by stereotypical beliefs concerning how women ought to behave within intimate relationships.

In Chapter 2, literature on the theoretical and methodological approaches that have been employed in sexism research is reviewed. The definition and conceptualisation of sexism by early researchers are briefly described. It is noted that researchers have tended to describe sexism as a unitary antipathy towards women. The theory of ambivalent sexism is then presented and empirical evidence concerning the theory reviewed. It is concluded that sexism may not manifest as a unitary hostility towards women. Rather, sexist hostility appears to be complemented by subjectively positive benevolent sexism.

Chapter 3 reports a study (Study 1) in which male and female participants were presented with either an acquaintance rape or a stranger rape scenario and asked to indicate how much blame to they attributed to the victim. Participant's responses are analysed with reference to their levels of benevolent sexism (BS), hostile sexism (HS) and rape myth acceptance (RMA). The results of the study support the argument that BS, but not HS, moderates the effects of type of rape on victim blame.

Chapter 4 contains three studies (Studies 2, 3 and 4) that were conducted to investigate the psychological mechanisms that underlie the relationship between

benevolent sexism (BS) and victim blame, and the relationship between hostile sexism (HS) and men's self-reported rape proclivity. The results of these studies indicate that the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape situations is mediated by participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. In contrast, the relationship between HS and men's self-reported rape proclivity in acquaintance rape situations is mediated by participants' perceptions that the victim "really" wanted sex.

Chapter 5 reports a study (Study 5) that investigates the notion that BS is related to attitudes that are simultaneously courteous and restrictive with regards to the behaviour of women within male-female relationships (paternalistic chivalry). The results of the study suggest that BS is positively related to paternalistic chivalry, whereas HS and participant sex are not.

Chapter 6 contains two studies (Studies 6 and 7) that were conducted to investigate the role of BS in accounting for participants' responses to acquaintance vs. stranger rape perpetrators. These studies reveal that, in addition to blaming the acquaintance rape victim, individuals high (vs. low) in BS also attribute less responsibility for the rape to the acquaintance (vs. stranger) rape perpetrator.

In Chapter 7, two studies (Studies 8 and 9) exploring the argument that legal verdicts play a significant role in influencing people's beliefs about rape are reported. In both studies, the results demonstrate that the relationship between BS and negative evaluations of acquaintance rape victims is stronger when the perpetrator is found not-guilty rather than guilty.

Chapter 8 summarises the findings of the current thesis. The discussion centres around the roles of HS and BS in people's reactions to different types of rape. It is argued that BS provides a psychological mechanism through which differences in

blame attributed to stranger and acquaintance rape victims can be explained. In contrast, HS is argued to provide a psychological mechanism for explaining differences in self-reported proclivity to commit stranger and acquaintance rape. The discussion of methodological limitations focuses on several issues including the correlational nature of the studies reported in this thesis. A number of directions for future research are outlined including the use of different methodologies or scenarios to examine whether the findings reported in this thesis can be replicated.

CHAPTER ONE

Rape and Sexual Violence

I have never been free of the fear of rape... I, like most women,
have thought of rape as part of my natural environment...
I never asked why man raped; I simply thought it
one of the many mysteries of human nature.

Susan Griffin, *Rape: The Power of Consciousness*, (1979, p. 3)

The social reality of sexual violence is a major source of distress for most women (London Rape Crisis Centre, 1984; MacDonald, 2000; Wolf, 1991). Due to the high prevalence of rape and the severity of its effects on victims, a large number researchers have attempted to explain the phenomenon. This chapter reviews some of the available literature on the subject. First, the chapter examines the available literature on the prevalence of rape worldwide and specifically in England and Wales. The effects of rape on victims' psychological well-being are also briefly discussed. Second, the feminist perspective on rape and sexual violence is presented and empirical studies that have directly investigated feminist hypotheses and proposals reviewed. Third, theoretical and empirical literature concerning rape myth acceptance and its role in the perceptions of rape is discussed. Finally, the current chapter explores the myth that only "bad girls" are raped. It is concluded that attitudes and responses to rape victims may be influenced by stereotypical beliefs concerning how women ought to behave within intimate relationships.

INTRODUCTION

Rape[1] and other forms of gender-based violence (e.g. domestic abuse and genital mutilation) are a major source of fear, injury and distress for women across the world (Gordon & Riger, 1989; Koss, Woodruff & Koss, 1990; MacDonald, 2000; Softas-Nall, Bardos & Fakinos, 1995; Temkin, 2000; Wolf, 1991). The global statistics on sexual violence against women[2] are staggering. MacDonald (2000) notes that at least one in every five women may experience rape or attempted rape during her lifetime. According to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA; 2001), between 51% and 90% of women surveyed worldwide reported having experienced a rape or an attempted rape. On the African continent, research evidence suggests that at least one in every three women may become a victim of rape during their lifetime (International Planned Parenthood Federation [IPPF], 1998). This translates to approximately 1000 women being raped every day (IPPF, 1998). Similar incidence levels of rape have also been reported for countries in Europe and North America (UNPFA, 2000; MacDonald, 2000). A number of survey studies in the United States have noted that over 20% of all female participants report having been raped (e.g. Koss, 1993; Koss, Woodruff & Koss, 1990; Russell, 1984; Yegidis, 1986). For example, Russell (1984) proposes that women have a 26% probability of becoming victims of a completed rape during their lifetime. The probability for women experiencing an attempted rape has been reported to be as high as 46% (e.g. Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1997).

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[1] For purposes of this thesis, rape is defined as someone (male or female) having sexual intercourse (vaginal or anal) with a person, who at the time of the intercourse, does not (or can not) consent to it (*Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, 1994*).

[2] Although males also suffer some forms of sexual violence, sexual violence by males against women is significantly more common (over 90% of all reported rapes; London Rape Crisis Centre, 1984) and is the focus of the current thesis.

In England and Wales, there has been an increase in the number of reported rape cases over the last 40-50 years. In 1959, only 500 cases of rape were recorded by the police (Howitt, 2002). This number rose to 2471 cases of rape being reported in 1987 (Temkin, 1999). In the last five years the figure for rape reports in England and Wales has stabilised at about 5000 cases annually (Howitt, 2002; Povey & Cotton, 2000). There is some controversy concerning whether the increase in the number of reported cases reflects an increase in the incidence of rape or an increase in the willingness of victims to report rapes due to changes in the social and political climate (see Muehlenhard, 1994; see also Howitt, 2002). Nevertheless, some researchers note that the reporting rates for sexual offences are actually rather low (e.g. Gross, Weed & Lawson, 1998; Koss, 1985). They estimate that the incidence of rape may be three to four times higher than the recorded crime statistics indicate (Ellis, 1989; Gross et al., 1998; Koss, 1985). Foley and Evancic (1995) note that as few as 10% of sexual assaults are reported to the police. As such, although the rape statistics reported above indicated a high prevalence of rape worldwide, they may still be an under-estimation of the actual prevalence rates.

Although it is commonly believed that rapes are physically violent acts committed by psychologically unstable strangers, rapes by persons known to the victim are a more frequent form of sexual assault (Gross et al., 1998; Stormo, Lang & Stritzke, 1997). Survey studies have indicated that over 80% of all rape victims are assaulted by someone they know (Koss, Dinero, Siebel & Cox, 1988; Koss, Gidycz & Wisniewski, 1987). Data from college campuses in the United States indicate that up to 85% percent of all reported rapes involve people who know each other (Koss et al., 1987; c.f. Gross et al., 1998). Similarly, a survey by the National Centre for the Prevention and Control of Rape (USA) found that 92% of adolescent rape victims

were acquainted with their attacker (Hughes & Sandler, 1987). A more recent worldwide survey by the UNFPA (2001) found that over eighty percent of the rape victims were assaulted by friends, acquaintances, intimates or family members. All these findings clearly illustrate the fact that sexual violence against women is an undeniable part of social reality in contemporary society.

The Trauma of Sexual Assault

Rape can have serious physical and psychological consequences for the victim (Shapiro & Schwarz, 1997). The consequences of rape can range from physical injury, sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy, sexual dysfunction, substance abuse and even suicide (see Petrak, 2002 for a full review). Koss et al., (1988) found that victims of rape experience high levels of anxiety and depression after the event. In another study, acquaintance rape victims were reported to experience a number of psychological problems including major depressive episodes, social phobia and sexual dysfunction (Kilpatrick, Best, Suanders & Veroen, 1988). Significant reductions in self-esteem and sexual/relationship satisfaction have also been reported within samples of rape victims (Koss et al., 1988; Katz, 1991; Mandoki & Burkhart, 1991). Contrary to popular myths, research evidence suggests that women who are raped by someone they know are more likely to experience negative symptoms in comparison to stranger rape victims (c.f. Shapiro & Schwarz, 1997). For example, Katz (1991) studied rape victims who had been referred by a rape crisis centre. In this study, women who had been raped by non-strangers blamed themselves more for the rape, reported higher levels of psychological distress and recovered much later than stranger rape victims.

Besides the trauma of experiencing sexual violence, victims of rape are often further humiliated by authority figures such as doctors, police officers, judges and lawyers (Damrosch, 1985; Doherty & Anderson, 1998; Resick & Jackson, 1981). Rape is probably the only crime of violence for which the victim's story is overtly disbelieved. Victims of rape are usually accused of consenting to the alleged sexual assault and then changing their minds after the event (Krahé, 1988; London Rape Crisis Centre, 1984). This is especially true of acquaintance rape cases (Pollard, 1992). Temkin (2000) found that lawyers and prosecutors in the U.K. often consider that acquaintance rape victims are partly to blame for their own fate. As such, prosecutors were generally unwilling to prosecute cases in which the victim and the perpetrator knew each other or had a prior dating relationship. Such reactions to rape victims are particularly disconcerting when one considers that research evidence has shown that the successful recovery of rape victims is significantly influenced by the amount and quality of social support they receive (e.g. Davis & Brickman, 1996; Kimerling & Calhoun, 1994; Ullman, 1996).

As a result of the high prevalence of rape and the severity of its effects on victims, scholars and practitioners from various disciplines have made attempts to investigate the nature of this phenomenon. A large proportion of this work has focused on the social, cultural and individual difference factors that may contribute to the occurrence of sexual violence and people's responses to rape victims. In this chapter, some of the theoretical and empirical work that has been conducted in this area is reviewed; with specific emphasis on literature that has direct relevance to the thesis' main research question. First, the feminist perspective on rape and sexual violence is presented. Second, empirical studies that have been conducted to directly investigate feminist hypotheses and proposals are reviewed. Third, theoretical and

empirical literature concerning rape myth acceptance, as a theoretical construct, is reviewed. Finally, the current chapter explores in some detail the myth that only "bad girls" are raped. It is noted that attitudes and responses to rape victims may be influenced by stereotypical beliefs about how women ought to behave within intimate relationships. Such beliefs maintain that men ought to take a more active role within intimate relationship, while women are expected to be passive (cf. Glick et al., 2000).

SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND SOCIETY

It has been proposed that the high prevalence of rape and other forms of sexual assault partly result from social beliefs and attitudes (i.e. *rape myths*) that condone male sexual aggression against women (Bohner & Schwarz, 1996; Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Costin & Schwarz, 1987; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974). Writers from the feminist perspective view rape and other forms of gender violence as rooted in a social structure in which men dominate women politically and economically (e.g. Griffin, 1979; Russell, 1984; Stanko, 1985). According to feminist theorists, because women are excluded from political and economic decisions in most societies, men often view them as unequal partners and sometimes even as property (see Ellis, 1989; Glick et al., 2002). Thus, many feminist researchers view rape, not as an act committed by sexually deviant males, but rather as emanating from an unequal and oppressive patriarchal social system. Furthermore, sexual gratification is not considered to be a primary motive for rape (Ellis, 1989; Griffin, 1979). Feminist writers view rape as a "pseudo-sexual" act, which is really men's way of using their sexuality to establish their social and political power over women (c.f. Ellis, 1989).

One of the most controversial and commonly cited sources of the above thesis is Susan Brownmiller's (1975) landmark historical analysis of rape, *Against Our Will.* Brownmiller (1975) viewed rape as a conscious process through which "*all men* keep *all women* in a state of fear" (p.5). Brownmiller (1975) equated rape to the lynching of black people in American history. According to Brownmiller (1975), rape is used by men to show women their place in society, just as lynching was used by white racists to show black people their place in American society. In this regard, the threat of rape is seen as impairing women's self-esteem, weakening their trust in others and decreasing their perception of personal control (Bohner, Weisbrod, Raymond, Barzvi & Schwarz, 1993). Furthermore, the anxiety that results from the fear of rape is argued to limit women's freedom of movement and make them more dependent on men for access to public places (Day, 1995; Riger & Gordon; 1981). Griffin (1979) observes that the fear of rape, "Keeps women at home. Keeps women passive and modest for the fear that they be thought provocative" (p. 21). As such, feminist writers argue that men use the threat of sexual violence as a tool to exert social control over women. Such control is achieved through "teaching" women the rules by which rape can be avoided, thus, encouraging their adherence to traditional gender roles (Costin & Schwarz, 1987; London Rape Crisis Centre, 1984).

Rape and Gender Inequality

At the societal level, a number of studies have reported findings that are consistent with Brownmiller's hypotheses. For example, Russell (1984) conducted a survey study on a quasi-probability sample of 930 women from San Francisco (USA). Besides finding that high numbers of women had experienced some form of sexual violence, Russell also concluded that one of the principal explanatory factors of rape

was the patriarchal belief that men ought to have dominance over women. Such a belief is arguably linked to general attitudes that condone male sexual violence against women. In another study, Griffin (1979) found that rape victimization was more common among women with low incomes than among working women with high incomes (c.f. Ellis, 1989). Although these studies indicate that sexual violence may be related to male social dominance, the results reported are not conclusive. For example, it is possible that women who have high incomes also live in safer neighbourhoods and are, therefore, less likely to be raped. A more direct examination of the feminist hypothesis would be a study comparing the rape incidence rates of societies with gender equality (as indicated by some index) versus those with gender inequality. If the feminist argument is correct, then societies with high incidences of rape should also have high levels of gender inequality.

In a cross-cultural study of 156 traditional societies, Sanday (1981) directly investigated whether rape incidence rates were related to the social and economic structure of the societies. Using codes obtained from the journal *Ethnology* and other library materials, Sanday was able to distinguish "rape-prone" vs. "rape-free" societies. In "rape prone" societies, Sanday (1981) noted a high level of sexual violence. For example, among the Gusii of tribe of Kenya the annual rate of rape was about 47.2% per 100 000 population. According to Sanday, normal sexual intercourse between males and females in Gusii society was conceived as an act in which the man overcame the resistance of a woman and caused her pain. In other "rape prone" societies such as the Kikuyu of East Africa, rape was part of the initiation ceremony for young men. A Kikuyu boy was not considered to be a man until he had raped a woman. In contrast to the above societies, "rape free" societies were defined as such because the act of rape was infrequent and sometimes even unheard of. Sanday (1981)

gives examples of societies in which rape was an anomaly. For example, among the Cuna and Lakher tribes of South America, rape was virtually unheard of. Similarly, elders from the Gond tribe of India are reported to have stated that cases of rape were uncommon in their society (see Sanday, 1981, p. 16).

The above classification of "rape prone" and "rape free" societies achieves further validity when the nature of the male-female relationships within these societies is considered. Consistent with the feminist hypothesis, Sanday (1981) found that those societies with a high incidence of rape were also characterised by a pattern of male dominance in politics and economics. Indeed, Sanday noted that in most of the "rape-prone" societies women were viewed as property to be possessed by males. Furthermore, in "rape prone" societies men were usually posed as a social group that is in conflict with women. In contrast, "rape-free" societies tended to have more gender equality. Sanday (1981) observed that in rape free societies women were treated with respect and that considerable prestige was attached to women's roles in the reproductive process.

Results similar to those reported above were obtained from an investigation of 50 states in the United States (Baron & Straus, 1987). In this study, the effects of gender inequality on interstate differences in rape rates were examined. Gender inequality was measured using an index that combined economic, political and legal aspects of social status. Factors such as the racial composition of states, age structure of the population and percentage unemployment were controlled for in the data analyses. As expected, states that had the highest levels of rape rates were found to exhibit greater levels of gender inequality (see also Bohner & Schwarz, 1996). The combined findings from Baron and Straus' (1987) and Sanday's (1981) studies are

consistent with the feminist hypothesis that rape and other forms of sexual violence are fundamentally rooted in male's social dominance over women.

The Effects of the Threat of Rape on the Quality of Women's Lives

Brownmiller's (1975) hypothesis concerning the *conscious* collusion of *all* men to intimidate *all* women through rape has been criticised for not being empirically testable (e.g. Bohner & Schwarz, 1996). Instead, empirical researchers have explored Brownmiller's proposal that the social reality of rape has an intimidating effect on all women regardless of whether or not they have been victimised (see Bohner & Schwarz, 1996 for a review). A number of these studies have shown that women fear sexual victimisation more than any other crime (e.g. Gordon & Riger, 1989; Warr, 1995). Indeed, Warr (1995) remarked that the "...magnitude and prevalence of this fear [is] striking" (p. 238). Over the past decade, researchers conducting the British Crime Surveys (BCS) have consistently found that women are more fearful of rape than men (Hough, 1995; Kershaw, Budd, Kinshott, Mattison, Mayhew & Myhill, 2000; Mirrlees-Black & Allen, 1998). In the most recently conducted BCS, about 25% of the women who took part indicated that they were 'very worried' about being raped (Simmons, 2002).

Not surprisingly, a number of studies have shown that the fear of being sexually victimised may cause women to restrict their behavioural repertoire (Bohner et al., 1993; Gordon & Riger, 1989; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Warr, 1985). The relationship between fear of rape and women's self-imposed behavioural restrictions was examined in a study conducted on samples obtained from the residents of Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco (Riger and Gordon, 1981; see also Gordon & Riger, 1989; Riger & Gordon, 1979). In this study, it was observed that women

feared crime more than men. This was especially the case with regards to rape, which women generally feared more than any other crime. Riger and Gordon (1981) also found that the fear of rape was associated with two broad behavioural responses from women. First, the fear of rape led some women to isolate themselves from their social environment. Thus, the more fear of rape the women exhibited, the more likely they were to stay indoors (especially during night-time). Second, women who were fearful of rape employed "street savvy" techniques, such as "...wearing shoes that permit one to run or choosing a seat on a bus with an eye to who is sitting nearby" (Gordon & Riger, 1989, p. 83), so as to feel safe when out alone.

Similar results were obtained from a mail survey study conducted on 181 women and 158 men living in Seattle, USA (Warr, 1995). The survey questionnaire examined the fear of crime and the lifestyle changes that result from such fear. Consistent with previous research, Warr (1995) found that women feared sexual assault more than any other offence, including murder, assault and robbery. Over 60% of all women under the age of 30 reported high levels of fear of rape. Such high levels of fear were associated with the fact that women perceived rape as both extremely serious and highly likely to occur. Warr (1995) also found that the fear of rape was not associated with the use of home security precautions (e.g. extra locks and alarm systems). Rather, the fear of rape was related to women's social or life-style precautions. Women that exhibited higher levels of fear of rape were more likely to avoid going out alone, in comparison to women low in fear.

In the United Kingdom, data obtained from the BCSs indicates that a large proportion of women avoid going out alone late at night or going to certain places within their neighbourhoods due to fears of sexual assault (Hough, 1995; Mirrlees-Black & Allen, 1998). Kershaw et al. (2000) report that 36% of women indicated that

they never walked in their local area alone after dark. Similar findings were obtained in the 2002 BCS in which female respondents were more likely than males to state that they would not walk alone in their neighbourhood at night (Simmons, 2002). Research conducted on the African continent also reflects similar patterns (International Planned Parenthood Federation [IPPF], 1998). For example, women in an Ethiopian refugee camp were reportedly so afraid of rape that they rarely went out to collect firewood and therefore underfed their children (IPPF, 1998). Thus, rape and the threat of rape appear to affect women's lives in the manner predicted by feminist authors (e.g. Brownmiller, 1975). Women fear rape more than men do (Riger & Gordon, 1981) and they also fear rape more than any other crime (Warr, 1995). Moreover, this fear of rape seems to result in women imposing behavioural restrictions on themselves and, by default, conforming to traditional gender roles.

Threat of Rape and Quality of Women's Lives: A Causal Relationship?

Although the results obtained in the studies reviewed above are broadly consistent with the feminist hypothesis, the studies offer only correlational evidence in support of the feminist proposals. Such evidence does not allow for conclusions concerning the causal impact of rape prevalence on women's self esteem and sex role attitudes (c.f. Bohner, Weisbrod, Raymond, Barzvi & Schwarz, 1993). According to Bohner and Schwarz (1996), the results reviewed above permit at least three different explanations. First, it can be argued that rape prevalence has a causal impact on gender inequality. Alternatively, it could be argued that gender inequality has a causal impact on rape prevalence. Finally, a third variable may determine both gender inequality and rape prevalence, with no causal link between the two. Indeed, feminist

authors have often been criticised for being unclear as to the direction of causality between gender inequality and rape prevalence (see Avakame, 1999; Ellis, 1989).

One way to determine causality would be to conduct a study in which the prevalence or the fear of rape is manipulated and the impact on women's self-esteem and gender-role attitudes is assessed. However, the manipulation of rape prevalence or the fear of rape is not a feasible research approach, due to ethical and practical reasons. In an attempt to deal with this methodological limitation, Schwarz and Brand (1983) developed a research paradigm in which the cognitive accessibility of rape is manipulated. This approach takes advantage of the fact that individuals hardly ever retrieve all the relevant information they need to make a judgement (Schwarz & Strack, 1981). Rather, judgements depend on the subset of information that is accessible or salient at the time (Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1987). Thus, Schwarz and Brand (1983) reasoned that, if rape has a causal effect on the attitudes and behaviour of women, then its impact should be stronger when the representation of rape is highly salient (vs. not salient) in women's memories while they are making judgements concerning their self-esteem, interpersonal trust and sex role attitudes (c.f. Schwarz & Strack, 1981).

Schwarz and Brand (1983) conducted a study in which they employed the above methodology. Forty-five female students from an American university completed a personality questionnaire either before or after they had read a scenario describing a rape incident. Schwarz and Brand (1983) hypothesised that if rape has a causal effect, then the salience of rape for women who read the rape scenario first would negatively affect their responses on the personality questionnaire. Consistent with this hypothesis, female students who first read the rape scenario reported lower levels of self-esteem, lower trust in other people and more traditional sex role

attitudes than women who had not been exposed to the rape scenario prior to completing the personality questionnaire. Thus, consistent with the feminist proposal, rape prevalence or the threat of rape appears to have a causal impact on women's self-perception and sex-role attitudes.

However, there are important methodological and theoretical limitations to the data obtained in Schwarz and Brand's (1983) initial study. First, the study did not involve male participants. Feminist authors propose that the effects of the threat of rape should be gender specific (i.e. serving to show women their place in society; Brownmiller, 1975; Day, 1995; Griffin, 1979; Riger & Gordon, 1981). If this is the case, then the effects reported by Schwarz and Brand should be obtained for female but not male participants. It could even be argued that males may exhibit more positive affect after reading about the rape, since this information may remind them of their sexually dominant positions in society (c.f. Bohner et al., 1993). In order to directly test the above hypotheses, a study involving both male and female participants would have to be conducted. This would allow for a comparison of the responses of men and women to the threat of rape.

Second, Schwarz and Brand's (1983) study focuses only on the crime of rape. It is important to establish whether the effects obtained by Schwarz and Brand are unique to the threat of rape or are a more general effect resulting from the exposure to information about interpersonal violence. It is possible that reading about other violent crimes (e.g. assault) may have similar effects on participants. Indeed, a number of studies have shown that exposure to negative material (e.g. natural disasters) can temporarily affect participants' emotional states and evaluations of the self (Johnson & Tversky, 1983; Schwarz, 1990; Schwarz & Clore, 1988). Thus, a study comparing

the effects of rape to those of other descriptions of criminal violence would also have to be conducted to directly investigate the above issues.

In a series of studies that addressed both issues raised above, male and female participants completed measures of self-esteem, inter-personal trust, attitudes towards women and affective states after they had read a newspaper article that described a neutral event, a rape or a violent assault (Bohner et al., 1993; Experiment 1). In this study, it was observed that the article describing a rape significantly lowered the self-esteem, interpersonal trust and affective states of women in comparison to the violent assault and neutral articles. In contrast, male participants were not negatively affected by the exposure to any of the articles. These findings suggest that the salience of rape uniquely affects women and not men. Furthermore, these effects are unique to the threat of rape and not to a general fear of interpersonal violence.

In a follow up study (Bohner et al., 1993; Experiment 2), the feminist hypothesis that the threat of rape affects all women whether or not they have been victims of rape was examined (cf. Brownmiller, 1975). As already noted, researchers have found that the experience of rape can be psychologically traumatic for women (Petrak, 2002). Bohner et al. (1993) were interested in finding out whether the social reality of rape would negatively affect non-raped women. Thus, in their study, female participants who indicated that they had been victims of sexual assault were excluded (Experiment 2). Bohner et al. (1993) obtained a pattern of results that was similar to that obtained in their first experiment. Specifically, rape was found to negatively affect the self-esteem and positive affect of women and not men. Furthermore, women were more negatively affected by reading about a rape rather than a violent assault or a neutral event.

In another study, the effects of the salience of rape on the individual versus collective aspects of self-esteem were examined (Bohner, Siebler and Raaijmakers, 1999). In this study, 156 non-raped female students completed measures of both individual and collective self-esteem after reading a neutral text or a text about rape. The individual self-esteem measure was used to assess participants' self-evaluations regarding their characteristics as an individual. An example item is; "I can be proud of myself". In contrast, the collective self-esteem measure was used to assess the participant's self-esteem regarding their gender category membership. An example item is; "I feel like a worthy member of the group of women". Bohner et al. (1999) found that both individual and gender-related self-esteem were negatively affected by the salience of rape. However, stronger effects of rape salience were obtained for gender-related self-esteem.

In a recent study, the methodology employed in the studies reported above was conceptually replicated (Bohner & Lampridis, *in press*). Instead of reading a newspaper article about a rape, female participants (N = 82) were told that they were about to have a conversation with another woman on one of three topics: studying at university, the other woman's illness (which was leukaemia) or the other woman's experience of being raped. Of-course, these conversations never actually took place. Bohner and Lampridis (*in press*) found that women who expected to meet a rape victim reported lower levels of collective self-esteem in comparison to women who expected to talk about studying or leukaemia. Thus, similar to reading about a rape incident, expecting to meet a rape victim also appears to negatively affect women's self-esteem.

The combined findings from the results reviewed so far appear to be consistent with the feminist hypothesis. Correlational studies indicate that rape

prevalence is associated with gender inequality at the societal level (Sanday, 1981; Baron & Straus, 1987). Other research has shown that women fear rape more than men (Warr, 1995). This fear of rape is related to women's self-imposed behavioural restrictions in the manner that has been suggested by feminist writers. Studies indicate that women who are fearful of rape restrict the social activities that they participate in (e.g. Gordon & Riger, 1989; Simmons, 2002; Warr, 1995). Furthermore, experimental studies conducted by Bohner and colleagues (e.g. Bohner et al., 1993, Bohner et al., 1999) further indicate that the social reality of rape causally affects women's self-esteem, sex-role attitudes and interpersonal trust. Given these findings, it seems plausible to argue that rape and the threat of rape function as tools of social control through which women may be "forced" to comply with traditional gender roles in an effort to avoid becoming victims of sexual violence (cf. Brownmiller, 1975; Bohner & Schwarz, 1996; Day, 1995).

RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE

Besides examining the effects of the social reality of rape at a societal level, another fruitful line of research has been the investigation of individuals' levels of rape myth endorsement. The concept of rape myths was first introduced in the literature by sociologist and feminist authors in the 1970s (e.g. Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1979). However, the first social scientific article examining rape myth acceptance (RMA) was published by Martha Burt in 1980. Burt (1980) defined rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists" (p. 217). Typical myths are reflected in statements such as; "Many women really want to be raped", "Most women lie about being raped" and "Women often provoke rape by their appearance or behaviour" (Costin, 1985).

Burt (1980) hypothesised that the "net effect of rape myths is to deny or reduce perceived injury or to blame victims for their own victimisation", thus, creating a climate that is "hostile to rape victims" (p. 217). In this regard, Burt (1980) argued that rape myths functioned in a similar manner to Lerner's (1980) notion of 'just world beliefs' (see also Bohner, 1998; Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1999). By blaming rape victims for their misfortune, society and individuals are able to maintain an illusory perception of a fair world in which good things happen to good people and bad things to bad people (Lerner, 1980). Such beliefs may result in the blaming of rape victims and the justification of the preservation of traditional gender relations (c.f. Brownmiller, 1975).

Burt (1980) also developed the first psychometric tool measuring individual levels of rape myth acceptance (The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale [RMAS]). In a study examining the reliability and validity of the RMAS, 598 Minnesota adults aged 18 years and over were interviewed (Burt, 1980). Reliability analyses revealed that the RMAS had a high internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha, .88). Regression analyses were then performed to examine the relationships between the RMAS and a number of attitudinal and demographic variables. Burt (1980) found that the higher an individual's acceptance of traditional sex role stereotypes, interpersonal violence and adversarial sexual beliefs the more they accepted rape myths. In addition, younger and better-educated people were found to exhibit low levels of RMA, in comparison to older and less educated individuals.

Since Burt's original study, there have been a large number of studies investigating the relationship between rape myths and a number of attitudinal and behavioural variables (see Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994 for a full review). A variety of new scales measuring rape myth acceptance have also been developed (e.g. Costin,

1985; Gilmartin-Zena, 1987; Ward, 1988). The variable that has been most frequently investigated is participant sex. Researchers have consistently reported that men are more accepting of rape myths than women among student (Ashton, 1982; Blumberg & Lester, 1991; Bohner, 1998; Gilmartin-Zena, 1987; Fonow, Richardson & Wemmerus, 1992; Jenkins & Dambrot, 1987; Larsen & Long, 1988; Tieger, 1981) and non-student populations (Field, 1978; Ward, 1988). Such findings are in line with feminist predictions, because males are the social group that is most likely to benefit from the endorsement of rape myths.

Researchers have also investigated whether race and ethnicity predict rape myth endorsement (e.g. Fischer, 1986; Field, 1978; Gilmartin-Zena, 1987). However, findings from this research have been equivocal (see Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). While some researchers have noted that African-American and Hispanic students are more accepting of rape myths than whites (e.g. Fischer, 1986; Williams & Holmes, 1981), other research has failed to produce such findings (e.g. Bourque, 1989; Gilmartin-Zena, 1987). Similarly, research investigating the relationship between age and rape myth endorsement has produced inconsistent findings. The relationship between RMA and age has been found to be positive, negative or non-significant depending on the study conducted (e.g. Burt, 1980; Gilmartin-Zena, 1987; Hamilton & Yee, 1990; Field, 1978). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) note that the inconsistent findings reported for the relationship between RMA, race and age are not surprising. They argue that there is no conceptual rationale for researchers to expect RMA to be directly related to age or race. Any relationship between these variables would have to be the result of a third variable such as education or religiosity, which have been found to be related to age and race (c.f. Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).

Rape myth acceptance is arguably more intuitively linked to individuals' perceptions and judgements of rape events (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). To explore this possibility, studies have been conducted in which participants are presented with sexual victimisation scenarios and asked to indicate whether or not it is a rape (e.g. Burt & Albin, 1981; Norris & Cubbins, 1992). These studies have found that individuals who score high in RMA are less likely to define a situation as a "rape" even if it meets the legally accepted criteria (Burt & Albin, 1981; Fischer, 1986). Other research has focused on the relationship between RMA and attributions of blame to rape victims and perpetrators (see Pollard, 1992 for a review). A majority of this research indicates that individuals high in RMA assign more blame to the victim and less blame to the perpetrator in comparison to individuals low in RMA (e.g. Check & Malamuth, 1985; Fischer, 1986; Krahé, 1988). High RMA individuals have also been found to exhibit significantly less sympathy for victims of rape than do low RMA individuals (Burt, 1983; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Krahé, 1988).

Another set of values that RMA could arguably be linked to, are attitudes and beliefs concerning the nature of male-female relationships (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). Burt (1980) developed a scale assessing individual differences in what she termed *adversarial sexual beliefs.* According to Burt (1980) these beliefs are defined by the expectation that male-female relationships are mostly exploitative and that neither party is to be trusted because they are trying to manipulate the other. Studies conducted using Burt's (1980) scale have found that the endorsement of rape myths is associated with higher levels of adversarial sexual beliefs (Check & Malamuth, 1985; Fonow et al., 1992; Quackenbush, 1989). In addition to the Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale, Burt (1980) also developed a measure of individual differences in the *acceptance of interpersonal violence.* Participants' scores on this measure have consistently been

found to be positively related to rape myth endorsement (Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Ward, 1988). Other studies have found that RMA is associated with negative and stereotypical attitudes towards women (Fischer, 1986; Fonow et al., 1992; Larsen & Long, 1988), attitudes supportive of domestic violence (Saunders, Lynch, Grayson & Linz, 1987) and tolerance for sexual harassment (Reilly, Lott, Caldwell & DeLuca, 1992).

Rape Myth Acceptance and Rape Proclivity

A number of researchers have also explored the relationship between RMA and the propensity to commit sexual assault (for reviews, see Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Malamuth, 1981). Most of these studies have employed self-report measures of rape proclivity, asking men to indicate the likelihood that they would rape if they could be assured of not being caught (Malamuth, 1981; Malamuth & Check, 1985, Quackenbush, 1989). In a review of the literature in this area, Malamuth (1981) observed that about 35 per cent of the respondents in studies conducted on college samples indicated some likelihood of perpetrating sexual assault. Furthermore, Malamuth (1981) notes that researchers have found RMA to be a significant predictor of the proclivity to commit sexual assault. Specifically, individuals high in RMA indicate a higher likelihood of perpetrating a rape in comparison to low RMA individuals.

The use of direct self-reports on the likelihood of raping raises concerns about participants responding in a socially desirable manner and reporting a lower likelihood of raping than is actually the case. In addition, the items assessing rape proclivity are often embedded in a large pool of questions pertaining to "sexual activities" (e.g., Malamuth, 1989a, 1989b). This context may have suggested to participants that the

items regarding rape and using force could be interpreted as acceptable variants of sexual behavior (see Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, Kerschbaum & Effler, 1998). To address this criticism, Bohner et al. (1998) developed a new measure of rape proclivity based on five realistic scenarios in which an acquaintance rape is described but the word "rape" is never used. Male respondents are simply asked to indicate whether they would have behaved like the male person described in each scenario. This scenario measure of rape proclivity was shown to be unrelated to social desirability, whereas the direct rape proclivity measure taken from Malamuth (1989 a, b) showed a small but significant correlation with a measure of social desirability.

Bohner et al. (1998) further tested the notion that rape myth acceptance may causally affect men's tendency to engage in sexual violence. They reasoned that if RMA has a causal effect on rape proclivity, then the relationship between RMA and rape proclivity should be particularly strong when a man's own endorsement of rape myths was salient to him at the time he completed a rape proclivity measure (c.f. Schwarz & Strack, 1981). To test this prediction, they asked male participants to report their rape proclivity either before or after they had completed a 20-item RMA scale (for a comprehensive discussion of this method, see Schwarz & Brand, 1983). In two studies, Bohner et al. found that the relationship between RMA and rape proclivity was indeed significantly stronger when participants completed the RMA scale first (versus last), suggesting that RMA may play a causal role in rape proclivity. This finding was interpreted in line with a suggestion by Burt (1978), who argued that rape myths may be used as "psychological releasers or neutralizers, allowing potential rapists to turn off social prohibitions against injuring or using others when they want to commit an assault" (p.282).

In a recent series of 3 cross-cultural studies, Chiroro, Bohner, Viki and Jarvis (2002) examined whether the relationship between RMA and rape proclivity was mediated by anticipated sexual arousal or anticipated enjoyment of sexually dominating the victim. Chiroro and colleagues conducted this study to test the feminist hypothesis that rape is not motivated by the seeking of sexual gratification but by men's desires to express power over women. Participants were obtained from universities in Germany, England and Zimbabwe. Across all three samples, the results indicated that anticipated enjoyment of sexual dominance, but not anticipated sexual arousal, mediated the relationship between RMA and self-reported rape proclivity. Thus, to the extent that individuals high in RMA expected to enjoy sexually dominating their victim, they reported a greater likelihood of committing a rape. Chiroro et al. (2002) concluded that their findings were in line with the feminist argument that rape and sexual violence are motivated by men's desire to exert power over women and not uncontrollable sexual desires.

Conceptual and Measurement Issues

In discussing the broad range of findings that have been obtained using RMA scales, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) propose that the theoretically critical relation may be between RMA and hostile attitudes towards women. The attitudes and behavioural propensities (e.g. Adversarial Sexual Beliefs and Rape Proclivity) that are associated with RMA all seem to contain some elements of sexist hostility. For example, the Adversarial Beliefs Scale contains items that cast women as manipulative and evil (see Burt, 1980). In an exploration of this argument, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) had 429 undergraduate students complete scales measuring attitudes towards violence, adversarial heterosexual beliefs and RMA. Participants also completed a

general measure of hostility towards women. Regression analysis revealed that hostility towards women was the strongest predictor of RMA. These effects were particularly strong for the male sub-sample, in which hostility towards women accounted for twice as much variance in RMA as it did for the female sub-sample. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) concluded that rape myths and sexist hostility may function differently for males and females. They suggest that "hostility towards women is a more effective way to justify male violence (for men) than to deny it (for women)" (p. 709).

Despite the extent of the research on rape myth acceptance and the large number of interesting findings that have been reported, there are a number of theoretical and empirical limitations within this literature (Payne, Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1999). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) argue that the definitions of rape myths provided by Burt and other authors are not sufficiently articulated to serve as formal definitions of this phenomenon (p.134). They propose that the lack of a coherent theoretically based definition of rape myths may have resulted in the large number of available scales purporting to measure RMA. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) further argue that the findings produced by researchers in this area have been disappointingly robust and that many of the relationships that have been reported, "...reflect simple common sense, as well as a certain circularity" (p.148). As a result of these limitations, Lonsway and Fitzgerald attempted to provide a redefinition and reconceptualisation of the construct of rape myths.

Synthesising perspectives from a number of intellectual disciplines (i.e. anthropology, sociology, philosophy & psychology), Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) note that myths are not necessarily defined by the extent to which they represent empirical facts but rather by the particular cultural functions they serve. Within many

intellectual disciplines myths are commonly characterised as "...false or apocryphal beliefs that explain some phenomenon and whose importance lies in maintaining the existing cultural arrangement" (Payne et al., 1999). On the basis of this broad theoretical background, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) define rape myths as "...attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (p.134).

There is some similarity between the above definition of rape myths and the social psychological notion of stereotypes (c.f. Fiske, 1998). Payne et al. (1999) note that, similar to stereotypes, rape myths are not important because they truthfully characterise the social reality of rape; rather, their importance lies in the fact that they are over-generalised and socially shared. Recently, social psychologists have started to explore the social and cultural functions of stereotypes and stereotype content (e.g. Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002; see Chapter 2 for a review). These researchers have proposed that stereotypes may serve to maintain and justify unjust social arrangements, such as the oppression of minority racial groups and women (Fiske et al., 2002; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000). Thus, Lonsway and Fitzgerald's (1994; Payne et al., 1999) conceptualisation of the functional nature of rape myths (as stereotypes) is in line with current social psychological theorising.

To illustrate the content and function of rape myths, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) provided two important examples of such myths. The first example of rape myths is the belief that women routinely lie about sexual assault. Although there are reported instances in which women have falsely accused men of raping them (Petrak, 2002), this phenomenon is not as widespread as is suggested by the above myth (Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1994). In the United Kingdom, the official rate for rape charges that are classified as unfounded is as low as 8% (Petrak, 2002). This rate

indicates that a large majority of rape accusations can be viewed as genuine. Indeed, it is more likely that rape victims will not report cases of sexual assault, than it is that rape victims will falsely accuse men of raping them (c.f. Koss, 1985). However, when cases of false accusations of rape do occur, such rare incidences are widely publicised in the media (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Petrak, 2002). According to Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995), the belief that women routinely lie about rape serves the function of allowing society to deny and/or trivialise the social reality of rape.

The second example of commonly believed rape myths is the idea that only certain kinds of women (e.g. sex-workers) are usually raped. Although not correct, such beliefs serve the function of obscuring and denying the personal vulnerability of all women by suggesting that only certain types of women are vulnerable to sexual violence (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Interestingly, in the studies conducted by Bohner and his colleagues evaluating the effect of the social reality of rape on women's self-esteem (e.g. Bohner, Siebler & Raaijmakers, 1999; Bohner et al., 1993), they found that the self-esteem and positive affect of women who were high (vs. low) in rape myth acceptance was not affected by reading reports about rape. Bohner and Lampridis (*in press*) also found women who were high (vs. low) in RMA were not negatively affected by expecting to have a conversation with a rape victim. Bohner et al. (1999) propose that this may be due to the fact that these women believe themselves to be different from the women that are raped. In contrast, women who are low in RMA believe that any woman can be raped, thus, their self-perception is affected.

According to Bohner et al. (1993) women low in RMA perceive sexual violence at an inter-group level, whereas women high in RMA perceive rape at an interpersonal level. In an examination of this hypothesis, Bohner et al. (1998b) asked

49 non-raped women to generate 10 statements in responses to the question, "Who am I?". Also measured were participants' levels of RMA. Bohner et al. (1998b) proposed that for women low in RMA, their gender category is an important part of self-perception. As such, low RMA women were expected to produce more self-descriptions in terms of their gender category in comparison to women high in RMA. Consistent with their predictions, Bohner et al. (1998b) found that women who were low in RMA were more likely to spontaneously refer to being a woman in their self-descriptions in comparison to women high in RMA.

In a follow up study (Study 2), female participants were presented with vignettes describing a pair of people (Bohner et al., 1998b). Participants either read the description of a man and a woman or the description of two women. The descriptions of the targets were designed such that they were relatively similar to each other. Participants were then required to rate the similarity between the two targets (i.e. male vs. female or female vs. female). Also assessed were participants' levels of rape myth endorsement. As expected, women low (vs. high) in RMA judged the woman-man pair as less similar than the woman-woman pair. In a third study, Bohner et al. (1998b) had female participants high and low in RMA participate in a word-completion task. Consistent with their previous studies, Bohner et al. (1998b) found that women low in RMA created gender related word-completions faster and more frequently than women high in RMA. Thus, women high in RMA seem to perceive themselves as somewhat different from the broad gender category of women. As such, when rape is made salient these women can easily view themselves as different from women who are raped (i.e. bad girls) and, therefore, not experience any distress.

Bohner et al. (1993; 1998b) and Lonsway and colleagues' (e.g. Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1995; Payne et al., 1999) findings suggest that there is a strong societal

belief in the distinction between "good" and "bad" rape victims. This distinction also appears to affect participants' evaluations of different types of rape victims (L'Armand & Pepitone, 1982; Luginbuhl & Mullin, 1981; Pollard, 1992; Quackenbush, 1989). In the following section, the "bad girl" myth is explored in more detail and studies that have explored how people evaluate different types of rape victims are reviewed.

THE "BAD GIRL" MYTH

Several researchers have investigated the factors that influence participants' judgements of victims in depicted rapes (see Pollard, 1992 for a full review). In most of these studies, participants are presented with a short vignette describing a rape. Usually the characteristics and/or behaviour of the victim is manipulated. Participants are then asked to evaluate the victim with regards to her blameworthiness or responsibility for the occurrence of the rape. A number of these studies have reported data that highlight the pervasiveness of the "bad girl" myth (e.g. Johnson & Jackson, 1988; L'Armand & Pepitone, 1982; Luginbuhl & Mullin, 1981; Quackenbush, 1989). Research evidence clearly indicates that certain types of rape victims (e.g. acquaintance rape) are more likely to be negatively evaluated in comparison to others (e.g. stranger rape). Women who are perceived to have bad (vs. good) reputations are often blamed for being raped (Pollard, 1992; Weller, 1992). The judgements concerning the reputation and social respectability of the women seem to be based on traditional gender role expectations concerning how women should behave within intimate relationships (c.f. Glick & Fiske, 1996).

"Respectable" vs. "Non-respectable" Rape Victims

Luginbuhl and Mullin (1981) conducted a study in which they examined the effects of victim "respectability" on participants' judgements of a rape victim. Participants were presented with a vignette describing a rape event. The victim of the rape was described as either a nun or a student versus a topless dancer, or a married social worker versus a topless dancer on bail for a heroin charge. Manipulation checks revealed that the nun and the married social worker were perceived as more respectable than the topless dancer. Luginbuhl and Mullin (1981) found that for "respectable" victims, the rape event was more likely to be attributed to chance. In contrast, for the "non-respectable" targets the rape was attributed to the victims' characteristics. These findings suggest that the perceived respectability of rape victims influences participants' evaluations of the event.

Alcohol Consumption

Survey studies have revealed that nearly half of all rape and attempted rape cases involve some consumption of alcohol by both the victim and perpetrator (e.g. Koss, Gidycz & Wisniewski, 1987; Miller & Marshall, 1987). Interestingly, several research studies have shown that intoxicated victims are attributed more responsibility for a rape than non-intoxicated victims (Corcoran & Thomas, 1991; Critchlow, 1985; Richardson & Campbell, 1982). For example, Scronce and Corcoran (1995) presented male and female participants with a hypothetical rape scenario in which the victim was described as either consuming beer or a diet soda prior to a rape. Consistent with previous research, Scronce and Corcoran (1995) found that female participants were more likely to blame the victim if she had consumed alcohol versus diet soda.

Furthermore, all participants rated the rape victim who had consumed beer (vs. diet soda) as less cautious.

It appears to be the case that victims' consumption of alcohol is taken as a sign that she is sexually available. For example, studies have shown that rape victims who are described as having consumed alcohol are perceived as more promiscuous, flirtatious and sexually provocative than victims who have not consumed alcohol (e.g. Scronce & Corcoran, 1991). Other studies have also found that intoxicated rape victims are viewed as being more likely to invite sex and engage in sexual intercourse (Corcoran & Thomas, 1991; George, Gournic & McAfee, 1988). The above results suggest that drinking women are perceived as more likely to invite sexual relationships than non-drinking women. This perception may subsequently result in drinking women's refusals of sexual intercourse being perceived as ambiguous (Scronce & Corcoran, 1995). In this situation, sexual intercourse with intoxicated women may be viewed as justified.

Victims' Clothing

Clothing has been identified as a potential cue to a woman's sexual interest, sexual attitudes and potential receptivity to sexual advances by males (Johnson & Lee, 2000; Mathes & Kampher, 1976; Pollard, 1992, Williamson & Hewitt, 1986). Women wearing revealing clothes are often perceived as flirts and, therefore, more likely to invite sexual assault (Edmonds & Cahoon, 1986; Vali & Rizzo, 1991, Yarmey, 1985). Mazelan (1980) investigated the stereotypes that are associated with rape victims and found that "provocative" dressing by the victim was often identified as a cause of rape. Goodchilds and Zellman (1984) found that women wearing see-through blouses or short skirts were more likely to be perceived by adolescents as being interested in

having sex. Cassidy and Hurell (1995) presented male and female high school students with a vignette describing a date rape. The vignette was accompanied by either a picture of a woman dressed "provocatively" or a woman dressed conservatively. Consistent with previous research, participants perceived the victim dressed provocatively as being more responsible for her rape in comparison to the conservatively dressed victim.

Similar findings have been reported for individuals working within the mental health profession and the criminal justice system (see Temkin, 2000). Judges, prosecutors and police officers have been found to be more likely to agree with a statement suggesting that women who are raped dress in a seductive or provocative manner (Feldman-Summers and Palmer, 1980). Vali and Rizzo (1991) conducted a study in which they interviewed U.S. psychiatrists about their beliefs concerning rape. They found that psychiatrists were highly likely to agree with the notion that young girls wearing short skirts are more likely to get the attention of a rape perpetrator. Interestingly, Scully and Marolla (1984) observed that convicted rapists often blame the rape victim's attire in an effort to justify and excuse their behaviour. The results from the above studies indicate that there is a general societal belief that women who dress in a non-traditional manner are to blame if they become victims of sexual assault.

Victims' Sexual History

Researchers have also observed that victims' previous sexual activity influences participants' attribution of blame in rape cases (e.g. Borgida & White, 1978; L' Armand & Pepitone, 1982; Pugh, 1983). In one study, L'Armand and Pepitone (1982) presented male and female participants with several simulated newspaper

articles describing a rape. In the newspaper articles, the victims were described as having either limited or extensive sexual experience. Analysis of variance revealed that participants were more likely to blame the rape victim with an extensive (vs. a limited) sexual history. Pugh (1983) compared participants' responses to a testimony in which the rape victim either indicated that she was a virgin or that she had had some previous sexual experience. Participants were more likely to view the non-virgin as more responsible for the rape than the virgin. Thus, there appears to be a double standard concerning men and women's sexual activity. Society seems to view previous sexual activity by women as indicating promiscuity, while similar standards do not seem to be applied to men (Borgida & White, 1978; L' Armand & Pepitone, 1982; Pollard, 1992; Pugh, 1983).

Acquaintance Rape vs. Stranger Rape

A number of researchers have investigated whether a prior relationship between the victim and the perpetrator influences the evaluations of rape victims (e.g. Bridges & McGrail, 1989; L'Armand & Pepitone, 1982; Quackenbush, 1989). This research has generally found that rape victims who are raped by someone they know are more likely to be blamed for the event (see Pollard, 1992 for a review). Tetreault and Barnett (1987) compared people's responses to a stranger rape with a rape in which the victim and the perpetrator were classmates who had previously dated. They found that female participants were less likely to view the acquaintance rape as a rape. Furthermore, the acquaintance rape victim was viewed as being more responsible for the event than the stranger rape victim.

Bridges and McGrail (1989) found greater attribution of blame to the acquaintance rape victim in comparison to the stranger rape victim. Similarly, in

L'Armand and Pepitone's (1982) study, participants perceived a rape committed within either a dating or an intimate context as less serious than a stranger rape. Other researchers have also found that stranger rape is viewed as more serious and more of a real crime than acquaintance rape (Amir, 1971; Coller & Resick, 1987; Quackenbush, 1989). Even members of the police force and medical personnel have been reported to be less supportive of acquaintance rape victims in comparison to victims of stranger rape (Holmstrom & Burgess, 1991; Temkin, 2000). As such, it appears to be the case that descriptions or the occurrence of stranger and acquaintance rape cases generally elicit different responses for external observers.

The negative effects of a prior relationship between the victim and perpetrator on rape victim evaluation are further strengthened if the couple have previously had some sexual contact (Gross, Weed & Lawson, 1998; Johnson & Jackson, 1988; Shotland & Goldstein, 1983). Marx and Gross (1995) conducted a study in which male participants listened to an audiotape containing a dramatised rape event. Participants were told that the couple had been on a few dates during which the man had manipulated the woman's breasts or genitals. They were also told that the woman had resisted the physical contact or that she had not resisted. Participants listened to the tape and were required to indicate the point at which the man should stop his sexual advances. Marx and Gross (1995) found that participants who had been told that the victim had not resisted prior physical contact took longer to indicate that the man should stop. Van Wie, Marx and Gross (1995) obtained similar findings with female participants.

Johnson and Jackson (1988) compared the amount of blame attributed to a victim who refused sexual intercourse after she had kissed the perpetrator with a victim who refused the man's advance straight away. Their results indicated that

participants viewed the rape victim who had allowed some physical contact as more to blame for the rape than the victim who had not allowed any contact. Shotland and Goldstein (1983) compared acquaintance rapes that occurred after the victim indicated that the man should stop when he attempted to "French kiss" her, when he attempted to kiss her below the waist or after the couple were naked. No significant differences between the amount of blame attributed to the victim were obtained for the first two scenarios. However, the victim was attributed more blame if she had allowed the man to undress her before telling him to stop.

The studies reviewed above illustrate the pervasiveness of the "bad girl" myth. It appears to be the case that women are viewed as the gatekeepers of male-female sexual interactions (Bateman, 1991). Participants seem to perceive women as having some control over the outcome of sexual encounters. In this regard, information about the victim's characteristics and behaviour is perceived as important for participants when they are making judgements about a rape event. Thus, in situations where the victim has behaved in a manner that can be viewed as violating traditional gender role expectations (i.e. due to clothing or alcohol consumption), people are more likely to blame her for the event. According to Pollard (1992), since stranger rapes are viewed as the typical rape cases, acquaintance rape victims are placed at a disadvantage because rapes by persons known to the victim may not be viewed as "real" rapes. Indeed, studies have shown that, contrary to research findings, people view acquaintance rapes as less traumatic than stranger rapes (e.g. Petrak, 2002).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed research investigating sexual violence and people's attitudes and evaluations of rape and rape victims. The statistics concerning the

prevalence of rape indicate that rape is an undeniable part of contemporary society. A large proportion of women (25-40%) indicate that they have been victims of rape or attempted rape (Ellis, 1989; Gross et al., 1998, Koss, 1985). Contrary to popular beliefs, these rapes are more likely to be committed by persons known to the victims (Gross et al., 1998; Koss et al., 1987; Stormo et al., 1997). The high prevalence of rape is a cause for alarm because being sexually victimised can be psychologically traumatic for rape victims (Shapiro & Schwarz, 1997). Rape victims experience a number of psychological disorders ranging for depression to social phobia (Kilpatrick et al., 1988).

In explaining the high prevalence of rape, feminist authors have proposed that rape results from the social structures which allow men to dominate women (e.g. Brownmiller, 1975). In this regard, feminists view the threat of rape as limiting women's freedom and forcing them to conform to traditional gender roles. Consistent with this argument, correlational studies have found higher incidences of rape in societies that have gender inequality (e.g. Sanday, 1981). Furthermore, the threat of rape appears to be related to women's decision to impose behavioural restrictions on themselves (e.g. Riger & Gordon, 1989). Experimental studies also report evidence that is consistent with the feminist hypothesis. Bohner et al. (1993) found that the threat of rape significantly affects the self-esteem and positive affect of women (see also Bohner et al., 1999).

At the individual level, the endorsement of rape myths (i.e. beliefs about rape that place the victim at a disadvantage) has been found to be related to victim blame (Burt & Albin, 1981; Norris & Cubbins, 1992), less sympathy for rape victims (Check & Malamuth, 1985) and the self-reported proclivity to commit a rape (Bohner et al., 1998). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) proposed that rape myths are not defined by

the extent to which they represent reality. Rather, rape myths are defined by the social functions they serve. They provide, as an example, the rape myth that proposes that only certain women are likely to be raped. They note that this myth serves the function of denying the vulnerability of all women to rape and, therefore, reinforcing traditional attitudes about male-female relationships.

A majority of the research reviewed in this chapter suggests that there is a strong societal belief in the distinction between "good" and "bad" rape victims (e.g. Critchlow, 1985; Koss et al., 1987; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Pollard, 1992; Vali & Rizzo, 1991). Such beliefs may be fundamentally rooted in broader societal beliefs that distinguish between "good and respectable" women (e.g. married mothers) in comparison to women of ill repute (e.g. prostitutes and temptresses) (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner & Zhu, 1997; Glick et al., 2000; see Chapter 2 for a full review). Apparently, women who can be viewed as violating traditional gender role expectations are more likely to be blamed for the occurrence of a rape (Cassidy & Hurrell, 1995; Johnson, 1995; Marx & Gross, 1995; Pollard, 1992). The idea that only women who have "misbehaved" in some way are raped also provides (some) women with a sense of false security, since women who endorse such myths are likely to falsely believe that conformity to traditional gender roles protects them from the threat of sexual violence (Bohner, 1998; Bohner & Lampridis, *in press*).

The belief that only "bad girls" can be raped is the main focus of the studies to be reported in this thesis. In particular the current thesis attempts to explain some of the psychological processes underlying this phenomenon. The studies reviewed above have already demonstrated that acquaintance rape victims are more likely to be blamed in comparison to stranger rape victims. The main innovation of this thesis is to consider the moderating role of individual differences in hostile and benevolent

sexism. The following chapter (Chapter Two) reviews literature on the theoretical and methodological approaches that have been employed in sexism research, before the empirical studies conducted for the purposes of this thesis are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

Ambivalent Sexism Theory

"I am not talking about the queens, but the bitches, not the sisters
but the bitches, not the young ladies but the bitches..."

Jeru the Damaja, *The Bitches*,
The Sun Rises in the East (1994).

In this chapter, literature on the theoretical and methodological approaches that have been employed in sexism research is reviewed. First, the definition and conceptualisation of prejudice by early researchers is briefly described. It is noted that prejudice researchers have tended to describe prejudice as a unitary antipathy towards out-groups. Second, the link between inter-group prejudice research and sexism research is discussed. This chapter describes how researchers have drawn parallels between racism and sexism. In this context, the theoretical and empirical development of the modern sexism and neo-sexism scales is discussed. It is, however, noted that sexism researchers have also tended to conceptualise sexism as a unitary hostility towards women. Finally, the theory of ambivalent sexism is presented and empirical evidence concerning the theory reviewed. It is concluded that sexism may not manifest as a unitary hostility towards women. Rather, sexist hostility appears to be complemented by subjectively positive benevolent sexism.

PREJUDICE AND SEXISM

In defining prejudice, Allport (1954) described it as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation... (which) may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he is a member of that group" (p. 9). Several other definitions of prejudice have been proposed since Allport's initial conceptualisation (e.g. Cooper & McGaugh, 1963; Jones, 1972;

Klineberg, 1954; Rose, 1965; Worchel, Cooper & Goethals, 1988). However, similar to Allport, most of the definitions seem to emphasise the primacy of negative orientations towards social groups in prejudice (Masser, 1998). While some prejudice theorists have rejected some aspects of Allport's early definition, very few have questioned the fundamental assumption that prejudice is an antipathy. For example, Brown (1995) takes issue with the notion that prejudice is based on a "faulty generalisation", noting that this definition pre-empts the factors that may influence prejudice. He argues that the idea that prejudice is based on a "faulty generalisation" seems to suggest that there must be a "correct" generalisation. Nevertheless, even Brown's own definition of prejudice appears to emphasise negative orientations towards out-groups. According to Brown (1995), prejudice is "the holding of derogatory social attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behaviour towards members of a group on account of their membership of that group" (p. 8).

Thus, in its classical definition, prejudice has been conceptualised as a primarily negative (or hostile) attitude. According to Glick and Hilt (1998), defining prejudice as an *attitude* follows a tradition in psychology that links prejudice with this central psychological construct. Attitudes, and therefore prejudice, have been described as consisting of three main components: cognition, affect and behaviour (Bohner & Wänke, 2002; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). The cognitive aspect of prejudiced attitudes includes stereotypes (negative beliefs about the characteristics of members of certain groups) and ideologies (which are beliefs that particular groups ought to occupy certain social positions) (e.g. Deaux & Lewis, 1984). The affective component of prejudice is usually described as being primarily composed of negative emotions (e.g. hate or revulsion) directed toward a specific group or groups (Eagly & Mladinic,

1989). The behavioural component encompasses actions with respect to the target group, such as discrimination and violence (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993). Eagly and Mlandinc (1989) emphasise that the cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects of attitudes may operate relatively independent of one another (see also Smith & Clark, 1973). For example, prejudice researchers (e.g. Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) have reported that the knowledge of stereotypes may not necessarily reveal an underlying affective evaluation of the target group or predict discriminatory behaviour.

Consistent with other prejudice theorists, researchers investigating gender prejudice (or sexism) have conceptualised sexism as a unitary hostility towards women (e.g. Spence & Heimreich, 1972; Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton & Joly, 1995). Indeed, a number of these researchers have drawn parallels between racism and sexism (e.g. de Beauvoir, 1953; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Hacker, 1951; Jackman, 1994; Swim et al, 1995; Tougas et al., 1995). Allport (1954) highlighted the similarity between sexism and racism by noting that, "...for some people... women are viewed as a wholly different species from men, usually an inferior species." (p. 33). Similarly, Cameron (1977) defined sexism as "a prejudicial attitude or discriminatory behaviour based on the presumed inferiority or difference of women as a group" (p. 340). Both the definitions above are consistent with the two central notions of Allport's conceptualisation of prejudice as a negative or hostile attitude; i.e. derogation (women are inferior to men) and over-generalisation (women as a group are wholly different from men) (Masser, 1998).

An important parallel that has been drawn between sexism and racism concerns the changes in social norms governing the open expression of hostile feelings towards out-groups (Glick et al., 2000; Tougas, Brown, Beaton & Joly, 1995; Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995). As is the case with racism, there have been

important social and legislative changes in many Western societies that have made it unacceptable for people to express sexist (or racist) hostility openly (Tougas et al., 1995). For example, in the United Kingdom the *Sex Discrimination Act,* which made it illegal to treat individuals unfairly on the basis of their gender, was introduced in 1975. Furthermore, socials norms in most western societies now make it unacceptable for people to publicly express negative attitudes towards women (cf. Tougas et al., 1995). Such changes in legal and social norms have resulted in what researchers have described as contradictory or paradoxical research findings.

Results obtained from opinion polls seem to suggest that the majority of people in western countries now favour gender equality at home and in the workplace (e.g. Kahn & Crosby, 1985; Myers, 1990; see also Tougas et al., 1995). Indeed, a number of researchers have noted a decrease in the levels of overtly expressed prejudice against women (see Myers, 1990). However, many inequities between men and women have been observed in the workplace and in society in general. For example, Stroh, Brett and Reilly (1992) found significant differences in the salaries earned by Fortune 500 male and female managers, even after education and experience had been accounted for. A recent survey of women executives from Fortune 1000 companies found that gender bias is still preventing women from getting ahead in the corporate world (Catalyst, 2000).

In the United Kingdom, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC, 2000) notes that women still earn only 80 percent of average full-time male hourly earnings (see also Grimshaw and Rubery, 2001). The EOC (2001) also notes that despite the *Sex Discrimination Act (1975),* gender stereotyping is still prevalent in schools and at work places. According to the EOC, the majority of vocational and occupational choices made by young people in the UK are still heavily influenced by traditional

gender role expectations. On a more global level, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP; 1997, 1998) reports that women experience more poverty in comparison to men (see also Cagatay, 1998). The UNDP (1999) also notes that men occupy the most prominent and important positions in business, politics and religious institutions. Thus, although research suggests that attitudes towards women have changed (e.g. Kahn & Crosby, 1985), other evidence seems to indicate that women still occupy disadvantaged social and economic positions (e.g. Cagatay, 1998; UNDP, 1999).

As a result of the inconsistencies between the research findings concerning people's attitudes towards women and the apparent reality of the social and economic disadvantages faced by women, it has been suggested that sexist attitudes have evolved in the same manner as racist attitudes (cf. Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Katz, Wackenhut & Hass, 1986; McConahay & Hough, 1976). A number of researchers have suggested that old-fashioned sexism has been replaced by more contemporary forms of sexism (e.g. Tougas et al., 1995; Swim et al., 1995). These researchers have drawn on the theories underlying what has been referred to as symbolic or modern racism (McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears and Kinder, 1971). Sears and Kinder (1971) noted a 'new' form of racism which they argued was the result of continuing cultural anti-black affect and the perceptions by whites that blacks were violating important American values, such as individualism and egalitarianism (Sears, 1988). Thus, McConahay (1986) proposed that modern racism consists of the perception that "discrimination is a thing of that of the past..." and that "blacks are pushing too hard, too fast and into places they are not wanted" (p. 92/3). The modern racist feels that "these tactics and demands are unfair (and) therefore, recent gains (made by blacks) are underserved" (McConahay, 1986, p. 93).

Drawing on the work on symbolic racism, Swim et al. (1995) described modern sexism (MS) as the rejection of old fashioned stereotypes while believing that sexism is a thing of the past and "...feel(ing) antagonistic towards women who are making political and economic demands, and feel(ing) resentment about special favours for women" (p. 200). Similarly, Tougas et al. (1995) noted that contemporary or neo-sexism (NS) is a "manifestation of a conflict between egalitarian values and residual negative feelings towards women" (p. 843). These definitions both suggest that people have not become less sexist over the years. Rather, the manner in which sexism is expressed has changed. Swim et al. (1995) and Tougas et al. (1995) developed measures which they employed to examine their theoretical assertions concerning the evolution of sexist attitudes.

Neo-sexism

In developing the neo-sexism scale, Tougas et al. (1995) adopted the principal tenets of McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale[1]. For example, in McConahay's (1986) scale there is an item that reads "over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve". Tougas and her colleagues adapted this item to read "over the past few years, women have gotten more from the government than they deserve" (see also Masser, 1998). Using this method, Tougas et al. (1995) developed the Neo-sexism (NS) Scale. In their first study, Tougas et al. (1995) found that neo-sexism was positively related to measures of Old Fashioned Sexism (OFS). However, they found that only neo-sexism (not OFS) was reliably negatively related to support for affirmative action policies. In a second study, Tougas et al. (1995)

[1] The tenets of McConahay's (1986) scale are as follows; 1) racism (or sexism) is a thing of the past, 2) blacks (or women) are pushing into places they are not wanted, 3) these tactics are unfair, therefore, recent gains by blacks (or women) are undeserved

assessed the relationship between NS, OFS and attitudes toward affirmative action using male Canadian employees within an organisation that had implemented an affirmative action programme. Tougas et al. (1995) also assessed the male employees' evaluations of the competence of women. As in the previous study, neo-sexism was found to be uniquely and significantly related to attitudes towards the affirmative action program. Furthermore, the evaluations of women's competence were negatively related to neo-sexism. In a related study, Beaton, Tougas and Joly (1996) also found a negative relationship between neo-sexism and the evaluation of women's competence.

In a more recent study, Tougas, Brown, Beaton and St-Pierre (1999) evaluated the relationship between neo-sexism and experiences of upward mobility in a sample of 335 female secretaries. They found that neo-sexism was negatively related to attempts to leave traditionally female occupations (i.e. secretary). These results indicate that women who score low on neo-sexism are more likely to make attempts to leave traditional female occupations. According to Tougas et al. (1999), this result is not surprising when one considers that neo-sexism is about resistance to social changes in traditional gender roles. Tougas et al. (1999) also found that experiences of discrimination were negatively related to neo-sexism. Thus, to the extent that women felt relatively deprived as a group, they were less likely to endorse neo-sexist ideas. The results from all the above studies strongly suggest that neo-sexism is a relatively reliable and valid construct.

Modern Sexism

In developing the Modern Sexism (MS) Scale, Swim et al. (1995) generated a number of items evaluating people's endorsement of the notion that sexism is now "a

problem of the past" (e.g. 'discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States'). Swim et al then conducted studies evaluating the construct validity of their scale. In the first study, participants completed the MS scale, measures of Old Fashioned Sexism, modern racism, Old Fashioned Racism, egalitarianism and individualism. Participants also completed a task in which they had to estimate the percentage of men and women in the United States who occupied twelve occupational groups. Consistent with their hypothesis, Swim et al. (1995) found that individuals high in MS tended to over-estimate the percentage of women in male dominated occupations. Furthermore, male participants were found to score higher on the modern sexism scale than women. More importantly, the results of this study suggested that MS and OFS were related but distinctive constructs and also that endorsing individualistic beliefs was associated with higher MS (not OFS) scores. This pattern of results is similar to the one obtained in studies evaluating modern racism (e.g. McConahay & Hough, 1976; McConahay, 1986).

In a follow up study, Swim et al. (1995) further established MS and OFS as related but distinctive constructs. They found that individuals low in MS were more likely to attribute occupational sex segregation to prejudiced attitudes rather than traditional or biological factors. Individuals who scored low in MS were also more likely to indicate that they would vote for a female candidate in an election. In another study, Swim and Cohen (1997) investigated the relationship between OFS, MS and the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1972). In addition, individual's affective responses to different categories of women (e.g. feminists) and men were assessed in relation to their sexism scores. Swim and Cohen (1997) also found that the OFS, AWS and the MS scales measured related but distinctive constructs. Both MS and AWS were found to be significantly related to the

evaluations of different categories of women. Modern and old-fashioned sexists were found to hold negative attitudes towards women and feminists. However, further regression analyses suggested that both MS and AWS contributed unique variance to the evaluations of women.

Neo and Modern Sexism

Although the NS and MS scales were both developed on the basis of modern racism, a study by Campbell, Schellenberg and Senn (1997) suggests that there may be some important differences between the two scales. Campbell et al. (1997) administered both scales to one hundred and six Canadian college students. They found that, although the scales were moderately correlated, most of the variance in one scale was not accounted for by variance in the other scale. Campbell et al. note that the less than perfect correlation results from the fact that the scales are based on different tenets of the theory of modern racism. Whilst the NS scale is based on all three tenets of modern racism (see above), the MS scale is based only on the tenet that discrimination is no longer a social problem. As such, Campbell et al. (1997) concluded that the NS scale may be a superior measure of modern sexism in comparison to the MS scale.

AMBIVALENT PREJUDICE

The foregoing discussion illustrates that researchers have conceptualised sexism as a unitary hostility towards women, which used to be expressed blatantly in the past, but is now expressed in more subtle ways due to recent social and political changes. The global statistics on the relative social and economic positions of men and women also seem to support such a conclusion (e.g. EOC, 2001; UNDP, 1999).

These statistics reveal that while attitudes towards women seem to be improving, many women still occupy disadvantaged socio-economic positions (UNDP, 1999). However, Glick and Fiske (1996; see also Glick et al., 2000) note that gender relations researchers have neglected the subjectively positive feelings toward women that characterise several sexist stereotypes. In an interesting series of studies, Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly & Mladinic; 1989; Eagly & Mladinic, 1993; Eagly, Mladinic & Otto, 1991) had male and female participants indicate the extent to which they associated various negative and positive stereotypes with men and women. Their results indicated that women were more positively stereotyped in comparison to men, by both male and female participants. Such findings seem to contradict the antipathy model of gender prejudice. How is it possible for an oppressed group to be more positively stereotyped in comparison to the dominant group?

According to Glick and Fiske (2001a) the antipathy model of prejudice may not be appropriate for describing the nature of male-female relations. They note that most inter-group contexts are characterised by groups avoiding situations where they might have to come into contact with one another (c.f. Brown, 1995). According to Borgadus (1967; see also Cover, 1995), the most intimate and least prejudiced contact that in-group respondents can permit is marriage with an out-group member. Interestingly, sexist men (therefore, the most prejudiced against women) often desire to have their most intimate relationships with women (Glick & Fiske, 2001a). Thus, viewed from an antipathy model of prejudice, it would appear paradoxical that women are oppressed as well as adored by their male counterparts (Glick et al., 2000).

Glick and Fiske (2001b) propose that the solution to the apparent paradox in male-female relations is to be obtained from assessing the nature of the positive stereotypes that are associated with women. Eagly and Mladinic (1993) point out that

the favourable traits assigned to women are communal traits that are suitable for domestic roles (e.g. nurturing, warm, kind). In contrast men seem to be assigned 'unfavourable' traits that, nonetheless, suit them for high-status positions (e.g. ambitious, competitive, independent). The communal traits that are associated with women can be described as "...traits of deference (that) place a person (enacting them) in a subordinate, less powerful position" (Glick & Fiske, 2001b, p. 110; see also Ridgeway, 1992). As such, the 'favourable' characteristics that are assigned to women appear to reinforce and probably maintain their low social status (cf. Glick & Fiske, 2001c; Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Consistent with Glick and Fiske's (2001c) analysis, Jackman (1994) argues that subordination and affection are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Rather, it is possible for affection to be employed as an effective tool of subordination. Jackman (1994) defines paternalism in inter-group relations as "the combination of positive feelings for a group with discriminatory intensions towards the group" (p.11). Such a definition is consistent with Eagly and Mladinic's (1993) findings that women are positively stereotyped along those dimensions that are consistent with their role as a low status, subservient group. According to Jackman (1994), dominant groups prefer to avoid hostile relations with members of subordinate groups, preferring instead to reward them for "knowing their place". In contrast, explicit hostility or open antagonism is reserved for those subordinate group members who challenge the status quo (Glick and Fiske, 2001c). In this regard, the apparent positive evaluations of the subordinate group may function as *legitimising ideologies* that the dominant group use to maintain their hold on power (Glick and Fiske, 2001c; Jost and Banaji, 1994). Thus, prejudiced attitudes may not necessarily manifest as a unitary hostility.

Glick and Hilt (1998, see also Glick and Fiske, 2001c) propose a revised definition of prejudice, which is based on an afterthought in Allport's early analysis. Allport (1954) stated that "the net effect of prejudice, thus defined, is to place the object of prejudice at a disadvantage not merited by his own misconduct" (p. 9). According to Glick and Hilt (1998), rather than viewing disadvantage as the effect of prejudice, seeking to place another group at a disadvantage should be the *sine qua non* of prejudice. By making this criterion the core of any definition of prejudice, it becomes possible to understand how apparently positive views concerning an out-group can be viewed as prejudiced. Glick and Hilt (1998) coined the term "benevolent prejudice" to describe prejudice that is based on an apparent positive evaluation of the target group. For example, the belief that women are better than men at caring for children is a form of benevolent prejudice because it forms part of a system of beliefs and ideologies that justify restricting women to domestic roles (Glick and Fiske, 2001c).

In addition, Glick and Hilt (1994) note that the intent to place low status groups at some disadvantage need not be consciously held. They argue that part of the point of benevolent prejudices is that the prejudiced individual believes that they are not being prejudiced at all. Rather, they perceive themselves as assisting the weaker, less intelligent out-group members with tasks that would be too difficult for them to undertake. For example, men may feel that endorsing the belief that women ought to be rescued first in accidents is not a form of prejudice. Similar ideologies can be found in the concept of the "White man's burden" articulated by the British poet Rudyard Kipling (1899). Kipling essentially argued that it was the duty of the White men to save the primitive peoples of the world from their own evil and backward

ways. Likewise, benevolently sexist males may view themselves as "knights in shining armour" taking up the difficult role of protecting "their" women.

On the basis of the foregoing arguments, Glick and Hilt (1998) define prejudice as "the implicit or explicit attitude that a group deserves (an) inferior social status" (p. 4). They argue that by their definition, prejudice can be directed upwards towards higher status groups (as well as low-status groups). According to Glick and Fiske (2001c), the nature of prejudice and stereotypes will be different depending on whether it is aimed at a high-status or low-status out-group. High status groups are more likely to be perceived as competent but not warm, resulting in "envious prejudice" (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy & Glick, 1999; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002; Glick and Fiske, 2001c). In this situation, the success of the high-status group may 'force' the low-status groups to attribute them traits of competence (Fiske et al., 2002).

Due to the threat to group-esteem that arises from the social reality of occupying lower status positions, low status groups may resort to perceiving themselves as superior on status irrelevant dimensions (e.g. warmth), as a form of in-group identity protection (see Ellemers, Van Rijswijk, Roefs & Simons, 1997; Glick & Fiske, 2001c; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this regard, low-status groups are more likely to be stereotyped as warm but not competent (e.g. home-makers and the elderly), resulting in, "paternalistic prejudice" (Fiske, et al., 1999; Fiske et al., 2002; Glick and Fiske, 2001c). Glick and Fiske (2001c) argue that the high-status groups may find it beneficial to attribute traits of warmth (but not competence) to low-status groups, as such attributions form an important part of the ideologies that justify their social dominance. Jost and Banaji (1994; see also Jost, Burgess & Mosso, 2001) referred to these beliefs as "false consciousness" because, while serving to enhance

the self-esteem of low-status group members, these beliefs also serve to maintain and justify the system that oppresses them.

In a recent study, Fiske et al. (2002) asked nine varied samples containing male and female participants to attribute traits to different target groups (i.e. gender, race, class, age, or ethnic groups). Contrary to the antipathy model of prejudice, Fiske et al. (2002) found that groups were often classified along the two dimensions of warmth and competence. Furthermore, most of the groups were classified as either high in competence but low in warmth (envious prejudice) or low in competence but high in warmth (paternalistic prejudice). Consistent with the predictions of their stereotype content model, Fiske et al. (2002) observed that the classification of groups was determined by the socio-structural relationships among the groups. High status groups were often perceived as competent but cold (e.g. men and Jews), whereas low status groups were perceived as warm but incompetent.

Similar results were obtained by Alexander, Brewer and Hermann (1999) in their functional analysis of out-group stereotypes. Alexander et al. (1999) suggested that stereotypes of out-groups are determined by specific patterns of inter-group relations. These patterns are comprised of goal compatibility (high vs. low), relative power (high vs. low) and relative status (high vs. low). In a series of experiments, Alexander et al. (1999) had participants describe their images of out-groups that were varied along the above dimensions. Their results indicated that stereotypes of out-groups were not uniformly hostile as predicted by the antipathy model of prejudice. Rather, hostility was reserved for out-groups that were perceived as low on goal compatibility, high in status and high in power (barbarians). Hostile feelings were also directed at out-groups that were low in goal compatibility and low in social status and power (enemy). In contrast, out-groups that were high in goal compatibility, status

and power were perceived as allies and out-groups that were viewed as being high in goal compatibility but low in status and power were perceived as dependents. Alexander et al.'s (1999) analysis is similar to Fiske et al.'s (2002) description of the stereotype content model and indicates that prejudice and stereotypes are not only defined by antipathetic feelings towards out-groups.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory

In line with their conception of prejudice, Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed that sexism (or gender prejudice) may not manifest as a unitary antipathy. Rather, hostile attitudes towards women may co-exist with subjectively positive benevolent attitudes, resulting in *ambivalent sexism* (Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1996). According to Glick and Fiske (1996), sexist ambivalence arises from two forms of complementary, yet evaluatively different, forms of sexist attitudes: *hostile sexism* and *benevolent sexism.* Hostile sexism can be described as the typical antipathy that is commonly assumed to characterise sexist prejudices (e.g. Swim et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 1995). In contrast, benevolent sexism is defined as "...a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles, but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone" (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p.491). Such attitudes may result in male behaviour towards women that could be considered pro-social. For example, studies have shown that female targets are more likely to elicit help from male strangers than are male targets (Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Vrugt & Nauta, 1995). Despite such apparently positive feelings and outcomes, Glick and Fiske (1996) maintain that benevolent sexism is not a good thing because it is fundamentally rooted in traditional gender stereotypes and male dominance.

Benevolent sexism shares with hostile sexism the common assumption that women are incapable or 'weak' individuals who are dependent on men for their survival.

Glick and Fiske (1996) view ambivalent sexism as resulting from the social-structural and biological factors that influence gender relations in, virtually, all human societies: patriarchy, gender differentiation and sexual reproduction.

Patriarchy: Dominative and Protective.

Patriarchy, though not universal or inevitable, is highly prevalent across cultures (Glick et al., 2000; Harris, 1991). Indeed, virtually all social anthropologists now doubt that matriarchies ever existed at any point in human evolution (see Harris, 1991, for a review). The cross-cultural bias towards patriarchy probably results from sexual dimorphism (Harris, 1991); the tendency for men to have a greater social dominance orientation as a result of evolution (Pratto, 1996; Trivers, 1972) or the gendered division of labour which is still common in modern day societies (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Regardless of its source, male structural power has significant implications for the nature of male-female relations (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001a).

According to Glick and Fiske (2001a), the ideological justification of male structural dominance is *paternalism*. The hostile component of paternalism is *dominative paternalism*, which is the belief that men ought to have structural power over women (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001a). Examples of this can be found in men's hostility towards women as competitors in work places (Glick and Fiske, 1995; Jackson, Esses & Burris, 2001), as well as men's belief that women ought to defer to men in intimate relationships (cf. Glick, Sakalli-Ugurlu, Ferreira & de Souza, 2002). The benevolent component of paternalism is *protective paternalism* (Glick and Fiske, 2001a). This is the view that men ought to protect and look after the women in their lives. Such beliefs

are captured by attitudes that hold that in accidents women ought to be rescued before men or that the man should provide for his wife and children (c.f. Eagly & Crowley, 1986; Vrugt & Nauta, 1995; see also Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Gender Differentiation: Competitive and Complementary.

Across societies, gender constitutes the most fundamental dimension upon which people are categorised (Harris, 1991; see also Powlishta, 1995). Children as young as three years old have been found to be able to differentiate between the two sexes (Maccoby, 1988; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1987; Powlishta, 1995). Social identity theory predicts that social categorisation may result in in-group favouritism and inter-group competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Indeed research has shown that children as young as nine years old demonstrate strong favouritism biases towards their own-sex group (Powlishta, 1995; Yee and Brown, 1994). Given that men dominate social relations, gender differentiation ultimately results in a downward comparison with women. Such *competitive gender differentiation* is characterised by the belief that women are inferior to men on status relevant dimensions, such as competence and intelligence (Glick & Fiske, 2001a).

However, women are not only stereotyped as incompetent. As already noted, women are also positively stereotyped as warm and nurturing (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993). The idea that men are competent (outside the home) and women are nurturing (within the home) generates a social perception that the two gender roles are interdependent (Glick & Fiske, 2001a). This interdependence of traditional gender roles creates the benevolently sexist attitude of *complementary gender differentiation* (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001a). In this regard, women are viewed as important an half of the family structure, albeit a lower status half. Complementary gender differentiation can

be observed in popular statements such as, "behind every successful man is a good woman" (cf. Glick and Fiske, 2001a).

Heterosexuality: Hostile and Intimate.

Although sexual violence and sexual harassment characterise male-female relationships, it can also be argued that heterosexuality can create the most intimate bonds between men and women (Glick and Fiske, 2001a). Most evolutionary theorists agree that heterosexual relations are important for the survival of the species (e.g. Smuts, 1996; Buss, 1998). Smuts (1996) goes even further and argues that heterosexual bonding evolved as a strategy for women to avoid the threat of male sexual violence. Thus, in a society where sexual violence is common, women may find it beneficial to have exclusive sexual relations with a male protector[2] (Glick & Fiske, 2001a). This may result in men wielding a substantial amount of power in intimate relationships and viewing women as property. Indeed, perpetrators and supporters of domestic violence often stress the notion that women should be obedient to their partners (Glick, Sakalli-Ugurlu, Ferreira & de Souza, 2002; Haj-Yahia, 1998).

However, women do wield some power within intimate relationships. Men remain dependent on women for their sexual, reproductive and intimacy needs. Women's dyadic 'power' over men "...creates an unusual situation in which members of a more powerful group are dependent on members of a subordinate group" (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p.493). Indeed, women are often stereotyped as gatekeepers of sexual interactions (Batemen, 1991). This state of affairs may lead men to feel vulnerable; resulting in hostile attitudes that view women as "temptresses" who are sexually

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[2] Parallels have been drawn between this phenomenon and homosexual relationships in prison settings (e.g. Brownmiller, 1975)

manipulative (Check, Malamuth, Elias & Barton, 1985). The idea of the "femme fatale" is an important example of commonly held beliefs about the potential for women to use sexual intimacy to disempower men (Jankowink & Ramsey, 2000). Thus, sexual attraction can result in *heterosexual hostility* which is a "component of hostile sexism that fuses sex with power and expresses the belief in women's sexuality as dangerous" (Glick & Fiske, 2001a; p. 14).

A commonly used alternative is to benevolently idealise and reward women in traditional gender roles (e.g. wives and mothers), thus allowing men to regain control over female sexuality (Batemen, 1991; Glick et al., 2000; Jackman, 1994). Indeed, conventional gender ideologies stress the importance of heterosexual relationships for the ultimate happiness of both men and women (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001a). Thus, heterosexual hostility is complemented by *heterosexual intimacy*, which is the benevolent belief that heterosexual relationships with women are important for a man to experience true happiness and vice versa (Glick & Fiske, 2001a).

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

To investigate their conception of gender prejudice, Glick and Fiske (1996) developed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). An initial pool of 140 items was reduced to 22 items using exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. The final scale contains two 11-item sub-scales which tap into the ideologies of hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS). Both the HS and BS sub-scales were designed to capture the domains of paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexuality (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Due to a tendency by both men and women to disagree with explicitly hostile sexist statements, the final HS sub-scale excluded items which overtly asserted male sexist hostility (e.g. women are inferior to men). Rather, the HS

sub-scale was designed to contain relatively subtle items that tap into contemporary forms of hostile sexism (Glick and Fiske, 1996; 2001a). In contrast, both men and women did not appear to reject even the most blatant forms of benevolent chivalry. Thus, the BS items did not need to be tempered in order to make them more politically correct (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 2001a).

In an initial validation study, Glick and Fiske (1996) administered the ASI to over 2000 male and female respondents in the United States. Exploratory factor analyses failed to produce the predicted three sub-factors for the HS scale (i.e. paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexuality). Thus, the HS sub-scale appears to be uni-dimensional. In contrast, the three sub-factors emerged for the BS sub-scale. Glick and Fiske (1996, as well as Glick and Fiske, 2001a) argue that the uni-dimensionality of the HS sub-scale may have resulted from the necessary use of more subtle politically correct items. They also propose that there may be a tight linkage between the sub-domains of hostile sexism, which results in the construct being broadly uni-dimensional. For example, dominative paternalism and competitive gender differentiation may be difficult to distinguish because gender roles and stereotypes serve to reinforce men's greater structural power.

Based on the results of the exploratory factor analyses, Glick and Fiske (1996) ran confirmatory factor analyses to test their preferred model of ambivalent sexism (i.e. HS and BS factors with three sub-factors nested within BS) against alternative models (e.g. HS and BS factors with no sub-factors nested within BS). The results of this analyses supported Glick and Fiske's predictions. The preferred model consistently out-performed the alternative models. The Goodness of Fit indexes (GFI) for the preferred model were consistently higher (average .93) than the GFIs

for the alternative model. These findings strongly suggest that the ASI measures a relatively valid construct.

Interestingly, the hostile and benevolent sexism sub-scales were also found to be strongly positively correlated (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These findings suggest that those individuals who are high in BS are also likely to be high in HS. However, as will be noted later, Glick and Fiske (1996) maintain that HS and BS are unique constructs that produce unique reactions to different types of women (see also Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner & Zhu, 1997; Glick et al., 2000). Glick and Fiske (1996) also found that men scored higher than women on both BS and HS. However, the gap between men and women's BS scores was much smaller than the gender gap on HS scores. Glick and Fiske (1996; 2001a) argue that although women may show some degree of system justification, they are more likely to accept BS in comparison to HS because BS offers the subjectively positive possibility of obtaining protection and support from men. The finding that the gender gap on BS scores is smaller than the gap for HS scores supports this argument.

The ASI and Contemporary Measures of Sexism

Glick and Fiske (1996, see also Glick and Fiske, 2001a) argue that the ASI is different from contemporary measures of sexism (e.g. MS and NS) in three important ways. First, both the MS and NS scales focus on political attitudes concerning whether gender equality has been achieved and whether affirmative action programmes are necessary. In contrast, the ASI focuses on intimate gender relations as well as political issues (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Second, measures of NS and MS focus on contemporary or modern forms of sexism. According to Glick et al. (2000), although the ASI uses subtle items to measure HS, ambivalent sexism is not

conceptualised as a modern form of sexism. Rather, ambivalent attitudes towards women have been present in human societies since ancient times. Glick and Fiske (2001b) note that ancient texts have often presented polarised views of women as "goddesses, whores, wives and slaves" (p. 109; see also Pomeroy, 1975). Tavris and Wade (1984) described this as the *pedestal-gutter syndrome* or the *Madonna-whore* dichotomy. Similarly, Virginia Woolf, (1981), in her classic book *A Room of One's Own*, observed that if women had no existence except in fiction written by men, their image would be quite varied, "... heroic and mean; splendid and sordid; infinitely beautiful and hideous in the extreme" (p. 40). The more recent quote from the musician/rapper Jeru the Damaja that opens this chapter shows that these ambivalent views of women are still common in modern day society. Thus, rather than being a new form of sexism, Glick and Fiske (1996, 2001b) argue that men have always felt ambivalent towards women.

Finally, Glick and Fiske (1996) note that traditional and modern sexism scales have neglected benevolent sexism. Instead, they have focused only on hostile attitudes towards women. In a test of the convergent and discriminant validity of the ASI, Glick and Fiske (1996) found that the ASI was positively correlated with other measures of sexism, such as the Modern Sexism Scale (Swim et al., 1995), Neo-sexism Scale (Tougas et al., 1995); the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972). However, further analyses revealed that the relationship between the ASI and traditional (as well as modern) sexism scales was wholly attributable to the hostile sexism sub-scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Similar results were obtained by Masser and Abrams (1999) in a study of two student samples and one community sample in the United Kingdom. Masser and Abrams (1999) found a significant relationship between the ASI and NS scale which was also wholly accounted for by

the HS sub-scale. Such findings support Glick and Fiske's (1996) contention that previous sexism researchers may have neglected benevolent sexist attitudes.

Glick and Fiske (1996) also explored the relationship between rape myth acceptance and ambivalent sexism. According to Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1999) the endorsement of rape myths may be fundamentally rooted in hostile attitudes towards women (see Chapter One). Glick and Fiske (1996) had their participants complete Burt's (1980) Rape Myths Acceptance Scale (RMAS). Consistent with their predictions, and with Payne et al.'s (1999) argument, Glick and Fiske found a significant relationship between the ASI and the RMAS which was wholly accounted for by the HS sub-scale. These findings strongly suggest that the endorsement of rape myths may be fundamentally rooted in hostile or antagonist feelings towards women and further supports the notion that sexism researchers have tended to exclusively focus on sexist hostility.

The ASI in Cross-cultural Contexts

An important facet of ambivalent sexism theory is the proposal that HS and BS arise from social and biological conditions that are common to all human societies (i.e. patriarchy, gender differentiation and sexual reproduction; Glick & Fiske, 1996). As such, it is important that the HS and BS constructs be found to generalise across cultures. In a cross-cultural validation study, Glick et al. (2000) administered the ASI to over 15,000 respondents from 19 countries. Confirmatory factor analyses revealed that the factor structure of the ASI initially found in the United States replicated across cultures. In almost every country, the preferred model out-performed the alternative models. The exception to this finding was in two countries with the two smallest samples (Colombia and Cuba), where no difference between the preferred

model and alternative models was obtained. These results strongly support Glick and Fiske's (1996) proposal that ambivalent sexism arises from conditions that are common across cultures.

As in the US studies, Glick et al. (2000) found that men generally scored higher than women on HS in all the nations under investigation. The findings concerning gender differences in BS are different and theoretically more interesting. In 6 nations men scored higher than women on BS. However, the gender gap in BS scores was significantly smaller than the gender gap in HS scores. In nine nations no gender differences in BS were obtained, while in four nations the above trend was reversed and women actually scored significantly higher than men on BS. Thus, there seems to be a general cross-cultural trend for women to accept BS more than HS. Glick et al. (2000) suggest that this may result from the fact that BS is characterised by a positive tone that promises women protection and affection from men. Glick and Fiske (2001a) also note that these findings are consistent with Jost and Banaji's (1994) system-justification hypothesis. Jost and Banaji (1994) note that oppressed groups sometimes endorse the system-justifying ideologies of the dominant group to the same extent as the dominant group.

The positive correlation between BS and HS also replicated across cultures. Glick et al. (2000) obtained significant HS-BS correlations for women in 18 out of 19 countries. For men, the correlations were significant in 13 out of 19 countries. In addition, the HS-BS correlation was significantly stronger for women in comparison to men in 10 out of the 19 countries. Indeed, across all 19 nations the average HS-BS correlation was stronger for women than for men. Glick and Fiske (2001a) explain the above findings by noting that the HS-BS correlations tend to be weaker in countries with the highest levels of sexism. Similarly, the HS-BS correlation tends to be weaker

for men who also score higher on HS and BS than women do. According to Glick and Fiske (2001a), it is possible that the most egalitarian individuals recognise BS as sexism and, therefore, reject it along with HS. This may account for the strong HS-BS correlations for women and nations with low sexism scores. Glick and Fiske (2001a) argue that the low HS-BS correlations observed for individuals or groups high in sexism are consistent with their intentions to measure independent hostile and benevolent aspects of sexism.

In their original formulation of ambivalent sexism theory, Glick and Fiske (1996) argued that HS and BS are complementary ideologies that serve to justify and legitimise male dominance over women (cf. Jost & Banaji, 1994). Consistent with this hypothesis, Glick et al. (2000) found that the HS-BS correlation was significant when using nation or country as the unit of analysis (N=19). In fact, the correlation between HS and BS was extremely high when employing this analysis (men's r =. 89; women's r =. 89) (Glick et al., 2000). Furthermore, across nations men's HS scores significantly predicted women's HS and BS scores. Men's BS scores also predicted women's HS and BS scores. The above findings, and the finding that women are more willing to accept BS in comparison to HS, support the notion that HS and BS are complementary system-justifying ideologies that work to maintain women in subservient social roles.

Glick et al. (2000) also investigated whether BS and HS would be related to structural gender inequalities across nations. In order to explore this question, Glick et al. used two indices of gender equality that are compiled by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) and the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI). The GEM assesses women's participation in politics and the economy, relative to men (e.g. whether women are

managers or professionals and their share of income earnings). The GDI focuses on gender differences in life-expectancy, literacy and standard of living. Using nation as the unit of analysis, Glick et al. (2000) obtained marginal negative correlations between men's ASI sub-scales scores and the UN gender equality indices. Similar results were also obtained for women's HS and BS scores. Thus, despite the limited sample (N = 19), the negative correlations obtained for the ASI sub-scales and the UN gender equality indices suggest that HS and BS do function as ideologies that legitimise and reinforce gender inequalities (Glick et al., 2000).

The Relationship between BS and HS

An interesting result from Glick and his colleagues' studies is the finding that HS and BS are significantly positively correlated both in the USA and across other cultures (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000). Such a finding appears to contradict the notion that BS and HS are distinct constructs that are unique from each other. Nevertheless, Glick and Fiske (1996) maintain that "even if the beliefs about women that generate hostile and benevolent sexism are positively related, they have opposing evaluative implications, fulfilling the literal meaning of ambivalence" (p.494). To test this assertion, Glick et al. (2000) had each participant from 12 out of the 19 nations in their cross-cultural study generate up to 10 traits they associated with women. Participants also rated how negative or positive each of the traits was. The results obtained were consistent with Glick and Fiske's (1996) proposal. Regression analyses revealed that HS uniquely predicted the generation of negative traits, while BS uniquely predicted the generation of positively valenced traits. Thus, although BS and HS may be positively correlated, they seem to predict different types of reactions to women as a social group.

In a recent study, Viki and Abrams (*in press-a*) explored the relationship between HS, BS and the attribution of emotions to women. Leyens and colleagues (e.g. Leyens et al., 2000; 2001) have observed that people are more likely to attribute uniquely human (secondary) emotions to the in-group than to the out-group. Viki and Abrams (*in press-a*) examined whether males and females differentially attribute primary and secondary emotions to women. They hypothesized that individual differences in HS and BS, rather than participant sex, would predict the attribution of emotions to women. As expected, high BS individuals were more likely to attribute positive secondary emotions to women than low BS individuals. In contrast, high HS individuals were more likely to deny positive secondary emotions to women than low HS individuals. Participant sex was not related to the attribution of emotions to women after the effects of HS and BS were accounted for. These results further support Glick et al's (2000) argument that HS and BS predict different reactions to women as a social group.

Glick and Fiske (1996) also propose that ambivalent sexists may reconcile their hostile and benevolent feelings by classifying women into 'good' and 'bad' sub-categories. Previous research has shown that people tend to classify women into different sub-types such as feminist, career woman or married mother (e.g. Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Six & Eckes, 1991; Viki, 2000). Glick and Fiske (2001a) note that the different subtypes of women can generally be classified under two main dimensions, traditionality (e.g. mother vs. feminist) and sexual attractiveness (e.g. model vs. butch). Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner & Zhu (1997) examined the notion that HS and BS would predict different evaluations of the different subtypes of women. Specifically, they predicted that BS would predict the positive evaluation of women that conform

to traditional roles, while HS would predict the negative evaluation of non-conforming feminists and career women (Glick et al., 1997).

In their first study, Glick et al. (1997) had participants generate different subtypes they normally associate with women. Afterwards, participants were asked to evaluate the first 8 subtypes they generated in terms of positivity and negativity. Participant's level of BS and HS were also assessed. Consistent with their hypotheses, Glick et al. (1997) found that HS and BS predicted different evaluations of the different subtypes generated by the participants. Specifically, HS uniquely predicted the negative evaluations of the sub-types, while BS predicted the positive evaluation of the sub-types generated. The results of this study are consistent with Glick et al.'s (2000) findings. However, the results from the above study do not clarify which specific subtype of women generates negative or positive evaluations.

In a second study, Glick et al. (1997) asked participants to evaluate two specific subtypes of women that varied on the traditionality dimension, (homemakers vs. career women). Participants also completed measures of HS and BS. Consistent with their hypotheses, Glick et al. (1997) found that HS uniquely predicted the negative evaluation of career women, while BS uniquely predicted the positive evaluation of homemakers. It appears to be the case that sexist benevolence (the carrot) is reserved for women who conform to traditional gender roles, and HS (the stick) is reserved for women who violate such expectations. In this regard, hostile and benevolent sexism can be viewed as complementary ideologies that serve to maintain and justify male dominance over women (Glick et al., 2000; Jackman, 1994; Jost & Banaji, 1994).

The ASI: Recent Criticisms

In a recent commentary article, Petrocelli (2002) observed that Glick et al.'s (2000) data actually show that people are, on average, neither high in hostile sexism nor high in benevolent sexism. Petrocelli (2002) cites Glick et al.'s (2000) findings which reveal that the average scores for HS and BS on a 6 point scale are about 2.75 and 2.56 respectively. Clearly, both these scores are below the mid range of 3-4 on the 6 point scale. As such, Petrocelli (2002) proposes that the ASI may not be an appropriate measure of ambivalence or dissonance as Festinger (1957) initially described the concept. According to Petrocelli, for ambivalence to be present, both HS and BS need to be endorsed to equally high degrees by the participants. He concludes that better measures of ambivalence need to be developed before people can explore the intriguing ideas proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996).

In response to these criticisms, Glick and Fiske (2002) agree that it is possible to increase the numbers of people who disagree or agree with items on any attitude scale. This can easily be done by softening the tone of the statements and increasing agreement or making the statements more extreme and increasing disagreement. However, Glick and Fiske (2002) argue that this was not their goal when they were designing the ASI. According to Glick and Fiske (2002), extreme items were deliberately weeded out of the ASI during the initial development phases (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996). This was deliberately done so as to maximise the sensitivity of the ASI as an individual difference measure. As such, the ASI can not be construed as a ratio scale with an absolute zero point. Glick and Fiske (2002) note that, for the ASI, there is no benchmark score that would allow for the confident classification of one individual as sexist and another as non-sexist. Rather, ASI scores should be construed in a relative manner so that researchers can investigate whether individuals who score

relatively high on the scale respond differently to social stimuli when compared to relatively low scoring individuals (e.g. Glick et al., 1997; Glick et al., 2000; Masser and Abrams, 1999).

In another commentary article, Sax (2002) criticises Glick and Fiske's (1996) conceptualisation of benevolent sexism as a form of prejudice. He notes that Glick and Fiske (1996) correctly define prejudice as an erroneous generalisation. However, Sax (2002) questions Glick and Fiske's (1996; 2001a) suggestion that some of the beliefs measured by the BS subscale are erroneous. Sax (2002) notes that there is ample evidence that suggests that women are more nurturing than men (Fiengold,1994) and that women are better able to understand non-verbal communication in comparison to men (e.g. Hall, 1990). Other research suggests that women are indeed more expressive of their emotions than men are (Kring & Gordon, 1998). As such, Sax (2002) disagrees with the classification of people who endorse these beliefs as sexist. It is possible that high BS individuals endorse these beliefs simply because they are an accurate reflection of reality.

In responding to the above criticism, Glick and Fiske (2002) note that Sax's concerns are based on a misunderstanding of their conceptualisation of prejudice. Indeed, Glick and Fiske (2001a) argue that both the assumption that prejudice is an antipathy and that prejudice is an erroneous generalisation (c.f. Allport, 1954) are problematic. As already noted, Glick and Fiske (2001a) explicitly state that the definition of prejudice should be based on Allport's (1954) after-thought that "the net effect of prejudice... is to place the object of prejudice at a disadvantage" (p. 9). In this regard, the question concerning the accuracy of the above stereotypes may not be an issue of primary concern. Indeed, some studies have shown that conformity to social roles can partly account for the apparent reality of gender differences in social

behaviour (e.g. Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). The sex differences in social behaviours may, thus, be a reflection of different conformity pressures on men and women. If this is that case then beliefs concerning sex differences could construed as both "...accurate and sexist" (Glick and Fiske, 2002, p. 445).

In any case, a close examination of the BS subscale reveals that it does not measure beliefs about women being more nurturing or more emotional than men. Rather, the BS subscale measures the beliefs that women are more pure than men, women ought to be protected by men and the necessity of male-female romantic relationships for happiness in life. According to Glick and Fiske (2002), few researchers would be inclined to suggest that the idea that women need protection because they are weaker and more emotional is accurate. As such, the accuracy of sex stereotypes may not be important when deciding whether or not BS is a form of sexism. As already noted above, low status groups are often classified as warm but incompetent (Fiske et al, 2002). This stereotype could be an accurate reflection of the social reality regarding the status of the group (c.f. Alexander et al., 1999; Fiske et al., 2002). However, as Jost and Banaji (1994) suggest, such stereotypes also serve to maintain and justify the oppression of certain social groups. This conceptualisation is precisely what Glick and Fiske (1996) refer to when they define BS as a sexist attitude.

CONCLUSION

Ambivalent sexism theory appears to provide a useful framework for understanding gender prejudice. Previous researchers have tended to view gender prejudice as a unitary antipathy towards women (e.g. Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Some of these researchers (e.g. Tougas et al., 1995; Swim et al., 1995) have suggested that sexist attitudes have evolved in a similar manner to racist attitudes. According to

these theorists, modern forms of sexism are no longer expressed blatantly due to recent social and political changes. They argue that this is clearly indicated by the paradoxical finding that while sexist attitudes appear to be improving, women still occupy disadvantaged social positions (UNDP, 1999). Nevertheless, modern sexism or neo-sexism, as defined by Tougas et al. (1995) and Swim et al. (1995), still conceptualise sexism as a unitary hostility towards women.

Contrary to the above conceptualisations of prejudice, recent research indicates that sexism may not be comprised of only hostile attitudes (e.g. Eagly & Mladinic, 1993; Fiske et al, 2002). The empirical data reviewed above strongly support the notion that sexism comprises of hostile and benevolent aspects (e.g. Glick et al., 2000). Furthermore, both BS and HS seem to be complementary ideologies that serve to maintain and justify male dominance over women (c.f. Jost & Banaji, 1994). Hostile sexism seems to predict negative reactions to women who violate traditional gender role expectations, whereas benevolent sexism predicts positive reactions to women who conform to traditional gender role expectations (Glick et al., 1997). As such, although subjectively positive, benevolent sexism can be viewed as a form of prejudice that contributes to the continued oppression of women.

AIMS OF THESIS

It is interesting to note the similarity between the above account of sexist ambivalence and the rape myths that advocate the notion that only 'bad girls' are raped (see Chapter One). The differentiation between 'good' and 'bad' women appears to provide a means for men to justify and excuse aggressive behaviours towards particular types of women. In this regard, the general aim of the current thesis is to explore the feminist argument that rape and sexual violence function as

tools of social control which men employ to keep women in subordinate social positions (see Chapter One for a full review). As already noted, Glick and Fiske (1996) differentiate between heterosexual hostility and heterosexual intimacy and note that sexist men tend to associate sexual intimacy with power. Given the noted complementary roles of hostile and benevolent sexist ideologies in a broader social context, it is possible that both BS and HS may play an important role in people's responses to rape victims and perpetrators. Specifically, the current thesis investigates whether individuals who endorse the general belief that there are "good" and "bad" women (i.e. high BS) respond differently to stranger and acquaintance rape scenarios. In order to investigate this general hypothesis, the current thesis focuses on three specific questions.

First, the role of HS and BS in people's evaluations of acquaintance and stranger rape victims will be investigated. The psychological mechanisms that underlie or mediate the different responses to acquaintance rape victims that are predicted by hostile and benevolent sexism will also be explored. Second, this thesis examines the role of HS and BS in people's evaluations of different types of rape perpetrators. Specifically, the hypothesis that individuals high in BS (not HS) attribute less blame and recommend shorter sentences for the acquaintance rape rather than the stranger rape perpetrator is investigated. Finally, the role of the criminal justice system in maintaining or ameliorating the effects of benevolent sexist beliefs on the evaluation of rape victims is investigated. Specifically, the thesis examines whether legal verdicts weaken or strengthen negative attitudes toward acquaintance rape victims, especially for individuals who are high in benevolent sexism.

The exploration of the above issues is important because, although Glick and Fiske (1996) investigate the relationship between ambivalent sexism and RMA, there

are currently no reported studies that have explored the potential for hostile and benevolent sexism to predict individual differences in responses to stranger and acquaintance rape scenarios. Most of the research that has been published reports participants' evaluations of stranger and acquaintance rape victims without references to any relevant individual difference measures (e.g. Critchlow, 1985; Luginbuhl & Mullin, 1981; Scronce & Corcoran, 1995). When individual difference measures have been employed to predict participants' responses to rape victims, researchers have often focused only on scales assessing different forms of sexist hostility (e.g. RMA and Adversarial Sexual Beliefs) (Burt & Albin, 1981; Check & Malamuth, 1985; Bohner et al., 1998; Krahé, 1988). Because it is a relatively new scale, there are currently no reported studies that have explored the potential for benevolent sexism to account for some of the reported differences in people's responses to stranger and acquaintance rape scenarios. As such, the current thesis represents the first attempt to try and bridge this gap in research on sexual violence and people's responses to different types of rape victims and perpetrators.

CHAPTER THREE

Victim Blame in Acquaintance and Stranger Rape Situations: The Role of Benevolent Sexism

"Even when women are victims [of rape], somehow they are always to blame".

Sally Weale, *Carrying the can for men*,
The Guardian, 31 March, 1998, p8.

Previous research has shown that acquaintance rape victims are attributed more blame than stranger rape victims. In this first study the potential for benevolent sexism to account for the above noted differences in victim blame is explored. Male and female participants were presented with either an acquaintance or a stranger rape scenario. Participants were then asked to indicate how much blame to they attributed to the victim. Participants also completed measures of BS, HS, RMA and impression management. As expected, individuals scoring high on BS attributed more blame to the acquaintance rape victim than did low BS participants. In the stranger rape condition, no significant differences in victim blame between low and high BS participants were observed. Such results were not obtained for HS or RMA.

INTRODUCTION

In the present research, the potential for benevolent sexism to account for the differences in victim blame observed in stranger and acquaintance rape cases is investigated. Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald (1999; see also Abrams, Viki, Masser and Bohner, *in press*) criticize rape myth acceptance (RMA) as a construct for its failure to distinguish between issues of stranger and acquaintance rape. A number of studies have shown that these two types of rape elicit different responses from external

observers (see Pollard, 1992 for a review). As noted in Chapter One, victims of acquaintance rape are attributed more blame than stranger rape victims (e.g. Pollard, 1992; Quackenbush, 1989; Tetreault & Barnett, 1987). Interestingly, no attempt has been made to account for the observed differences in individuals' responses to victims of acquaintance and stranger rape within the theoretical context of RMA (Payne et al., 1999). The items on most RMA scales do not refer to specific types of rape or rape victims. It is, therefore, possible that respondents may have different types of rape in mind when responding to the items (Payne et al., 1999). Although RMA scales have been found to predict a wide range of responses to victims, Abrams et al. (*in press*) argue that the construct may be too broad to account for some of the reported differences in individuals' perceptions of different types of rape.

Abrams et al. (*in press*; see also Viki, 2000) propose that some of the observed differences in blame attributed to acquaintance and stranger rape victims can be explained in terms of benevolent sexism. They base this proposal on Batemen's (1991) observation that women are benevolently stereotyped as 'guardians of sexuality' (see also Jackman, 1994; Glick et al., 2000). Such a stereotype may be perceived as a positive evaluation of women (i.e. women are more virtuous than men). However, such perceptions of male-female relationships also place most of the responsibility for sexual morality on women. The responsibility for the outcome of sexual relationships is further emphasised by the popular myth that only certain types of women (i.e. "bad girls") are likely to be sexually assaulted (c.f. Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). Thus, when accusations of sexual assault are made, people may incorrectly assume that accurate judgements about the event are more likely to be reached if more attention is paid to the behaviour of the victim, rather than the perpetrator's intentions and/or nature of the act (Batemen, 1991; Weller, 1992).

Weller (1992) notes that the almost exclusive focus on the behaviour and/or characteristics of the victim makes it particularly difficult to prosecute acquaintance rape cases. This is because acquaintance rapes often occur in private situations where some potential for consensual sex is present (e.g. during a date). In contrast, stranger rapes usually take place in situations where the potential for consensual sex is generally absent (Bechhofer & Parrot, 1991). To most people, stranger rapes most clearly constitute a rape because there is no prior expectation that the woman might be interested in having sex with her attacker (Bechhofer & Parrot, 1991; Pollard, 1992). Since women are perceived as guardians of sexual morality, in situations where there is potential for consensual sex (e.g. acquaintance rape), the outcome of the interaction may be perceived as mostly influenced by the victim's behaviour (Weller, 1992). In such situations, members of the public may be more interested in finding out whether the victim led the perpetrator on, rather than whether sexual intercourse was consensual.

Individuals who endorse benevolently sexist ideas strongly believe that women are "pure" and "special" and deserve to be protected. However, such beliefs also imply that women ought to behave in ways that allow them to be "protectable" (c.f. Glick et al., 1997). As already noted in Chapter Two, Glick et al. (1997) found that BS was related to positive evaluations of women, but only if the women conformed to traditional gender role expectations. These data suggest that high BS individuals may have strong feelings about the types of women who deserve their "protection". Thus, in situations where a woman can be perceived as violating benevolent sexist expectations (i.e. an acquaintance rape case), individuals high in BS may perceive her as no longer deserving of "protection" and evaluate her negatively (i.e. blame her for the rape).

In Chapter One, it was noted that both legal practitioners and lay persons have been found to attribute blame to rape victims on the basis of extra-legal factors such as clothing (Johnson, 1995; Vali & Rizzo, 1991), alcohol consumption (Scronce & Corcoran, 1995; Corcoran & Thomas, 1991) and whether or not the victim has had multiple sex partners in the past (Marx & Gross, 1995). Such attributions seem to imply a general differentiation between "good" rape victims who deserve sympathy and "bad" rape victims who do not deserve any sympathy. Furthermore, most of the victims who are viewed as "bad" women are perceived as such because they have behaved in a manner that in some way violates traditional gender role expectations. Such findings suggest that responses to rape victims may be influenced by sexist norms that prescribe appropriate behaviour and roles for females within intimate relationships. It, therefore, seems reasonable to hypothesize that individuals who endorse such beliefs (high BS) are more likely to attribute responsibility to victims who can be viewed as violating traditional gender role expectations (i.e. acquaintance rape victims).

In a test of this hypothesis, Viki (2000, Study 1)[1] presented male university students with either an acquaintance rape or stranger rape scenario. After reading the scenario participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they felt the victim was to blame for the event. Also measured were participants' levels of hostile and benevolent sexism, rape myth acceptance and the tendency to respond in a socially desirable manner. Consistent with previous research, Viki (2000) found that the acquaintance rape victim was attributed more blame than the stranger rape victim. However, these effects were found to be significantly moderated by benevolent sexism. As predicted, participants scoring high on BS were found to attribute more

[1] This research was conducted as part of Viki's (2000) MSc research project at the University of Kent.

blame to the acquaintance rape victim than low BS participants. No differences between low and high BS participants were observed for the stranger rape scenario.

The above pattern of results was obtained even after the effects of RMA and HS on victim blame had been accounted for. Interestingly, RMA and HS were not found to moderate the effects of the type of rape on victim blame. These results clearly indicate that BS uniquely moderates the effects of type of rape on victim blame. As such, Viki (2000) concluded that, unlike RMA (or HS), benevolent sexism appears to provide a mechanism through which the differences in blame attributed to victims of acquaintance and stranger rape can be explained (see also Abrams et al., *in press*). Since individuals high in BS hold strong beliefs about how a "good" woman should behave, they are more likely to blame a rape victim who can be perceived as violating their benevolently sexist expectations.

Viki (2000) also explored the possibility that negative responses to rape victims can serve different functions. He argued that responses to rape victims may serve the general function of maintaining the traditional status quo in gender relations and a more specific function of serving as justifications and rationalizations for violent behavioural inclinations (i.e. rape proclivity; Bohner Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, Kerschbaum & Effler, 1998). Although these two functions may be related, they may also be driven by different sets of motivations, and Viki (2000) proposed that they should be associated with different aspects of sexism. Viki argued that individuals who are mostly concerned with maintaining traditional gender relations would blame the victim by making reference to benevolent sexist "ideals" concerning male-female relationships. This idea can be viewed as similar to Lerner's (1980) notion of just world beliefs in that any such notions of "justice" are based on some belief about what behaviour deserves to be rewarded in a fair world. For people who endorse

traditional gender roles within relationships (i.e. high BS individuals) a woman who enters a relationship with a man may be viewed as inviting sexual attention, and may, therefore, be held responsible for anything that happens to her. The results from Viki's (2000) study above appear to be consistent with this argument.

In Chapter One, evidence suggesting that the acceptance of interpersonal violence and adversarial sexual beliefs may be linked to hostile attitudes towards women is reviewed (e.g. Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Indeed, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) argue that hostile attitudes towards women constitute the central construct that ties together most of the research findings on adversarial sexual beliefs and the acceptance of interpersonal violence. This issue becomes particularly important when one considers individuals who are high in rape proclivity. Such individuals may be motivated to rationalize and justify their violent inclinations towards women (Bohner et al., 1998). Therefore, individuals who are inclined to engage in sexual aggression would seem particularly likely to endorse hostile sexist beliefs (e.g. "Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances") to justify their own behavioural inclinations.

Such hostile attitudes and beliefs may particularly manifest in situations where they may be viewed as justifiable (Rudman & Glick, 1999; c.f. Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). For example, Rudman and Glick (2001) found that when a job was described as requiring a 'nice and feminine' manager, women who exhibited androgynous characteristics were more likely to be discriminated against when participants were making hiring decisions. In this case, participants felt that it was justified to discriminate against women who failed to conform to traditional gender role expectations. Thus, in situations where the malevolent intent of the male perpetrator may be less clear (e.g. acquaintance rape), the relationship between hostility toward

women and rape proclivity should be especially strong. As already noted in this Chapter, acquaintance rape situations often take place in situations where consensual sex is possible. In contrast, the malevolent intent of the male perpetrator is relatively apparent in stranger rape situations.

In addition to assessing victim blame, Viki (2000) also had his male participants indicate the likelihood that they would behave like the male assailant in the rape scenario. Viki (2000) found that males reported a higher level of rape proclivity for acquaintance rape in comparison to stranger rape. Interestingly, and consistent with his predictions, Viki found that HS significantly moderated the effects of type of rape on rape proclivity. High HS males reported a higher proclivity for acquaintance rape than did low HS participants. No differences in self-reported proclivity between low and high HS participants were observed in the stranger rape condition. This pattern of results was obtained even after the effects of RMA and BS on rape proclivity were accounted for. Furthermore, BS and RMA did not moderate the effects of type of rape on self-reported proclivity. These results clearly indicate that HS uniquely moderates the effects of type of rape on rape proclivity. Thus, in situations where high HS individuals feel that rape can be justified they are more likely to report a high proclivity for sexual assault.

The results obtained in the above studies suggest that HS and BS uniquely predict different responses to rape victims. Specifically, BS moderates the effects of type of rape on victim blame while HS moderates the effect of type of rape on rape proclivity. It is interesting to note that the type of rape victim that is more likely to be blamed by high BS individuals is also the same type of victim that is more likely to be sexually assaulted by high HS males. Such results support Glick and Fiske's (1996) argument that HS and BS are complementary ideologies that serve to maintain and

justify male dominance over women (Abrams et al., *in press*; Jost & Banaji, 1994). The results are also consistent with the feminist argument that sexual violence can be used as a form of social control (c.f. Browmiller, 1975).

The Present Study

The above findings concerning the relationship between BS and victim blame are important and interesting. However, Viki's (2000) study was conducted using an all-male sample. As such, it is important to explore whether similar findings would be obtained within a sample containing both male and female participants. Several researchers (e.g. Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Pollard, 1992) have reported that women tend to score lower than men on rape myth acceptance scales. Furthermore, men have been reported to attribute more blame to rape victims than women and to exhibit less sympathy for victims of sexual attacks (e.g. Johnson, 1995; see Chapter One). Thus, it is possible that the effects obtained by Viki (2000) may not replicate in a sample containing female participants.

It is important to note, however, that Glick and his colleagues (e.g. Glick and Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000) have found that women often endorse benevolent sexist ideas to the same extent as do men. Furthermore, Viki's findings suggest that it is BS, not HS or RMA, that moderates the effects of type of rape on victim blame. The studies in which women have been found to differ from men have focused mostly on hostile sexist attitudes. Since men and women have been found to endorse BS to the same extent, it is possible that in acquaintance rape cases individual differences in BS rather than gender would predict victim blame. Indeed, Bohner, Weisbrod, Raymond, Barzvi and Schwarz (1993) found that women high in RMA responded to a description of a rape scenario in a similar manner to male participants

who were high in RMA. Thus, to the extent that they score high in BS, women may also attribute more blame to acquaintance rape in comparison to the stranger rape victim. Such findings would also be consistent with Glick and Fiske's (2001a) system-justification hypothesis, in which oppressed groups are argued to sometimes endorse the system justifying ideologies of the dominant group (cf. Jost & Banaji, 1994; see Chapter Two).

In the present study, male and female participants were exposed to vignettes containing either an acquaintance rape or a stranger rape scenario. Participants' responses to the rape scenarios (i.e. victim blame[2]) were assessed with reference to their levels of rape myth acceptance, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Given the sensitivity of the issues being investigated in this study, a social desirability measure was also included the questionnaire (i.e. Impression Management Scale; Paulhus, 1991). This measure was included so as to be able to control for participants' tendencies to present themselves in a socially desirable manner in the main analyses. The following hypotheses were tested in this study. First, significant gender differences were predicted for RMA and HS. Men were expected to score higher than women on both HS and RMA. However, no significant gender differences were expected for BS. Second, all participants were expected to attribute more blame to the victim of the acquaintance rape than to the victim of the stranger rape.

Third, the effects of type of rape on victim blame were expected to be moderated by participants' levels of BS (not HS). As in Viki's (2000) study, individuals high in benevolent sexism were expected to attribute more blame to the victim of an acquaintance rape than were individuals low in benevolent sexism. No differences in

[2] Rape proclivity was not measured in this study as this did not make theoretical or conceptual sense for female participants.

victim blame between low and high BS individuals were predicted for the stranger rape condition. Fourth, since no gender differences in BS were predicted, gender was not expected to affect the predicted relationships between BS, type of rape and victim blame. Finally, due to the robustness of the construct, as noted by Abrams et al. (*in press*) and Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995), RMA was not expected to interact with type of rape in predicting victim blame.

STUDY 1

Method

Participants

Sixty-five students (31 males, 34 females) from the University of Kent at Canterbury took part in this study on a voluntary basis. Participants' ages ranged from 19 to 44 years. Eighty-five percent of the sample reported ages younger than 26 years (M = 24.31; SD = 5.83). Of the participants, 80% were classified as European, 18.7% as Asian or African, and 2.4% as "Other".

Design

A between-subjects design, with type of rape (acquaintance vs. stranger) as the independent variable and victim blame as the dependent variable was employed. Participants were randomly assigned to read either the acquaintance rape (N = 34), or the stranger rape scenario (N = 31). The acquaintance rape vignette was adapted from Viki (2000) and described a story of a woman (Kathy) who went to a party where she met and got acquainted with a man named Jason. The two spent the evening dancing and flirting with each other (See Appendix A). Later that night Kathy invited Jason to her apartment where, after she had kissed him first, he subsequently raped her. In

contrast, the stranger rape vignette described a story of a woman (Kathy) who was walking home one night after having met her friends for coffee at a restaurant. On her way home, she was approached by a man whom she had never met before (Jason). The man offered to walk her home. However, Kathy ignored the man and when they got to an unlit part of the street the man attacked and raped her (see Appendix A).

Measures

The following items were used to assess the extent to which participants held the rape victim responsible for the event: "How much do you think Kathy should blame herself for what happened?"; "How much control do you think Kathy had over the situation?"; "How much do you agree Kathy should not have invited Jason over (or walked with Jason) if she did not want to have sex with him?"; "Do you think this incident could have been avoided?"; "Whose fault do you think it is, that things turned out the way they did?"; "How much sympathy do you feel for Kathy?". A 7-point scale accompanied all questions measuring the dependent variable (1 = not at all to 7 = completely or totally, or 1 = Jason to 7 = Kathy).

The following scales were also included in the questionnaire and administered to all participants, who were required to respond on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree).

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996): This is a 22-item inventory assessing individual levels of ambivalent sexism. The ASI consists of two 11-item sub-scales (Hostile and Benevolent Sexism). The inventory is mainly comprised of statements concerning male-female relationships, to which participants are asked to indicate their level of agreement. Examples of items are; "Women seek to

gain power by getting control over men" (HS) and "Women should be cherished and protected by men" (BS) (see Appendix B).

The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. (R scale; Costin, 1985): The R scale is a 20-item instrument measuring individual levels of rape myth endorsement. Participants are asked to indicate their level of agreement with statements such as, "Women often provoke rape through their appearance or behaviour". This scale has been employed in a number of studies (e.g. Bohner et al., 1993; Costin & Schwarz, 1987) and has well established reliability and validity attributes (see Bohner, 1998; see Appendix C).

The Impression Management Scale (IM; Paulhus, 1991): This scale is a 20-item measure of individuals' need to present themselves in a socially desirable manner. Eight items that had been found to have the highest item-total correlations in a pilot study were selected for use in this study (Viki, 2000). An example of an item from this scale is, "I don't gossip about other people's business" (see Appendix D).

Procedure

All participants were approached while they were studying in the university library and asked if they would complete a questionnaire booklet on 'gender relations'. Those individuals who agreed to participate were then handed a questionnaire containing the description of either an acquaintance rape or a stranger rape scenario. Participants were then left to complete the questionnaire in private. Similar to Viki (2000), the questionnaire was organised so that participants first read the scenario describing the rape before responding to the questions examining victim blame. After completing this part of the questionnaire, participants responded to the ASI, the R scale and the IM scale. The researcher later returned to thank and debrief all participants before collecting the completed questionnaires. None of the participants

indicated any suspicions about the specific hypotheses being tested in the current study.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

The internal consistencies of all the measures employed in this study were acceptable (IM, α = .65; Costin's R, α = .84; HS, α = 89; BS, α = .88; Victim Blame, α = .75). As such, composite average scores for all scales were computed for each participant by combining the relevant items. In order to examine gender differences in BS, HS and RMA, a 2 (gender: male vs. female) x 3 (sub-scale: RMA vs. HS vs. BS) mixed model ANOVA was performed; with gender as a between participants variable and sub-scale as a within participants variable. This analysis yielded significant main effects of gender (F (1, 63) = 6.98, p<.01) and sub-scale (F (1, 63) = 17.33, p<.01). However, the two way interaction effects failed to reach significance (F (1, 63) =.69, *ns*). Simple effects analyses were then performed to test the specific hypotheses of the current study. These analyses yielded significant gender differences for HS (F (1, 63) = 5.18, p<.02, MSE = 7.68) and RMA (F (1, 63) = 12.10, p<.02, MSE = 7.86). As predicted, men scored higher than women on both HS (males M = 3.61, SD = 1.20; females M = 2.93; SD = 1.23) and RMA (males M = 2.89, SD = .90; females M = 2.20; SD = .70). In contrast, no significant gender differences in BS were obtained (F (3, 63) = 2.19, *ns*). Thus, although the interaction effects failed to reach significance, the above results are generally consistent with Glick et al.'s (2000) findings and suggest that women may be just as willing as men to accept BS.

A between subjects MANOVA was performed to examine whether type of rape had significant effects on HS, BS, RMA and IM. This analysis yielded no

significant effects multivariate or univariate (all F's < 1). As such, HS, BS and RMA could be used as independent predictors in analyses examining whether they moderate the effects of type of rape on victim blame. Correlation analyses were also performed to assess the relationships among all the measures used in this study (see Table 1). This yielded significant zero-order correlations between all the measures (all p's <.001), the highest being between HS and BS (r = .66). This finding is in line with previous studies that have also reported a substantial positive relationship between BS and HS (e.g. Glick et al., 2000; Masser & Abrams, 1999). Multiple regression analyses were then conducted to assess whether the predictor variables had unique effects on the dependent variable (victim blame).

Table 1: Correlations among measures of Rape Myth Acceptance, Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and Victim Blame.

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Rape Myth Acceptance
Benevolent Sexism	-		
Hostile Sexism	.66	-	
Rape Myth Acceptance	.60	.64	-
Victim Blame	.41	.45	.45

Note. All correlations significant at p<.001

Victim Blame

To analyse the impact of type of rape and BS, hierarchical regression analysis was employed. All variables were centred prior to analysis (Jaccard, Turissi & Wann, 1990). In the first step, type of rape and BS were entered and in the second step the

interaction term (BS x type of rape) was entered. Significant main effects for type of rape and BS were obtained (see beta coefficients in Table 2). As expected, more blame was attributed to the acquaintance rape victim than to the stranger rape victim (M = 3.18, SD = 1.07; M = 2.28, SD = .85, respectively). The significant positive relationship between BS and victim blame indicates that the higher an individual's score on benevolent sexism, the more they blame the rape victim.

Table 2: Regression Analysis of the Effects of Benevolent Sexism and Type of Rape on Victim Blame.

Regression Step		Beta (β)	T	Sig.	r	pr	sr	R^2 Change
Step 1	Benevolent Sexism	.37	3.54	.001	.41	.41	.37	
	Type of Rape	.39	3.72	.001	.45	.42	.39	.31
Step 2	BS x Type of Rape	.81	2.44	.017	.40	.40	.28	.06

The above main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between BS and type of rape (p<.02; see Table 2). Further hierarchical regression analyses were then conducted to examine whether the above interaction effects would remain significant after the effects of IM, RMA and HS on victim blame were accounted for. In this regression equation, IM, RMA and HS were entered in the first step, BS and type of rape were entered in the second step and the interaction term BS x type of rape was entered in last step. As expected, the interaction effect of BS and type of rape remained significant even after the effects of IM, HS and RMA were accounted for (β = .83, t = 2.62, p < .02).

The above results are in line with previous findings (e.g. Viki, 2000) and they were obtained within a sample containing both male and female participants. Nevertheless, regression analyses were conducted to examine whether gender moderated the interaction effects reported above. In these analyses, gender, BS and type of rape were entered in the first step. The three two-way interaction terms (BS x type of rape, gender x type of rape, BS x gender) were entered in the second step. In the final step, the three-way interaction effect (BS x gender x type of rape) was entered. This analysis revealed that gender did not have any significant main or interaction effects (with BS and type of rape) on the dependent variable (all p's > .20). The three-way interaction between BS, gender and type of rape failed to reach significance (t = .64, *ns*). In fact, the only significant interaction effect obtained in this analysis was between BS and type of rape (t = 2.416, p<.02). All other interaction effects were not significant (see Appendix E for the full output). These results suggest that gender does not moderate the interaction effects reported in Table 2 above.

Simple effects analyses were then performed on the data to further examine the nature of the interaction between BS and type of rape. This analysis revealed different relationship patterns between BS and victim blame for the different types of rape. In the stranger rape condition, the relationship between BS and victim blame was not significant (β = .11, t = .56, *ns*). In contrast, there was a significant relationship between victim blame and BS in the acquaintance rape condition (β = .61, t = 4.41, p<.001). As shown in Figure 1, the higher an individual's score on BS, the more they blamed the victim of an acquaintance rape.

Hierarchical regression analyses were also conducted to examine whether HS or RMA moderated the effects of type of rape on victim blame. Consistent with the hypotheses and Viki's (2000) results, the interaction effects between type of rape and

HS or RMA were not significant (all *p*s>.68). Interestingly, RMA had a significant main effect on victim blame after HS and BS had been partialled out (β = .32, t = 2.40, p<.02). This finding is in line with the argument that RMA has a robust effect on victim blame that is not moderated by the type of rape (c.f. Abrams et al., *in press*; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Viki, 2000). It is also important to note that gender did not interact significantly with HS or RMA to predict victim blame (all *p*s>.05)

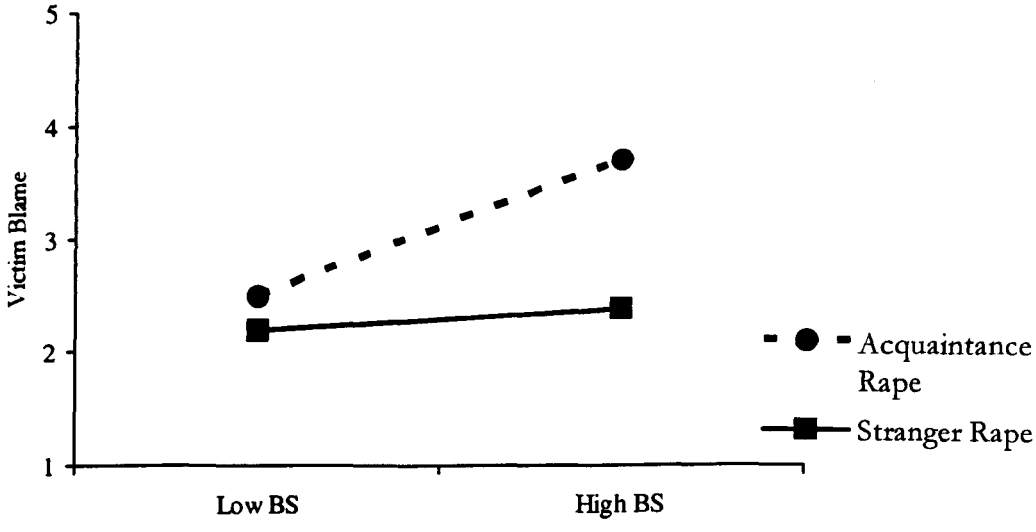

Figure 1. The effects of Benevolent Sexism (BS) and Type of Rape on Victim Blame.

DISCUSSION

The present results are consistent with the study's main predictions. As expected, participants assigned more blame to the victim of an acquaintance rape than to the stranger rape victim. This is consistent with findings from previous research (e.g. Amir, 1971; Bridges & McGrail, 1989; Quackenbush, 1989) and suggests that perceptions surrounding the appropriateness of the victim's behaviour may influence participants' reactions to the victims of acquaintance rape. This proposal is further

supported by the significant interaction between BS and type of rape for victim blame. Individuals who are high in BS attributed more blame to an acquaintance rape victim than did low BS individuals. This interaction effect made a significant contribution to the prediction of victim blame even after the effects of gender, RMA and HS had been partialled out. In fact, no significant interaction between type of rape and RMA (or HS) was observed. Thus, unlike rape myth acceptance (or HS), benevolent sexism appears to provide a mechanism through which some of the observed differences in victim blame can be explained.

The results of this study support the argument that different motivational and attitudinal processes influence rape proclivity and victim blame. As in Viki's (2000) study, BS but not HS interacted with type of rape to predict victim blame. Thus, it can be argued that individuals high in BS are motivated to maintain their beliefs in a just world, where women who violate societal expectations "get what they deserve". In contrast, hostile sexism does not appear to be related to such motivations. Rather, individuals high in hostile sexism may be more motivated to rationalise their inclinations towards sexual violence (Viki, 2000). The results of the present study also corroborate Abrams et al.'s (*in press*) argument that rape myth acceptance may be too general a concept to account for differences in participants' responses to victims of stranger and acquaintance rape. Rape myth acceptance, as a construct, seems to measure general attitudes concerning rape and may, therefore, be limited in its ability to differentiate between different types of rape.

As predicted, no significant gender differences were obtained for benevolent sexism. These findings are consistent with previous research that has shown that women tend to accept BS more than HS (e.g. Glick et al., 2000). Interestingly, gender had no significant effects on victim blame in this study. As expected, the results

indicated that gender did not moderate the interaction effects involving BS, type of rape and victim blame. It appears to be case that, to the extent the women endorse BS, they are just as likely as men to blame acquaintance rape victims. This finding is consistent with Jost and Banaji's (1994) system justification hypothesis (cf. Glick & Fiske, 2001a). In this case, the oppressed group's reaction to the rape victims (who happen to be members of their gender) are similar to those of the dominant group.

The data reported in the current chapter and Viki's (2000) findings show a consistent and theoretically meaningful pattern of results. However, further research is needed to explore the psychological mechanisms underlying the effects observed in both studies. Neither study directly examines why high BS individuals are more likely to blame acquaintance rape victims in comparison to stranger rape victims. Although in the current study it is argued that high BS individuals blame the acquaintance rape victim because they perceive her as having violated traditional gender role expectations, this hypothesis is not directly tested. If it is the case that high BS individuals blame the victim because they do not approve of her behaviour, then such evaluations of the victim should be found to mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame.

Similarly, the psychological mechanisms underlying the relationship between HS and rape proclivity are also yet to be examined. Viki (2000) found that male participants high in HS report a higher proclivity for acquaintance rape in comparison to stranger rape. It is possible that high HS individuals hold adversarial beliefs about sexual encounters (e.g. women mean "yes" when they say "no") and that these beliefs account for the observed relationship between HS and rape proclivity in acquaintance rape situations (cf. Payne et al., 1999). As already noted, previous research has shown that adversarial beliefs about male-female relationships are related to sexist hostility

(see Chapter One). Due to the fact that some potential for consensual sex is present in the acquaintance rape situation, high HS individuals may rely on such beliefs about women's sexual intentions to justify their proclivity to rape.

Empirical findings showing the underlying mediators would be helpful in explaining the pattern of findings obtained in the current study and in Viki's (2000) research. As such, the studies to be reported in Chapter 4 focus on variables that potentially mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame, and the relationship between HS and rape proclivity within acquaintance rape situations.

CHAPTER FOUR

Hostile and Benevolent Sexism and Reactions to Acquaintance Rape Victims: An Examination of Psychological Mediators.

"Offering a late night drink of a coffee these days is a euphemism for sex and that's the stage for a woman to say no. Not afterwards."

Ruki Syid, *Offering Coffee is a Euphemism for Sex*, Daily Mirror, 4 July, 2002, p6.

This chapter reports three studies (Studies 2, 3 & 4) that were conducted to investigate the psychological mechanisms that underlie the relationship between benevolent sexism (BS) and victim blame, and the relationship between hostile sexism (HS) and rape proclivity. In Study 2, BS (but not HS) moderated the effects of type of rape on participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Individuals high (vs. low) in BS evaluated the acquaintance rape victim's behaviour as more inappropriate than the stranger rape victim's behaviour. In contrast, HS (and not BS) moderated the effects of type of rape on participants' perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex and whether the perpetrator was led on. Individuals who scored high (vs. low) in HS perceived the acquaintance (but not the stranger) rape victim as "really" wanting sex and as having led the perpetrator on. In Study 3, the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape situations was found to be mediated by participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Study 4 revealed that the relationship between HS and rape proclivity in acquaintance rape situations is mediated by participants' perceptions that the victim "really" wanted to have sex.

INTRODUCTION

The results of Study 1 and Viki's earlier research (Viki, 2000; see also Abrams et al., *in press*) clearly indicate that individuals high in BS are more likely to blame an acquaintance rape victim in comparison to a stranger rape victim. In contrast, individuals who score low on BS do not appear to differentiate between stranger and acquaintance rape victims. According to Viki (2000), these findings make sense when one considers the nature of benevolent sexist attitudes. Individuals who are high in BS hold particular beliefs about how "good" and "respectable" women should conduct themselves in social situations. In particular, benevolent sexists idealise women who conform to traditional gender roles (e.g. wives and mothers; see Glick et al., 1997). Thus, individuals high in BS may perceive a woman who invites a relationship with a man (itself a potential violation of traditional sex role norms) as being too "forward" and, therefore, responsible for anything unfortunate that may happen to her (c.f. Glick et al., 1997). On the basis of this logic, Viki (2000) concluded that high BS individuals blame the acquaintance rape victim because they view her as having violated traditional gender role expectations. Such violations render the acquaintance rape victim no longer deserving of their "benevolent protection".

In an initial test of this hypothesis, Viki and Abrams (*in press-b*) presented participants with either one of two vignettes describing an acquaintance rape (as in Study 1). Both vignettes described a similar rape incident; with the characteristics of the victim being the only manipulated factor. In one of the vignettes, no descriptive details about the victim's characteristics were provided (control condition). In contrast, the victim in the second vignette was described as a "married mother of three". This target was chosen because pilot data had shown that a woman described

as a "married mother of three" was stereotyped as possessing the kind of traits that benevolent sexists are likely to value and idealise (e.g. maternal, loving, kind; see also Glick et al., 1997). In essence, the description of a married woman who is raped by a man she has just met at a party resulted in a condition in which the rape victim was sexually assaulted while potentially cheating on her husband. If it is the case that individuals high in BS blame rape victims who can be viewed as violating traditional gender role expectations, then a married woman who is raped while potentially cheating on her husband should elicit very little sympathy.

Consistent with this prediction, Viki and Abrams (*in press-b*) obtained a significant interaction between BS and victim type (i.e. married mother vs. control). Participants who scored high in BS attributed more blame to the acquaintance rape victim who was assaulted during a potential act of infidelity in comparison to a victim in similar circumstances whose marital status was unknown. As in their previous studies (e.g. Abrams et al., *in press*; Viki, 2000), gender was not found to have main effects or to moderate the effects of BS on victim blame in this study. Both male and female participants who scored high in BS negatively evaluated the victim who was raped while potentially cheating on her husband. These results were obtained even after the effects of HS and rape myth acceptance (RMA) were partialled out of the regression equation. Furthermore, no interaction effects involving HS (or RMA) and victim type were obtained. These findings clearly indicate that the effects Viki and Abrams (*in press-b*) obtained are unique to BS. It appears that high BS individuals may be sensitive to gender norm violations and are, thus, more likely to react negatively to rape victims who can be viewed as violating traditional gender role expectations.

BS and Victim Blame: Investigating Psychological Mediators

Although consistent with the argument that evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour underlie benevolent sexists' judgements of certain rape victims, Viki and Abrams' (*in press-b*) study does not provide direct evidence in support of this hypothesis. Viki and colleagues (see also Abrams et al., *in press*; Viki, 2000) did not explicitly measure participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Instead, their conclusions were drawn from the finding that individuals high in BS are more likely to blame certain types of rape victims than others. However, it is possible that other psychological mechanisms (e.g. beliefs about the victim's sexual intentions) underlie the relationship between BS and victim blame. As such, it is important to conduct research that directly focuses on the judgement that the victim's behaviour was not appropriate for a woman as a potential mediating variable. In the present chapter, studies directly investigating this hypothesis are reported. If it is the case that the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour underlies high BS individuals' evaluations of the acquaintance rape victim, then the relationship between BS and victim blame should be reduced to non-significance once the effects of the perceived inappropriateness of victim's behaviour are accounted for.

The possibility that adversarial views of the victim's intentions and behaviour might mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame is also explored in the present chapter. It is possible that high BS individuals negatively evaluate the acquaintance rape victim because they believe that she "really" wanted to have sex with the perpetrator but offered token resistance so as to preserve her status as a "good" woman. Such attitudes are reflected in the popular myths that suggest that

women say "no" when they mean "yes" (cf. Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). Indeed, women are often expected to be sexually conservative and offer some sort of resistance even when they intend to eventually have sexual intercourse (Bechhofer & Parrot, 1991; Weller, 1992). Individuals high in BS may endorse this adversarial sex-role script, and this may lead them to negatively evaluate the acquaintance rape victim because they believe that she "really" wanted to have sex in the first place.

It is also possible that individuals that are high in BS negatively evaluate the acquaintance rape victim because they believe that she did not want to have sex but "led on" or "teased" the perpetrator. Such attitudes are in line with popular myths that suggest that men cannot control their sexual urges once they get aroused. These beliefs place responsibility for sexual encounters on women by suggesting that women should not "tease" or sexually arouse men if they do not intend to eventually have sexual intercourse with them (cf. Bohner, 1998; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Thus, high BS individuals may view the victim in the acquaintance rape situation as deserving to be raped because she intentionally aroused the perpetrator's sexual interest with no "real" intention of eventually having sex with him.

It is important to note, however, that previous research has found that adversarial views concerning male-female relationships are related to hostile, rather than benevolent, attitudes towards women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). Some of the items on the RMA and the Adversarial Sexual Beliefs scales suggest that women use sex as a "weapon" with which they attempt to control men (e.g. Burt, 1980; Costin, 1985; see Chapter One). As such, in the studies reported in this chapter, adversarial perceptions of male-female relationships were not expected to be associated with BS, or to mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape situations. This is because individuals who endorse

BS tend to view women as dependent on men for protection rather than as being in direct competition with men (cf. Glick et al., 1997; Masser & Abrams, 2001).

HS and Rape Proclivity: Investigating Psychological Mediators

In his initial study, Viki (2000) found that males who are high in HS reported a higher likelihood of committing an acquaintance rape than low HS males (see Chapter 3). Viki (2000) suggested that high HS males report higher levels of acquaintance rape proclivity than low HS males because, unlike in stranger rape situations, in acquaintance rape situations the malevolent intent of the perpetrator can be disguised (c.f. Rudman & Glick, 1999). Since the acquaintance rape victim is often viewed as partly responsible for the incident, this allows the potential rapist to use some commonly accepted excuses and justifications for committing the rape. A possible justification of rape or the proclivity to commit rape is to argue that the victim "really" wanted to have sex (Scully & Marolla, 1984). In this case, the perpetrator is justified in sexually assaulting the woman because, subjectively, that is what she "really" wanted to happen. Such an excuse or justification relies on the commonly held myth that during sexual encounters women often say "no" when they mean "yes" (Burt, 1980; Bohner, 1998). The incident is then defined as not being a "real" rape because the victim is perceived as having wanted to have sex, and therefore, as having possibly "enjoyed" the rape (cf. Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995).

Alternatively, rapists can also argue that they were falsely led to believe that the victim wanted to have sex (see Scully & Marolla, 1984). If it is accepted that the perpetrator was falsely led to believe that the victim wanted sex, then the perpetrator cannot be held responsible for the incident. In this case, the perpetrator can argue that he honestly believed that the victim wanted to have sexual intercourse with him.

Such an excuse for committing rape relies on the commonly believed myth that men cannot control their sexual urges (Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). As a result, the victim may be held responsible for the event because she "knowingly" misled the perpetrator about her "real" intentions regarding eventual sexual intercourse.

Previous research has shown that convicted rapists sometimes use the above excuses or justifications for rape in an attempt to absolve themselves from blame (Scully & Marolla, 1984; see also Murphy, 1990). Either one of the above excuses or justifications can serve to disguise the malevolent intent of the rapist (Murphy, 1990). If successfully employed, these excuses and justifications turn the attention of external observers onto the behaviour of the victim which becomes the focus of any inquiry into what transpired during the rape (Weller, 1992). Thus, it is possible that in situations where the above arguments can be successfully employed (e.g. acquaintance rapes), individuals who are high in HS may report a higher likelihood of committing a rape than those low in HS. This is because high HS individuals may view committing such an act of rape as potentially justifiable (cf. Bohner et al., 1998).

In this chapter, the psychological mechanisms that underlie the relationship between HS and rape proclivity are explored. As already noted, the idea that women "really" want sex but must pretend not to, is consistent with adversarial beliefs about sexual relations. Indeed, one of the items in the rape proclivity scale employed in Viki's (2000) initial study assessed participants' agreement with the idea that women enjoy being "taken" during sexual encounters. As such, it is possible that participants' views concerning whether the victim "really" wanted sex mediate the relationship between HS and proclivity. The belief that the victim deserved what she got because she "teased" the perpetrator is also consistent with hostile attitudes towards women

(Glick et al., 2000). The hostile sexism sub-scale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) contains an item that suggests that, "Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances" (Glick and Fiske, 1996, p. 512). It seems likely that this presumption may affect perceptions of rape victims who can be perceived as having led the perpetrator on (e.g. acquaintance rape victims). Therefore, it is possible that participants' views concerning whether the victim led the perpetrator on also mediate the relationship between hostile sexism and rape proclivity.

OVERVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

Three studies (Studies 2, 3 & 4) examining the psychological mechanisms that underlie the relationship between BS and victim blame, and the relationship between HS and rape proclivity are reported. Study 2 was designed to be an exploratory study in which the moderating roles of HS and BS on participants' perceptions of stranger and acquaintance rape victims were evaluated. The design and procedure of Study 2 were similar to that of Study 1. However, different dependent measures were utilised in this study. Study 2 directly focused on the dependent variables that were considered to be potential mediators. These variables were; 1) evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour, 2) perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex and, 3) perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on. These measures were employed in order to establish whether such perceptions of the rape victim are differentially related to BS, HS and type of rape in the manner that was proposed by Viki (2000).

For the purposes of Study 2, a significant main effect of type of rape was predicted for all the dependent variables. In comparison to the stranger rape victim,

participants were expected to evaluate the acquaintance rape victim as having behaved inappropriately. Participants were also expected to evaluate the acquaintance rape victim as having "really" wanted sex and as having led the perpetrator on, in comparison to the stranger rape victim. However, BS and HS were expected to differentially moderate the main effects of type of rape on the dependent variables. BS (and not HS) was expected to moderate the effects of type of rape on participants' evaluations concerning the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Specifically, individuals high (vs. low) in BS were expected to evaluate the acquaintance rape victim's behaviour as having been more inappropriate than the stranger rape victim's behaviour. In contrast, HS (but not BS) was expected to moderate the effects of type of rape on participants' perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex and whether the perpetrator was led on. It was predicted that individuals who score high (vs. low) in HS would perceive the acquaintance (but not the stranger) rape victim as "really" wanting sex and as having led the perpetrator on.

Study 3 was specifically designed to examine the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape situations. The design and procedure for this study was similar to those of Study 1 and Study 2. However, all the participants in this study were presented with only the acquaintance rape scenario. Measures were restricted to those that would provide a focused test of the specific hypotheses. Participants, therefore, completed the BS sub-scale of the ASI, measures for the three possible mediators, and the victim blame measure. A significant positive relationship between BS and victim blame was predicted. However, participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour were expected to mediate this relationship. In contrast, perceptions concerning whether the victim "really" wanted

sex or whether the perpetrator was led on were not expected to be related to BS or to mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame.

Finally, Study 4 explored the relationship between HS and rape proclivity in acquaintance rape situations. As in Study 3, this study also focused only on the acquaintance rape condition and measures were restricted to those that were directly relevant to the specific hypotheses to be tested, i.e. the HS sub-scale of the ASI, measures of the potential mediators and a measure of rape proclivity. A significant positive relationship between HS and rape proclivity was predicted. It was also predicted that the two variables that are consistent with adversarial beliefs about male-female relationships would significantly mediate this relationship. These variables were participants' judgments of whether the victim "really" wanted sex and their perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on. Perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour was not expected to be related to HS or to mediate the relationship between HS and rape proclivity.

STUDY 2

Method

Participants

Forty students (20 males, 20 females) took part in this exploratory study. All participants were students at the University of Kent and they all participated on a voluntary basis. Participants' ages ranged from 18-44, with 90% of the sample reporting ages below 25 years (*mean age* = 21.55, *SD* = 4.80). All the participants in this study were classified as European.

Design and Materials

As in Study 1, a between-participants design with type of rape (stranger vs. acquaintance) as the independent variable was employed. The stranger and acquaintance rape scenarios employed in this study were the same as those used in Study 1. After reading the rape scenario, participants were required to respond to a 10-item (7 point) semantic differential scale assessing their perceptions of the appropriateness of the victim's behaviour. The items used in this scale were: Ladylike vs. Unladylike, Chaste vs. Loose, Dignified vs. Undignified, Decent vs. Indecent, Proper vs. Improper, Respectable vs. Unrespectable, Appropriate vs. Inappropriate, Honourable vs. Dishonourable, Reserved vs. Forward and Moral vs. Immoral. Higher scores indicated that the participant felt the victim's behaviour was inappropriate.

Four items measured the extent to which the participants believed that the victim "really" wanted sex. These were: "Kathy really wanted to have sex with Jason", "Kathy's resistance to Jason was only so Jason would not think she was too forward", "Kathy wanted Jason to overcome her initial resistance", and "Kathy wanted Jason to 'take' her". Five items measured the extent to which participants felt the victim led the perpetrator on. These were: "Kathy led Jason on", "Jason was led to believe that Kathy wanted to have sex with him", "Kathy teased Jason", "Kathy's behaviour turned Jason on", and "Kathy got what she deserved for teasing Jason". As in Study 1, individual differences in HS and BS were assessed using the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996). A 7 point Likert scale accompanied all above measures (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*).

The factor structure and reliability of the items used to measure the dependent variables in this study were established using pilot data obtained as part of another research project (Abrams, Chiroro & Viki, 2001). In this study, male and female

college students (N = 101) were presented with rape scenarios and asked to evaluate the rape victim using the items described above. Principal axis factoring with a promax rotation was conducted and this analysis yielded three interpretable factors (i.e. Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour, Perpetrator Led On and Victim Wanted Sex; item loadings ranged from .44 to .97). The sub-scales were also found to have high internal consistencies (Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour: α = .95; Victim Wanted Sex: α = .87; Perpetrator Led On: α = .89). As such, it was concluded that the above measures were acceptably reliable for use in the current study.

Procedure

Participants were approached at different locations on the university campus and asked whether they would complete a questionnaire on 'gender relationships'. Those individuals who volunteered to participate were randomly assigned to complete a questionnaire containing either the stranger rape or the acquaintance rape scenario. A preliminary item asked whether participants had previously taken part in a similar study so as to exclude those individuals who had taken part in earlier studies. As in Study 1, participants first read the rape scenario before completing the items assessing the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour, perceptions that the victim "really" wanted sex and evaluations of whether the perpetrator was led on. After completing this part of the questionnaire, participants then completed the two ASI sub-scales. When the questionnaires had been completed, the researcher returned to thank and debrief the participants before collecting the completed materials. None of the participants reported any suspicions about the specific hypotheses of the current study.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

All the scales used in this study had acceptable internal consistencies (HS: α = .90; BS: α = .82; Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour: α = .95; Victim Wanted Sex: α = .87; Perpetrator Led On: α = .89)[1]. Composite scores for each of the measures were computed for each participant by averaging the relevant items. A 2 (gender: male vs. female) x 2 (sub-scale: HS vs. BS) mixed model ANOVA was performed to examine gender differences in BS and HS. This analysis yielded no significant main or interaction effects of gender and sub-scale (all *p*'s>.20). Unlike in Study 1, simple effects analyses yielded no significant gender differences for either HS (F (1, 38) = 1.34, *ns*) or BS (F (1, 38) = .10, *ns*). However, a cursory glance at the table of means (see Table 3) reveals trends that are consistent with previous studies (e.g. Study 1), i.e. greater gender differences in average scores for HS than BS.

Table 3: Mean Scores for Male and Female Participants on Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism

	Males	Females
Benevolent Sexism	3.15 (1.05)	3.05 (.98)
Hostile Sexism	3.50 (1.24)	3.06 (1.14)

[1] Factor analyses are not reported for this study because the sample was not large enough to provide a reliable test of the factor structure of the above items. However, it is important to note that the sub-scales assessing the dependent variables in this study had relatively high internal consistencies. This finding, combined with the results from Abrams et al.'s (2001) pilot study provide support for the reliability and potential validity of the measures.

Hierarchical regression analyses, similar to those conducted in Study 1, revealed that gender did not have any significant main or interaction effects (with BS or HS) on any of the dependent measures (all p's > .05). As such, gender is not discussed in further analyses. Multivariate analysis of variance was also performed to examine whether type of rape had any effects on BS and HS. This analysis yielded no significant effects of type of rape on BS or HS (all p's<.05). Thus, BS and HS were considered as independent from type of rape and were used as predictors in the main analyses. Correlation analyses were performed to assess the relationships among all the measures used in this study (see Table 4 below). This yielded significant zero-order correlations between all the measures (all p's <.001). As in Study 1, HS and BS were found to be significantly correlated (r = .65). This finding is consistent with previous research (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Masser & Abrams, 1999). Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were then conducted to assess the effects of the predictor variables on the dependent variables.

Table 4: Correlations among measures of Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, Victim Wanted Sex, Perpetrator Led On and Perceived Inappropriateness of Victim's Behaviour.

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Perpetrator Led On	Victim Wanted Sex
Benevolent Sexism	-			
Hostile Sexism	.65	-		
Perpetrator Led On	.34	.43	-	
Victim Wanted Sex	.33	.44	.75	-
Inappropriateness	.28	.32	.58	.79

Note. All correlations significant at p<.05

Inappropriateness of Victim's Behaviour

Hierarchical regression analysis was performed on the data. The predictor and dependent variables were centred prior to analysis (Jaccard et al., 1990). Type of rape and BS were entered in the first step and in the second step the interaction term (BS x type of rape) was entered. A significant main effect of type of rape was obtained (see beta coefficients in Table 3). As expected, participants felt that the acquaintance rape victim's behaviour was more inappropriate than the stranger rape victim's behaviour (M = 3.79, SD = .86; M = 1.97, SD = .80, respectively). No significant main effects of BS on the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour were obtained.

Table 5: Regression Analysis of the Effects of Benevolent Sexism and Type of Rape on the Perceived Inappropriateness of the Victim's Behaviour.

Regression Step		Beta (β)	T	Sig.	r	pr	sr	R^2 Change
Step 1	Benevolent Sexism	.10	.83	.408	.28	.14	.09	
	Type of Rape	-.71	6.28	.001	-.74	-.72	-.69	.55
Step 2	BS x Type of Rape	-.70	2.00	.054	-.42	-.32	-.21	.04

The above results were, however, qualified by a marginally significant interaction between BS and type of rape (p<.06, see Table 3). This interaction effect remained marginally significant after the effects of HS on the perceived inappropriateness of victim's behaviour were accounted for in the first step of the regression equation (β = -.67, t = 1.92, p<.06). Simple effects analyses similar to those conducted in Study 1 were then performed on the data to further examine the nature of the interaction effects obtained for BS and type of rape. These analyses revealed

different relationship patterns between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim's behaviour for the different types of rape. In the stranger rape condition, the relationship between BS and the perceived inappropriateness of victim's behaviour failed to reach significance (β = -.19, t = .75, *ns*). In contrast, there was a near significant positive relationship between perceived inappropriateness of victim's behaviour and BS in the acquaintance rape condition (β = .40, t = 2.06, p=.052). As shown in Figure 2, the higher an individual's level of BS, the more they perceived the acquaintance rape victim as having behaved inappropriately.

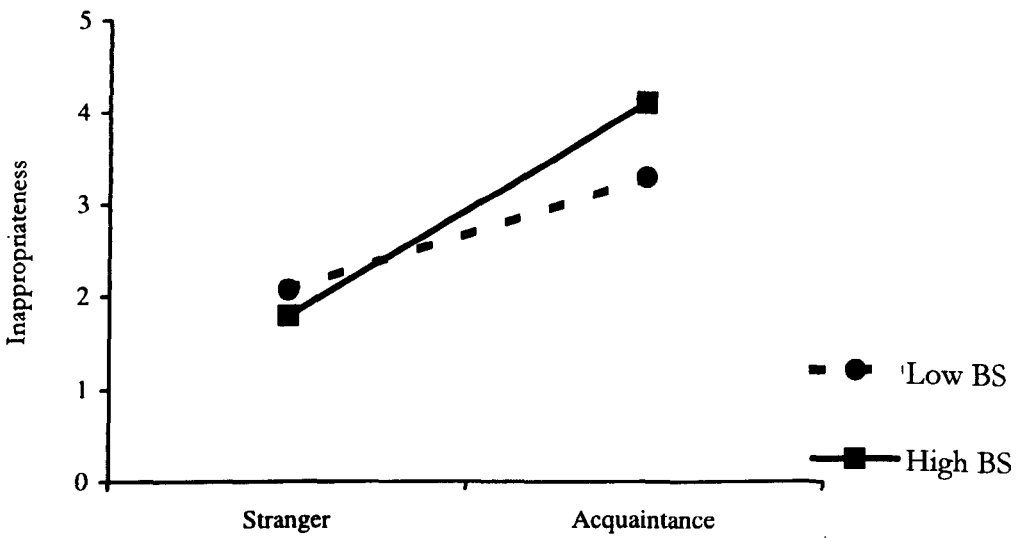

Figure 2. The effects of Benevolent Sexism (BS) and Type of Rape on the Perceived Inappropriateness of the Victim's Behaviour.

Hierarchical regression analyses, similar those performed above, were conducted to examine whether HS moderated the effects type of rape on the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. In the first step, type of rape and HS were entered and in the second step the interaction term (HS x type of rape) was entered. This analysis yielded significant main effects of type of rape (β = -.70, t

= 6.25, $p<.001$) on perceived inappropriateness of victim's behaviour, whereas the main effect of HS failed to reach significance (β = .15, t = 1.32, *ns*). Consistent with the hypotheses, the interaction effects between type of rape and HS also failed to reach significance (β = .21, t = .61, *ns*). These results suggest that BS, but not HS, moderates the effects of type of rape on the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour.

Victim "Really" Wanted Sex

To test the hypothesized interaction between HS and type of rape, hierarchical regression analyses were performed. Type of rape and HS were entered in the first step. In the second step, the interaction term (HS x type of rape) was entered. A significant main effect for type of rape was obtained (see Table 4). Participants perceived the acquaintance rape victim as having "really" wanted sex in comparison to the stranger rape victim (M = 2.01, SD = .72; M = 1.00, SD = 0.00, respectively). In fact, there was no variability in participants' responses concerning whether or not the stranger rape victim "really" wanted sex. All the participants in the stranger rape condition had a mean score of 1.00 on this dependent measure. As such, none of the participants in the stranger rape condition felt that the victim "really" wanted sex. The significant positive relationship between HS and evaluations of whether the victim "really" wanted sex indicates that, across both types of rape, the higher an individual's score on HS the more they perceived the victim as "really" wanting to have sexual intercourse.

Table 6: Regression Analysis of the Effects of Hostile Sexism and Type of Rape on Evaluations of Whether the Victim "Really" Wanted Sex.

Regression Step		Beta (β)	T	Sig.	r	pr	sr	R^2 Change
Step 1	Hostile Sexism	.28	2.41	.021	.43	.37	.27	
	Type of Rape	-.59	5.08	.001	-.67	-.64	-.57	.52
Step 2	HS x Type of Rape	.65	1.89	.067	.22	.30	.21	.04

These main effects were qualified by a marginally significant interaction between HS and type of rape ($p<.07$; see Table 4). This interaction effect remained significant after the effects of BS on perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex were accounted for ($\beta = .66$, $t = 1.87$, $p<.07$). Simple effects analyses were then performed. In the acquaintance rape condition, there was a significant positive relationship between HS and evaluations of whether the victim "really" wanted sex ($\beta = .46$, $t = 2.45$, $p<.03$). However, the relationship between HS and perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex could not be computed for the stranger rape condition due to lack of variability in the participants' responses on the dependent measure. As already noted, all the participants in the stranger rape condition had an average score of 1.00 for this dependent measure. Figure 3 illustrates that the higher an individual's score on HS, the more they perceived the acquaintance rape victim as "really" wanting sex.

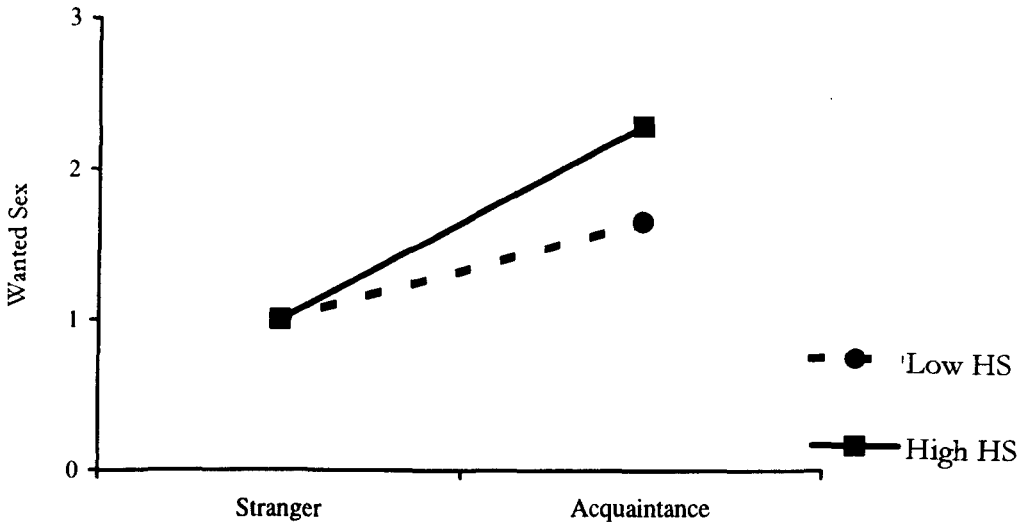

Figure 3. The effects of Hostile Sexism (HS) and Type of Rape on Perceptions of Whether the Victim "Really" Wanted Sex.

Hierarchical regression analyses were also performed to examine whether BS moderated the effects type of rape on participants' evaluations of whether the victim "really" wanted sex. This analysis yielded significant main effects of type of rape (β = -.63, t = 5.08, p<.001), whereas the main effects of BS failed to reach statistical significance (β = .17, t = 1.34, *ns*). As expected, regression analysis also revealed that BS did not moderate the effects of type of rape on evaluations of whether the victim "really" wanted sex (β = .55, t = 1.41, *ns*).

Perpetrator Was Led On

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. Type of rape had a significant main effect on perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on (see Table 5). Participants were more likely to perceive the acquaintance rape perpetrator as having been led on in comparison to the stranger rape perpetrator (M = 4.25, SD = 1.12; M = 1.27, SD = .40, respectively). A significant positive relationship between

HS and perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on was also obtained (see Table 5). These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between HS and type of rape ($p<.05$; see Table 5). This interaction effect remained significant even after the effects of BS on the dependent measure were accounted for ($\beta = .56$, $t = 2.02$, $p<.05$).

Table 7: Regression Analysis of the Effects of Hostile Sexism and Evaluations of Whether the Victim Led the Perpetrator On.

Regression Step		Beta (β)	T	Sig.	r	pr	sr	R^2 Change
Step 1	Hostile Sexism	.23	2.86	.007	.43	.43	.22	
	Type of Rape	.78	9.93	.001	.85	.85	.77	.78
Step 2	HS x Type of Rape	.56	2.08	.045	.35	.33	.15	.02

Simple effects analyses were then performed. In the stranger rape condition, the relationship between HS and perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on failed to reach significance ($\beta = .07$, $t = .27$, *ns*). In contrast, there was a significant positive relationship between perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on and HS in the acquaintance rape condition ($\beta = .54$, $t = 2.99$, $p<.01$). Figure 4 shows that the higher an individual's score on HS, the more they perceived the acquaintance rape perpetrator as having been led on by the victim.

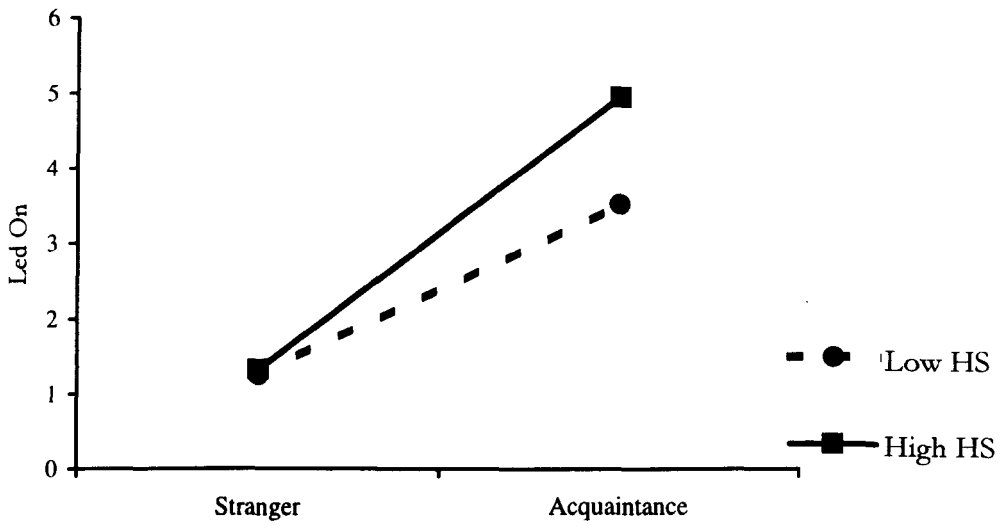

Figure 4. The effects of Hostile Sexism (HS) and Perceptions of Whether the Perpetrator Was Led On

Hierarchical regression analyses, similar to those performed above, were also performed to examine whether BS moderated the effects type of rape on perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on. This analysis yielded significant main effects of type of rape (β = -.82, t = 9.54, p<.001), whereas the main effects of BS failed to reach statistical significance (β = .12, t = 1.41, *ns*). As expected, regression analysis revealed that BS did not moderate the effects of type of rape on perceptions of whether the victim led the perpetrator on (β = .48, t = 1.80, *ns*; for the interaction effect).

DISCUSSION

The results are mostly in line with the study's main predictions. As expected, significant differences in participants' responses to the acquaintance and stranger rape scenarios were observed for all three dependent measures. The behaviour of the victim in the acquaintance rape condition was regarded as being more inappropriate

than the behaviour of the stranger rape victim. The acquaintance rape victim was also more likely to be perceived as "really" wanting sex in comparison to the stranger rape victim. In fact, for this dependent measure, floor effects were observed in the stranger rape condition. All the participants, regardless of their levels of HS or BS, had an average score of 1.00 for this measure (7-point Likert scale ranging from 1-7). Thus, all the participants in this study agreed that the stranger rape victim did not really want to have sex with the perpetrator. Finally, the results of this study also revealed that the acquaintance rape, but not the stranger rape, victim was more likely to be perceived as having led the perpetrator on.

Consistent with the hypotheses, the above main effects were found to be differentially moderated by HS and BS. A significant interaction between BS and type of rape was obtained for participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. As predicted, individuals who scored high (vs. low) in BS regarded the behaviour of the acquaintance rape victim as being more inappropriate than the behaviour of the stranger rape victim. This interaction effect made a significant contribution to the prediction of the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour even after the effects of HS had been partialled out. In contrast, no significant interaction between type of rape and HS was obtained for this dependent measure. Thus, BS appears to uniquely moderate the effects of type of rape on evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour.

The present study also revealed that HS, rather than BS, significantly interacted with type of rape to predict participants' perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex. HS, but not BS, also moderated the effects of type of rape on participants' perceptions concerning whether the perpetrator was led on. As expected, high (vs. low) HS individuals were more likely to perceive the acquaintance, but not

the stranger, rape victim as "really" wanting sex or as having led the perpetrator on. As in Study 1 and other research conducted by Viki and colleagues (e.g. Viki & Abrams, *in press-b*, Abrams et al., *in press*), gender did not have any significant main or interaction effects (with BS or HS) on the dependent variables. These findings suggest that to the extent that women endorse system justifying ideologies, such as HS and BS, they are just as likely as men to derogate acquaintance rape victims (cf. Jost & Banaji, 1994).

STUDY 3

The results of Study 2 suggest that participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour may mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame. Individuals high (vs. low) in BS were more likely to evaluate the acquaintance rape victim as having behaved in a manner that was not appropriate for a woman. However, victim blame was not measured in this study. As such, it is important to conduct a study in which BS, victim blame and participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour are measured. This would allow for a direct examination of the mediational processes that underlie the relationship between BS and victim blame. The current study investigates the role of the three potential mediators in the relationship between BS and victim blame. It is predicted that perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour will mediate the relationship between BS and blame.

Method

Participants

Forty-three students (18 males, 25 females) from the University of Kent volunteered to participate in this study. Participants' ages ranged from 18-30 years. Of the participants, 90% reported ages younger than 24 years (M = 20.88; SD = 2.65). All the participants in this study were of European descent.

Design, Materials and Procedure

The design and procedure was exactly the same as that employed in Study 2, with a few exceptions. All participants were presented with the acquaintance rape scenario and asked to indicate how much blame they assigned to the victim. Furthermore, participants responded to just the BS sub-scale of the ASI. Hostile sexism and rape proclivity were not measured in this study. Participants were also required to respond to the 10-item (7 point) semantic differential scale assessing their perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour, the four items measuring the extent to which they believed that the victim "really" wanted sex and the five items that measured the extent to which they felt the victim led the perpetrator on. A 7 point Likert scale accompanied all above scales (1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*).

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

The internal consistencies of all the indices ranged from acceptable to good (BS: α = .84; Victim Blame: α = .82; Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour: α = .86; Victim Wanted Sex: α = .91; Perpetrator Led On: α = .72). Composite mean scores

for all scales were then calculated for each participant by combining the relevant items. Preliminary analyses showed no significant gender differences on any of the measures employed in this study (all p's>.05), except for perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on. Male participants were more likely to believe that the perpetrator was led on in comparison to female participants (M = 4.45, SD = 1.02; M = 3.78, SD = .95, respectively; F (1, 39) = 5.14 p<.03). Therefore, gender was included in all subsequent analyses involving this measure. It should be noted that no significant interaction between gender and BS was obtained for any of the dependent measures (all p's>.12).

Victim Blame

Mediation analyses (Baron & Kenny, 1986) were performed on the data. According to Baron and Kenny (1986) tests of mediation can be conducted using regression analyses. They suggest that mediation can be said to occur when four statistical conditions are satisfied. First, the independent variable (IV) must significantly predict the proposed mediating variable. Second, the IV must be significantly related to the dependent variable (DV). Third, there must be a significant relationship between the proposed mediator and the DV. Finally, the relationship between the IV and DV must be significantly reduced upon the inclusion of the mediator as a concurrent predictor in the regression equation. In contrast, the relationship between the mediator and the DV must remain significant.

For purpose of this study, participants' victim blame scores were regressed on BS. As expected, people scoring higher on BS assigned greater blame to the victim (β = .35, t = 2.42, p<.02). Next, participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of victim behaviour, perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex and

perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on were separately regressed on BS. People scoring high (vs. low) on BS perceived the victim's behaviour as more inappropriate (β = .32, t = 2.14, p<.04). In contrast, BS scores did not predict participants' views concerning whether the victim "really" wanted sex (t = 1.77, *ns*) or perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on (t = 1.44, *ns*). Thus, only perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour was evaluated further as a potential mediator.

In the final step, victim blame was regressed on perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour and BS simultaneously. This analysis revealed a significant relationship between perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour and victim blame (β = .53, t = 3.97, p<.001), whereas BS no longer significantly predicted victim blame (t = 1.41, *ns*, see Figure 5 below). A Sobel test (Sobel, 1982) revealed that the reduction in the effect of BS was significant (z = 2.07, p < .04).

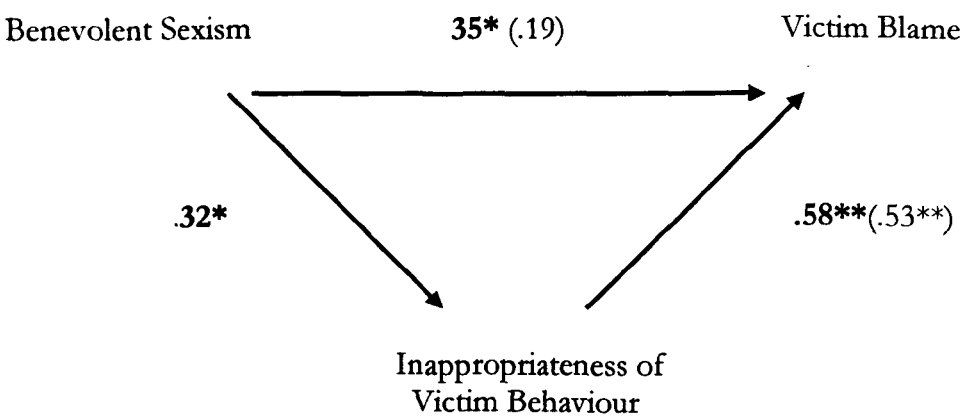

Figure 5: Mediation of the relationship between Benevolent Sexism (BS) and Victim Blame by Perceived Inappropriateness of Victim's Behaviour.

----Note: * = p<.05; ** = p<.01.*

---Participant gender is partialled out of these analyses. Figures are standardized regression coefficients. Figures in parentheses indicate beta when the effect of the other predictor is accounted for.

DISCUSSION

The findings are consistent with the predictions of this study. Individuals high in BS attributed more blame to the acquaintance rape victim than low BS individuals and were also more likely to perceive the behaviour of the acquaintance rape victim as inappropriate for a woman (e.g. unladylike). More interestingly, the results suggest that the relationship between BS and victim blame is mediated by participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Participants' views concerning whether the victim "really" wanted sex or whether the perpetrator was led on did not mediate the relationship between BS and blame. However, given the results obtained in Study 2, it is possible that these variables may serve as mediators for the relationship between hostile sexism and rape proclivity. To further investigate this hypothesis, a third study focusing on the relationship between hostile sexism and rape proclivity in acquaintance rape situations was conducted on an all male sample[2].

STUDY 4

Method

Participants

Forty male students from the University of Kent took part in this study. Participants' ages ranged from 18-52 years, with 75% of the participants reporting ages younger than 26 years (M = 25.88; SD = 7.12). Of the participants 84.2 were of European descent, while 15.8% were classified as Asian or African.

[2] Data was collected on an all male sample because it did not make conceptual sense to measure rape proclivity using female participants.

Design, Materials and Procedure

The design and procedure of this study were exactly the same as in Study 3. However, participants completed scales measuring HS (not BS), the three mediators and rape proclivity. The rape proclivity scale was a 5-item self-report measure assessing the likelihood that participants would behave like the assailant in the vignette (rape proclivity). This scale consisted of the following items: "How likely is it that you would have behaved like Jason in this situation?"; "How sexually aroused would you have felt in the situation?"; "How much would you enjoy getting your way in this situation?"; "Do you agree that in sexual encounters women like to be taken?"; "How likely is it that Kathy eventually enjoyed being taken in this situation?". The measure of rape proclivity was adapted from Bohner et al. (1998) and has well established reliability and validity characteristics (see also Chiroro et al., 2002).

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

All the scales had satisfactory internal consistencies (HS: α = .90; Rape Proclivity: α = .70; Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour: α = .87; Victim Wanted Sex: α = .90; Perpetrator Led On: α = .70). Thus, composite mean scores for all the measures were computed for each participant by combining the relevant items.

Rape Proclivity

As in Study 3, mediation analyses were performed on the obtained data. First, rape proclivity was regressed on HS. Consistent with the predictions, HS significantly predicted rape proclivity (β = .43, t = 2.96, p<.01). In line with the results from Viki's (2000) study, the higher an individual's HS score the more likely they were to report

the proclivity to commit an acquaintance rape. Second, evaluations of the inappropriateness of victim behaviour, perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex, and perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on were regressed separately on HS. Higher HS scores were significantly associated with stronger beliefs that the victim "really" wanted sex (β = .47, t = 3.27, p<.01), and that the perpetrator was led on (β = .35, t = 2.30, p<.03). HS scores were not significantly associated with perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour (t = 1.22, *ns*). Thus, only perceptions of whether the victim wanted sex, and perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on were evaluated further as potential mediators.

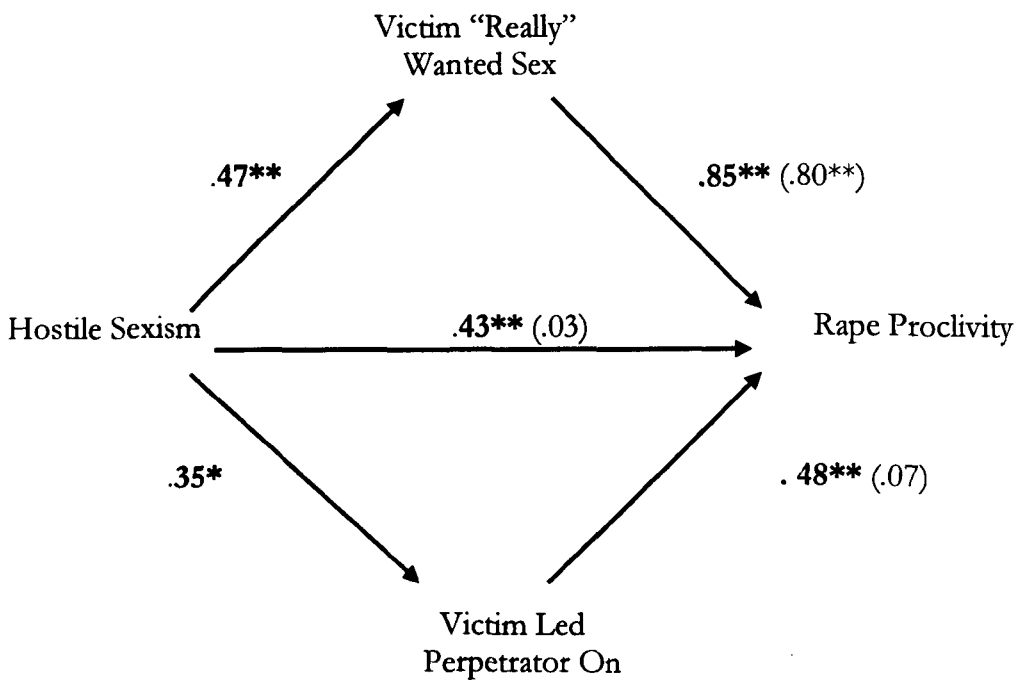

Figure 6: Mediation of the relationship between Hostile Sexism (BS) and Rape Proclivity by Perceptions of Whether the Victim Wanted Sex.

---Note: * = p<.05; ** = p<.01.

---Figures are standardized regression coefficients. Figures in parentheses indicate beta when the effect of the other predictors are accounted for.

Next, rape proclivity was regressed on perceptions of whether the victim wanted sex, perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on, and HS, simultaneously. The relationship with HS reported above was significantly reduced when the mediators were included in the regression equation (see Figure 6 above). Examination of the effect of each potential mediator revealed that there was a significant relationship between perceptions of whether victim "really" wanted sex and rape proclivity ($\beta = .80$, $t = 7.54$, $p<.001$), whereas the relationship between HS and rape proclivity was reduced significantly ($t = .32$, *ns*, Sobel test $z = 3.00$, $p < .03$; see Figure 6 above). However, perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on did not significantly predict rape proclivity when the other two variables had been partialled out ($t = .73$, *ns*), and therefore did not act as a mediator.

Supplementary Analyses

There appears to be some potential overlap between the last two items in the rape proclivity scale and the items measuring perceptions of whether the victim wanted sex. Given a large enough sample size, it would be advisable to conduct factor analyses to demonstrate the conceptual distinction between the mediators and the criterion variable. However, the sample size in the current study ($n = 40$) does not allow for a reliable and interpretable factor analyses to be performed. It is, however, possible to conduct the above mediation analyses on participants' rape proclivity scores, calculated excluding the last two items that potentially overlap with the mediator variable. This analysis would allow for the examination of whether the mediation effects reported above resulted from the potential conceptual overlap between the dependent measure and the mediator.

Mediation analyses, similar to the ones performed above, were conducted on a new composite measure of rape proclivity (calculated excluding the last two items). This analysis yielded a significant relationship between HS and rape proclivity (β = .45, t = 3.01, p<.01). Rape proclivity was then regressed on perceptions of whether the victim wanted sex, perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on, and HS, simultaneously. The relationship between HS and rape proclivity was significantly reduced when the potential mediators were included in the regression equation (β = .09, t = .76, *ns*). Examination of the effects of each mediator variable revealed a significant relationship between perceptions of whether victim "really" wanted sex and rape proclivity (β = .66, t = 4.97, p<.001). The mediation effects of perceptions of whether the victim wanted sex on the relationship between HS and rape proclivity were significant (Sobel test z = 2.87, p<.03). In contrast, perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on did not significantly predict rape proclivity when the other two variables had been partialled out (β = .07, t = .74, *ns*), and therefore could not be considered a potential mediator. These findings offer further support for initial finding that participant's perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex mediate the relationship between HS and rape proclivity.

DISCUSSION

These results are generally consistent with the hypotheses. Individuals high in HS reported a higher proclivity for acquaintance rape than individuals low in hostile sexism. Furthermore, the relationship between HS and rape proclivity was found to be significantly mediated by participants' perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex. Participants' views concerning the inappropriateness of the victim's

behaviour or their perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on did not mediate the relationship between HS and rape proclivity. Although perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on significantly predicted rape proclivity (see Figure 6), this relationship became non-significant once HS and perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex were entered into the regression equation.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Across the three studies, the results provide a consistent picture of how hostile and benevolent sexism may affect responses to victims of different types of rape. In Study 2, individuals who were high (vs. low) in BS perceived the acquaintance rape victim as having behaved more inappropriately than the stranger rape victim. The results of Study 3 further support the argument that individuals high in BS may blame acquaintance rape victims because they perceive them as having behaved in a manner that is not appropriate for a woman. The relationship between BS and victim blame was found to be mediated by the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Consistent with Viki's (2000) argument, the findings obtained in the above studies suggest that individuals who are high in BS hold particular beliefs about how a 'good and respectable' woman should behave. As such, these individuals are more likely to view a woman who violates these norms as being responsible for anything unfortunate that may happen to her. The woman in the acquaintance rape situation is seen by benevolent sexists as transgressing relevant norms, and thus deserving blame (cf. Abrams, Marques, Bown & Henson, 2000; Abrams et al., *in press*).

In Study 2, HS (not BS) was found to moderate the effects of type of rape on perceptions that the victim "really" wanted sex and perceptions that the perpetrator was led on. Individuals high (vs. low) in HS were more likely to perceive the

acquaintance rape victim as "really" wanting sex or as having led the perpetrator on. This finding is consistent with previous research showing that the acceptance of interpersonal violence and adversarial sexual beliefs are broadly related to hostile attitudes toward women (e.g. Bohner, 1998; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). Furthermore, the results of Study 4 suggest that the relationship between HS and rape proclivity is mediated by perceptions that the victim "really" wanted to have sex, but was pretending not to, so as to appear chaste. This idea that women enjoy being "taken" is consistent with adversarial beliefs concerning male-female sexual encounters (cf. Bohner, 1998; Burt, 1980).

The results of all the studies reported in this chapter further corroborate Viki's (2000) proposal that rape proclivity and victim blame are influenced by different motivational and attitudinal processes. It seems plausible to suggest that high BS individuals blame victims of rape in order to preserve their beliefs in a just world (cf. Lerner, 1980), where women who enter a sexual relationship with a man are seen as accepting responsibility for the man's sexual behaviour (e.g. because high BS individuals are more likely to believe the woman has violated traditional gender role expectations). In contrast, hostile sexism seems to function as a means to rationalize sexual violence (e.g. the victim "really" wanted sex); hence the significant relationship between rape proclivity and hostile sexism. In some fashion, the acquaintance rape scenario may appear to make the act of rape seem less deviant, and perhaps more normative for men who endorse hostile sexism beliefs, which may encourage rape proclivity.

The results of the present research can also be interpreted as supporting Glick and Fiske's (1996) suggestion that HS and BS are complementary attitudes. First, consistent with previous findings, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were found

to be positively correlated in Study 2. Second, comparisons of the interaction effects obtained in Study 3 (see Figures 2, 3 and 4) reveal a resemblance between the pattern involving benevolent sexism for perceptions of inappropriateness of victim's behaviour and the pattern involving hostile sexism for perceptions that the victim "really" wanted sex and perceptions that the perpetrator was led on. It appears to be the case that situations in which BS predicts evaluations that the victim behaved inappropriately are the same situations in which HS predicts perceptions that the victim "really" wanted sex or that the perpetrator was led on. Similarly, Viki (2000), and also Studies 3 and 4, indicate that the situation in which BS predicts victim blame is the same situation in which HS predicts rape proclivity.

The above findings suggest that hostile sexism and benevolent sexism may function in a complementary fashion. Benevolent sexism may provide the socio-cultural climate that allows for hostile sexist behaviour to be manifested. These conclusions are consistent with the feminist argument that rape functions as a form of social control (Brownmiller, 1975; Day, 1995). By judging that only certain types of women, or women only in certain situations, cannot be blamed for being raped, benevolent sexism implies that 'true rape' only happens when women fail to adhere to traditional gender roles. When women then choose to disregard these roles, this may invite aggressive sexual responses from hostile sexists. Thus, these distinct reactions associated with benevolent and hostile sexism serve to maintain a socio-cultural climate that encourages the acceptance of rape myths and keeps women in subservient roles (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999).

Limitations and Further Research

A potential limitation of the methodology that has been employed in the studies reported thus far is that, to ensure comparability, the same two vignettes (acquaintance vs. stranger) have been used across all the studies. It is, therefore, possible that the observed results may be due to unintended subtle differences between the stimuli. As such, it is important to conduct research that investigates whether the effects obtained in the studies reported thus far in this thesis generalise to situations not involving the specific vignettes used above. The general pattern of results that has been reported for hostile sexism in the studies conducted so far and by Viki and colleagues (e.g. Viki & Abrams, *in press-b*) is broadly not surprising. As already noted in Chapter 1, there is a vast amount of research that has shown that rape proclivity and adversarial sexual beliefs are associated with hostile attitudes towards women (e.g. Burt, 1980; Bohner et al, 1998; Cassidy & Hurrell, 1995; Glick et al., 2000; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Payne et al, 1999).

In contrast, published research concerning the role of benevolent sexism in the perceptions of rape is currently limited to the current thesis and the studies that have been reported by Viki and colleagues (e.g. Viki, 2000; Viki & Abrams, *in press-b*; Abrams et al., *in press*). As such, the remainder of this thesis further investigates the nature of the role played by benevolent sexism in people's perceptions and reactions to rape. The empirical study that is reported in the next chapter (Chapter 5) was conducted to explore whether the effects of BS that have been reported in previous studies are related to more general attitudes and beliefs about how women should conduct themselves within intimate relationships. However, unlike previous studies, these beliefs are assessed without reference to specific descriptions of rape or other

types of scenarios. Rather, views concerning how women should behave in intimate relationships are assessed as attitudes that indicate a general (chronic) belief system.

CHAPTER FIVE

The "True" Romantic: Benevolent Sexism and Paternalistic Chivalry

"Women are the only social group that has been idealised into submission".

Author Unknown

The studies reported so far provide findings that are consistent with the argument that individuals high in benevolent sexism (BS) hold conservative beliefs about what constitutes appropriate conduct for women within intimate relationships (see also Abrams et a.l, in press). In this chapter, the notion that BS is related to attitudes that restrict the behaviour of women within male-female relationships is further explored. However, rather than focusing on evaluations of specific targets as the previous studies have done, this chapter explores whether BS is related to more general attitudes and beliefs about how women ought to behave within intimate relationships. Male and female participants completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and a measure of paternalistic chivalry (PC). Paternalistic chivalry refers to attitudes that are both courteous and considerate to women but at the same time restrictive regarding the range of behaviours that are considered appropriate for women during courtship or dating. As predicted, BS was significantly positively related to PC, while hostile sexism and participant sex were not.

INTRODUCTION

The studies that have been reported thus far provide results that are consistent with the notion individuals that are high in BS hold conservative beliefs about how women should behave within male-female relationships. The studies reported in the

preceding chapters show that high BS individuals are more likely to negatively evaluate certain types of rape victims than low BS individuals. Specifically, people who endorse benevolently sexist ideas were found to blame rape victims who have behaved in a manner that can be viewed as inappropriate for a woman. Indeed, the data reported for Study 3 showed that evaluations concerning the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape situations. Thus, when a woman is sexually assaulted while behaving in a manner deemed to be inappropriate, high BS individuals are likely to hold her responsible for the incident.

The present study further explores the notion that individuals high in BS hold conservative beliefs about what is appropriate behaviour for women within intimate relationships. The studies reported so far have focused on evaluations of the behaviour of rape victims within specific rape scenarios (see also Viki & Abrams, *in press-b*). As such, the effects obtained for BS may be specific to the scenarios used in these studies. It is possible that BS is not related to general beliefs about acceptable conduct for women within intimate relationships. Instead, high BS individuals' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the acquaintance rape victim's behaviour may be motivated by other factors, such as counterfactual thinking (Nario-Redmond & Branscombe, 1996; Turley, Sanna & Reiter, 1995) or attributional biases (Jones & Davis, 1965). It is, therefore, important to investigate directly whether BS is related to general attitudes about what constitutes acceptable behaviour within male-female relationships.

As noted in Chapter 2, there is some evidence that high BS individuals idealise women whose characteristics and/or behaviour conforms to traditional gender role expectations (e.g. Glick et al., 2000; Masser & Abrams, 2001). For example, Glick et

al. (1997) found that BS, but not HS, was related to the positive evaluations of women who conform to traditional gender roles (e.g. mothers and wives). Masser and Abrams (2001) presented participants with descriptions of female characters that had been adapted from contemporary literature. The female characters used as targets in this study were classified as "traditional" or "non-traditional" on the basis of data obtained in a pilot study. Participants were then asked to rate each target on a number of traits and also to indicate how positive or negative they felt about the target. Masser and Abrams (2001) hypothesised and found that BS, but not HS, was related to the positive evaluations of "traditional" women, relative to "non-traditional" women.

In a recent study, Abrams, Masser and Viki (2002) examined the role of HS and BS in participants' spontaneous generation of negative and positive female sub-types. In particular, Abrams et al. (2002) were interested in participants' spontaneous generation of sexually negative female sub-types (e.g. "bitch", "whore", "slut"). On the basis of their previous studies, Abrams et al. (2002) hypothesised that there would be a significant relationship between BS and the generation of sex-related negative sub-types of women. Participants were students from a British university who were required to complete the ASI scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and then generate a number of positive and negative female subtypes. The negative sub-types generated by the participants were coded for whether or not they were sex related (1= Non Sex Related, 2 = Sex Related). Consistent with their hypotheses, Abrams et al. (2002) found that BS, but not HS, was significantly related to the spontaneous generation of sex related negative female sub-types. The higher an individual's score on BS, the more likely they were to generate sexually negative sub-types of women.

The results obtained in the above studies strongly suggest that BS might be related to more general beliefs about how women ought to conduct themselves within intimate relationships. Glick et al.'s (1997) findings suggest that high BS individuals prefer to be intimate with women who are subservient or obedient (see also Masser & Abrams, 2001). The results from Abrams et al.'s (2002) study suggest that high (vs. low) BS individuals are more likely to classify women whose sexual behaviour violates traditional gender role expectations as negative. Nevertheless, none of the above studies required participants to agree or disagree with explicit statements about acceptable roles for men and women within intimate relationships. As such, the study to be reported in this chapter was conducted to fill this gap in the research.

Chivalry and Contemporary Male-Female Relationships

In the 12th and 13th centuries, a large number of men aspired to participate in the chivalric traditions of knighthood (Genovese, 2000; Kinney, 1995). The ethics of chivalry originated from France and Spain and represented a fusion of Christian and military values of morality (Genovese, 2000; Uitti, 1994). The ethical codes required knights to exhibit piety, honour, valour, courtesy, bravery and loyalty. These men were expected to display the masculine traits of courage while being humble and modest at the same time (Genovese, 2000). A practice that has been of particular interest to historians of medieval chivalric traditions is the notion of "courtly love" (Uitti, 1994; Kinney, 1995). According to the Columbia Encyclopaedia (2001), "courtly love" was largely platonic and only a virgin or another man's wife could be the target of such affections. In expressing their affections, chivalrous men were expected to be polite and courteous towards women and to serve and protect them.

These ideas of how honourable men should treat the women they "love" are not very different from contemporary notions concerning gender roles within male-female relationships (cf. Glick et al., 2000). According to Byfield (1995), modern day western societies are still captivated by the chivalry traditions of medieval times. Although the notion of "courtly love" has been mostly abandoned, men are still expected to be polite and courteous to women, especially during courtship (Frear, 1993; Glick et al., 2000, Vrugt & Nuata, 1995). In a survey study, Frear (1993) found that 35% of men indicated that they would surrender their seats on a lifeboat for a woman to whom they were not related. In contrast, only 3% percent of women indicated that they would give up their seats on a lifeboat for a man. Similarly, Vrugt and Nuata (1995; see Chapter 2) found that female targets were more likely to obtain help from males in comparison to male targets. These findings suggest that contemporary societies still require men to behave in chivalrous ways towards women, especially during courtship.

Although the behaviours that are triggered by chivalrous attitudes can be viewed as polite, they are still motivated by the assumption that women are the "weaker sex" (cf. Glick & Fiske, 1996). The idealistic assumption is that a "knight in shining armour" should rescue a "damsel in distress" (cf. Rudman & Heppen, 2002). Thus, within a dating relationship chivalrous attitudes may be related to beliefs that disapprove of women taking the lead role. Women who do not conform to the "damsel in distress" stereotype may be negatively evaluated (Glick et al., 1997; Rudman & Glick, 1999). Thus, in order to be viewed as attractive women may have to surrender the pursuit of powerful positions in society or within their relationships. Rudman and Heppen (2002) found that women who implicitly perceived their husbands or boyfriends as "knights in shining armour" demonstrated less interest in

personal power than women who did not endorse such attitudes. Thus, while chivalrous behaviour by men can be a positive experience for women, it can also limit the range of behaviours they can engage in during courtship and dating. Women may, indeed, find themselves being idealised into positions of submission to their partners.

The Present Study

Glick et al. (2000) note that individuals high in BS strongly believe that men need women in their lives in order to be happy (i.e. heterosexual intimacy) and also that men ought to protect and look after the women in their lives (i.e. protective paternalism; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000). However, high BS individuals also believe that men ought to be dominant within intimate relationships and then use their power to protect and support "their" women. Such beliefs about male-female relationships may result in a set of attitudes that could be referred to as *paternalistic chivalry* (PC). These attitudes may be marked by extreme politeness and considerate behaviour towards women but also place restrictions on the roles women may play during courtship. For example, individuals who endorse PC may feel that it is up to a man to ask a woman out on a date, while simultaneously considering it highly inappropriate for a woman to ask a man out on a date.

It is possible to argue that the term *paternalistic chivalry* is rather tautological. After all, chivalrous behaviour is essentially men doing all the 'work' during courtship, while women play a more passive role. However, it is possible for males to be polite and considerate to women without simultaneously placing restrictions on how females should behave in relationships. For example, individuals may feel it is okay for both males and females to play an active role in the development of a relationship. Thus, for purposes of the current research, the term *paternalistic chivalry* was used to

highlight attitudes that are simultaneously *courteous* and *restrictive* to women. This definition of PC is in line with Jackman's (1994) description of paternalistic prejudices as "the combination of positive feelings for a group with discriminatory intentions towards the group" (p. 11). The definition of PC is also consistent with how Glick et al. (2000) describe benevolent sexism. Indeed, Glick and Fiske (1996) propose that other sexism scales (e.g. Modern Sexism; Swim et al., 1995) may be more predictive of gender-related political attitudes, while HS and BS may be of more predictive value within gender based interpersonal relationships (see Chapter 2 for a review).

On the basis of previous research (e.g. Abrams et al., *in press*, Glick et al., 1997) and because PC describes attitudes toward women that are sexist but subjectively positive, BS (rather than HS) was expected to predict participants' endorsement of PC. Specifically, the higher an individual's level of BS, the more they were expected to endorse PC. Previous research has also shown that women may be more willing to accept BS, in comparison to HS, because they perceive it as pro-social (e.g. Glick et al., 2000; Kilianksi & Rudman, 1998; see also Study 1 and Study 2). The behaviours that are endorsed by paternalistically chivalrous attitudes are also likely to be perceived as pro-social by both men and women. As such, participant sex was not expected to predict individual differences in PC, after the effects of HS and BS had been accounted for.

STUDY 5

Method

Participants

One hundred and forty-two students (54 males, 88 females) from the University of Kent took part in this study. Of the participants, 92.3% were aged 17-

29, 5.6% were aged 30- 40 years and 2.1% were aged above 40 years. 135 participants (95.1%) indicated that their first language was English, whereas 7 participants (4.9%) were not first language English speakers. However, all the participants in this study indicated that they spoke and read English fluently.

Design, Materials and Procedure

Data were collected as part of a mass testing session and participants took part in return for course credit. All participants completed the hostile and benevolent sexism sub-scales of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996). After this, participants then completed a 16-item measure, developed on the basis of previous research (Abrams et al., *in press*), which assessed the extent to which participants endorsed paternalistically chivalrous beliefs. Example items are; "During a date, a man should protect the woman if she is being harassed by other men"; "It is inappropriate for a woman to kiss a man first during a date"; "A good man opens doors for a woman when out on a date" (see Appendix F for the full scale). All scales were accompanied by a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*). After completing the questionnaire, participants were thanked, debriefed and dismissed.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Due to potential similarities between the items measuring BS and PC, exploratory factor analysis (principal axis factoring with a promax rotation)[1] was

[1] This type of factor analysis was performed because the factors (BS, HS and PC) were expected to be correlated.

performed on all the items employed in this study. This analysis was conducted to eliminate any items in the PC scale that may be redundant (i.e. highly loading on BS or HS). This analysis yielded three interpretable factors (i.e. BS, HS and PC). However, 6 items from the PC scale loaded highly on the BS factor (item loadings ranged from .37 to .75). As such, to avoid an overlap in the constructs, these items were dropped from the PC scale and are not considered in the main analysis. A further factor analysis was performed on items assessing BS, HS and PC (excluding the 6 cross-loading items). The items were found to load onto 3 distinct factors (i.e. HS, BS and PC; item loadings ranged from .41 to .85; see Appendix G). The 10 remaining items from the PC scale were averaged to provide a composite score for each participant (α = .88). Composite scores for HS (α = .89) and BS (α = .88) were also computed for each participant.

Table 8: Mean Scores for Male and Female Participants on Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism and Paternalistic Chivalry.

	Males	Females
Benevolent Sexism	3.96 (1.04)	3.38 (1.19)
Hostile Sexism	4.04 (1.02)	3.44 (1.03)
Paternalistic Chivalry	2.47 (.93)	2.37 (.87)

In order to examine gender differences in BS, HS and PC, a 2 (gender: male vs. female) x 3 (sub-scale: PC vs. HS vs. BS) mixed model ANOVA was performed; with gender as a between participants variable and sub-scale as a within participants variable. This analysis yielded significant main effects of gender (F (1, 140) = 18.43,

$p<.01$) and sub-scale (F (1, 140) = 113.02, $p<.001$). However, the above effects were qualified by significant two way interaction effects (F (1, 140) =4.23, $p<.02$). Simple effects analyses were then performed and this revealed that men scored higher than women on the BS sub-scale (F (1, 140) = 11.41, $p<.001$) and the HS sub-scale (F (1, 140) = 9.03, $p<.01$). In contrast, no significant gender differences for the measure of PC were obtained ($F < 1$; see Table 6 for means). It is important to note that the overall levels of PC are rather low. This result is somewhat in contrast to recent studies that have found that such attitudes are still widely held (e.g. Byfield, 1995). Nevertheless, the main hypothesis of this study concerns the role of sexist attitudes in predicting individual differences in PC.

Correlation analyses were performed to test the relationships among HS, BS and PC. These analyses yielded significant correlations among all the variables, with the strongest relationship being obtained for BS and PC ($r = .63$; see Table 7). All the above results are generally consistent with previous research on the ASI (e.g. Glick et al., 2000; Masser & Abrams, 1999). However, contrary to the results obtained in Study 1, a significant gender difference in BS was obtained in this study. Therefore, gender was included in the analyses testing the main hypotheses of this study.

Table 9: Correlations among measures of Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and Paternalistic Chivalry

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism
Benevolent Sexism	-	
Hostile Sexism	.53	-
Paternalistic Chivalry	.42	.31

Note. All correlations significant at $p<.01$

Main Analyses

Given the significant relationships among our predictor variables, multiple regression analysis was performed in order to test our main hypotheses. Participant sex, HS and BS were entered simultaneously as predictors of PC. The overall regression model was significant (F (3,141) = 10.78, p<.001). As expected, a significant positive relationship between BS and PC was obtained, β = .36, t = 4.03, p<.001. These findings indicate that individuals who are high in BS are more likely to endorse PC than individuals low in BS. Consistent with our hypothesis, participant sex and HS did not significantly predict individual differences in PC, (β = .07, t = .91, *ns* and β = .13, t = 1.45, *ns* respectively)[2].

Hierarchical regression analyses were also performed to test whether the main effects reported above were qualified by significant interaction effects (Jaccard et al., 1990). It is possible that PC might be highest among those individuals who are high in both BS and HS. However, given the relatively weak relationship between PC and HS obtained above and earlier findings concerning the role of HS in judgements concerning the appropriateness of an acquaintance rape victim's behaviour, such interaction effects were not expected to occur. In the first step, HS, BS and Gender were entered into the equation. The two way interaction terms (BS x Gender, HS x Gender, BS x HS) were entered in the second step. In the final step, the three way interaction terms (BS x HS x Gender) was entered into the equation. This analysis yielded no significant two-way interaction effects (BS x Gender: β = -.06, t = .80, *ns*; HS x Gender: β = .12, t = 1.44, *ns*; BS x HS: β = -.14, t = 1.67, *ns*). The three-way

[2] Similar regression analyses were also performed on the original 16 item PC scale. A pattern of results similar to the one obtained above was observed; i.e. a significant positive relationship between BS and PC, β = .54, t = 6.95, p<.001 and participant sex and HS did not significantly predict PC, (β = .03, t = .49, *ns* and β = .15, t = 1.92, *ns* respectively).

interaction effects also failed to reach significance (β = -.11, t = 1.22, *ns*). These results suggest that the significant main effects for BS reported above were not qualified by any interaction effects.

DISCUSSION

This study was conducted to examine whether BS was related to general beliefs concerning acceptable behaviours for women within male-female relationships. The results of the present study are broadly consistent with the main hypothesis. A significant positive relationship between BS and PC was obtained. This relationship was significant when the effects of HS and participant sex were accounted for. In contrast, HS and gender were not related to PC. Further analysis also yielded no significant interaction effects of the predictor variables on PC.

These results are consistent with the argument that BS is related to general conservative attitudes about what constitutes appropriate behaviour for women during courtship. The pattern of findings suggests that individuals that are high in BS are more likely to support a belief system in which women are treated with courtesy and consideration but are restricted in the roles they may play within intimate relationships. It appears to be the case that high BS individuals prefer to be intimate with women but only in relationships where they wield the power. The current results converge with Glick et al.'s (1997) findings that BS is related to positive evaluations of women in traditional roles and further support Glick and Fiske's (1996) argument that although BS is subjectively positive in feeling tone, it is still a sexist attitude.

Similar to the studies reported in previous chapters, gender failed to predict PC, after the effects of HS and BS were accounted for. Again, this result is in line with Jost & Banaji's (1994) system justification hypothesis. In the present study,

women who endorsed BS supported paternalistically chivalrous attitudes. This finding is hardly surprising when one considers the studies that have shown that women are more accepting of BS in comparison to HS (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000). Kilianski and Rudman (1998) found that female participants rated a male target described as benevolently sexist more positively than a target described as a hostile sexist. Furthermore and contrary to research evidence (e.g. Glick et al., 2000), female participants considered it unlikely that hostile and benevolent sexist profiles described the same person. Such beliefs (besides being incorrect) may have the effect of maintaining male social dominance over women (c.f. Jost & Banaji, 1994). Thus, paternalistic chivalry may be a barrier to gender equality because it discourages women from seeking their own personal success and encourages them to seek success through a benevolent male partner (cf. Rudman & Heppen, 2001).

CHAPTER SIX

Blaming the Victim or Absolving the Perpetrator: Further Exploration of the Relationship between Benevolent Sexism and Perceptions of Acquaintance Rape Cases

"Many so-called rape victims are actually women who
had sex and changed their minds afterwards."
"Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men."
Items from an RMA Scale (Payne et al., 1999, p. 49)

The studies reported in previous chapters have shown that individuals who score high (vs. low) in benevolent sexism (BS) are more likely to blame acquaintance rape victims. The studies have also shown that high (vs. low) BS individuals are more likely to perceive acquaintance rape victims as having behaved in a manner that is not appropriate for women. This chapter contains two studies that were conducted to investigate the role of benevolent sexism (BS) in accounting for participants' responses to acquaintance vs. stranger rape perpetrators. Participants were presented with vignettes describing either an acquaintance rape or a stranger rape and asked to either attribute blame to the perpetrator (Study 6) or to recommend a sentence if the perpetrator was found guilty of the rape (Study 7). As predicted, relative to low BS individuals, participants who scored high in BS attributed less blame (Study 6) and recommended shorter sentences (Study 7) for the acquaintance rape perpetrator. No differences between low and high BS participants were obtained for the stranger rape condition. These findings suggest that, in addition to blaming the acquaintance rape victim, individuals high (vs. low) in BS also attribute less responsibility for the rape to the acquaintance rape perpetrator.

INTRODUCTION

The studies reported so far have focused mostly on participants' evaluations of rape victims (e.g. Studies 1 & 2; see also Abrams et al., *in press*; Viki & Abrams, *in press-b*). Victim blame and participants' perceptions of the appropriateness of the victim's behaviour were investigated in these studies. The focus on the rape victim is important because it helps to illustrate how individuals with different beliefs about male-female relationships (e.g. high vs. low BS) perceive and respond to victims of different types of rape. However, the primary focus on perceptions of victims of rape does not assist in clarifying participants' evaluations of rape *perpetrators*. It is possible that individuals who are high in BS attribute different amounts of blame to stranger and acquaintance rape victims but do not apply a similar distinction with regards to their evaluations of rape perpetrators. For example, Brems and Wagner (1994) found that victims of theft were rated as being more responsible for the crime than were victims of rape. In contrast, perpetrators of rape were rated as being more responsible for the crime than were perpetrators of theft. As such, although high BS individuals have been found to attribute more blame to the acquaintance rape victim than the stranger rape victim, this does not necessarily mean that the acquaintance rape perpetrator is attributed less blame than the stranger rape perpetrator.

This chapter contains two studies that investigate whether individuals high in BS also differentiate between stranger and acquaintance rape perpetrators when assigning culpability for the incident. Such research is important because it further clarifies the nature of the role that BS plays in people's perceptions of different types of rape. Moreover, during a rape trial, the criminal justice system and members of the public are not only required to respond to the rape victim but also to decide on the culpability of the alleged perpetrator. It is, therefore, surprising that the number of

studies directly investigating evaluations of alleged rape perpetrators is relatively small in comparison to studies that focus on victims (Krahé, 1991a). Nevertheless, the available research seems to indicate that perpetrators are likely to be absolved from their responsibility for a rape in situations where the victim is attributed blame or is evaluated as having behaved inappropriately (Cassidy & Hurrell, 1995; Johnson, 1995; McComick, Maric, Seto & Barbaree, 1998; Yescavage, 1999). Below is a brief review of some studies that have focused on evaluations of alleged perpetrators of rape.

Evaluations of Rape Perpetrators

The social status of a rape perpetrator has been found to influence attributions of responsibility (Krahé, 1991a; Pollard, 1992). Participants have been found to be less certain of the guilt of a high (vs. low) status alleged rapist and to recommend shorter sentences for a high (vs. low) status rapist (Deitz & Byrnes, 1981; Field & Barnett, 1978). Similarly, the physical attractiveness of the alleged rapist has been found to influence attributions of blame and recommended sentences (Field & Barnett, 1978; Krahé, 1991a; Yarmey, 1985). For example, Jacobson (1981) presented participants with short descriptions of a rape which were accompanied by a picture of either an attractive defendant or an unattractive one[1]. The results indicated that participants attributed less responsibility and recommended shorter sentences for the attractive, rather than unattractive, perpetrator. Jacobson (1981) argued that her findings are consistent with the stereotypic beliefs that "beauty is good".

The expression of intent to commit a rape has also been found to influence judgements of the culpability of an alleged rapist (Hogue & Peebles, 1997; Kleinke, Wallis & Stadler, 2001; Weiner & Reinhart, 1986). Kleinke et al. (2001) presented

[1] An initial pilot study had been conducted in which participants were asked to rate a series of target photographs on their attractiveness.

participants with a videotaped interview of an ostensible rapist during which he either expressed that he intended to rape the victim "from the first time he saw her" or that during the incident "one thing led to another" and he lost control (p. 527). The rapist was evaluated more negatively and was assigned a longer sentence when he expressed the intent to rape rather than denying it. Similar findings have been obtained within samples of professionals who work with rape victims and/or perpetrators of rape (e.g. Hogue & Pebbles, 1997; Loza, 1993; Pollard, 1992). For example, Hogue and Pebbles (1997) found that professionals working in the criminal justice system assigned more blame and longer sentences to a rapist described as having offended with intent than a rapist described as acting spontaneously.

Justified Perpetrators?

Of more direct relevance to the current chapter are the studies which have shown that perpetrators are likely to be absolved from their responsibility for rape in situations where the victim is attributed blame or evaluated as having behaved inappropriately (Cassidy & Hurrell, 1995; Johnson, 1995; Krahé, 1988; Krahé, 1991a). Yescavage (1999) observed that perpetrators of date rape were viewed as less blameworthy in experimental conditions where the victim had been rated as responsible for the rape (e.g. if the victim had prior sexual contact with the perpetrator). Similarly, L'Armand and Pepitone (1982) found that information about a victim's previous sexual activity increased the amount of blame attributed to the victim while simultaneously decreasing the length of sentences recommended for the perpetrator. Other studies have shown that rape victims who are perceived as having dressed "provocatively" are more likely to be blamed for the occurrence of a date rape, whereas the perpetrators in this situation are judged as being justified in their

actions (Cassidy & Hurell, 1995; Yarmey, 1985). Jones and Aronson (1973; see also Luginbuhl & Mullin, 1981) found that longer sentences were recommended for the rape of a "respectable" victim (e.g. a married woman or a virgin) than a "non-respectable" one (e.g. a divorced woman).

Weiner and Vodanovich (2001) conducted a study in which they explored if judgements of whether the perpetrator intended to commit a rape were influenced by information about the attacker and the victim's previous relationship. Consistent with their hypotheses, they found that information about a prior relationship between the attacker and the victim influenced judgements of intent. The rapist who had had a previous relationship with the victim was judged as having less intent to commit the rape than a stranger rape perpetrator. Furthermore, Weiner and Vodanovich (2001) observed that these judgements of intent influenced the amount of responsibility attributed to the perpetrator such that the rapist who was acquainted with his victim was attributed less responsibility than the stranger rape perpetrator. These findings are consistent with previous research which has shown that a rapist is more likely to be negatively evaluated when perceived as having intended to commit the rape (Hogue & Peebles, 1997; Kleinke, Wallis & Stadler, 2001; Weiner & Reinhart, 1986).

Information concerning a prior relationship between the rapist and the victim also appears to influence actual sentencing decisions within the criminal justice system. In a study examining court records, Bradmiller and Walters (1985) found that offenders who were related to their victims were charged with a less serious offence in comparison to offenders who were not related to their victims. Miethe (1997) examined 77 rape cases and observed that rapists who were acquainted with their victim were treated less severely at all stages of the criminal justice system than stranger rape perpetrators. McCormick et al. (1998) reviewed clinical files from 204

rapists incarcerated at a medium-security penitentiary. They found that the nature of the victim-offender relationship had a significant influence on sentence length. Rapists who had a prior relationship with their victim were serving shorter sentences than stranger rapists. This effect of the victim-offender relationship on sentencing was significant even after the effects of physical injury to the victim and excessive use of force were accounted for.

The available research evidence seems to suggest that members of the public and legal practitioners will condone the actions of the perpetrator in those situations where the victim is viewed as somehow responsible for the rape. Specifically, rapists who are acquainted with their victims are less likely to be held responsible for the event in comparison to stranger rape perpetrators. These findings complement previous research which has shown that acquaintance rape victims are more likely to be blamed for the incident than stranger rape victims (e.g. Bridges & McGrail, 1989; Krahé, 1991a; Pollard, 1992). The studies reported within this thesis further indicate that individuals high (vs. low) in BS attribute more blame to an acquaintance than a stranger rape victim. It, therefore, seems logical to predict that high BS individuals will apply a similar distinction to perpetrators of rape and evaluate the acquaintance rape perpetrator as less culpable than the perpetrator of a stranger rape.

OVERVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

Two studies examining whether an acquaintance rape perpetrator is attributed less blame and assigned shorter sentences than a stranger rape perpetrator were conducted. In both Study 6 and Study 7, participants were presented with either a stranger rape or an acquaintance rape scenario. Participants' evaluations of the perpetrator were assessed with reference to their levels of hostile and benevolent

sexism. In Study 6, the effects of type of rape and sexism on perpetrator blame were examined. Study 7 attempted to replicate the effects obtained in Study 6 using a different dependent variable (i.e. recommended sentences). For both studies, a significant main effect of type of rape was predicted. Specifically, participants were expected to attribute less blame and recommend shorter sentences for the acquaintance rape perpetrator in comparison to the stranger rape perpetrator. However, as in previous research (e.g. Studies 1, 2 & 3), the above main effect was expected to be moderated by BS, but not hostile sexism (HS). Individuals high in BS were expected to attribute less blame (Study 6) and recommend shorter sentences (Study 7) for the acquaintance rape perpetrator than low BS individuals. No significant differences between high and low BS individuals were expected for the stranger rape perpetrator in both studies.

STUDY 6

Method

Participants

Eighty-five students (32 males, 53 females) took part in this study. All participants were students at the University of Kent and they all participated on a voluntary basis. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 54 years, with 86% of the participants reporting ages younger than 26 years (M = 22.38, SD = 5.93). All participants were classified as being of European descent.

Design and Materials

A between-participants design with type of rape (stranger vs. acquaintance) as the independent variable and perpetrator blame as the dependent variable was

employed. Participants were randomly assigned to the 'stranger rape' or 'acquaintance rape' condition. The rape scenarios used in this research were the same as those employed in Study 1. Five items were used to measure the extent to which participants held the perpetrator responsible for the event. These were; "Do you think it is Jason's fault things turned out the way they did?", "How much control do you think Jason had over the situation?", "How much do you think Jason should blame himself for what happened?", "How much sympathy do you feel for Jason?", "Do you agree that Jason should not have expected Kathy to have sex with him?". A 7-point Likert scale accompanied all questions measuring perpetrator blame (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *completely or totally*). Finally, participants completed the two 11-item sub-scales (HS and BS) of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Procedure

As in Study 1, participants were approached on the university campus and asked whether they would complete a questionnaire on 'gender relationships'. Those individuals who volunteered to participate were handed a questionnaire containing either the stranger rape or the acquaintance rape scenario. Participants were then left to complete the questionnaire on their own. The questionnaire was formatted so that participants read the scenario depicting the rape before responding to the items examining perpetrator blame. After completing this part of questionnaire, participants completed the ASI. When the questionnaires had been completed, the researcher returned to thank and debrief the participants before collecting the completed materials. None of the participants revealed any suspicions concerning the aims or hypotheses of the current study.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

The five items assessing perpetrator blame were averaged to provide a perpetrator blame score for each participant. This composite measure was acceptably reliable (α = .65). The internal consistencies of the ASI sub-scales were also acceptable (HS, α = 90; BS, α = .81). A 2 (gender: male vs. female) x 2 (sub-scale: HS vs. BS) mixed model ANOVA was performed to examine gender differences in BS and HS. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of gender (F (1, 83) = 7.96, p<.01), whereas the main effect of subscale failed to reach statistical significance (F (1, 83) = .15, *ns*). No significant interaction between gender and sub-scale was obtained (F (1, 83) = .27, *ns*). Simple effects analyses yielded significant gender differences for HS (F (1, 83) = 6.46, p<.02) and BS (F (1, 83) = 6.19, p<.02). Men scored higher than women on both HS (males M = 3.63, SD = 1.33; females M = 2.99; SD = .96) and BS (males M = 3.61, SD = .86; females M = 3.09; SD = .98)[2]. Nevertheless, further regression analyses showed that gender did not have any significant main or interaction effects (with BS or HS) on perpetrator blame (all p's >.05). As such, gender is not discussed in further analyses.

A MANOVA was then performed to examine whether type of rape had any effects on BS and HS. This analysis yielded no significant effects of type of rape on BS or HS (all Fs<.1). As such, BS and HS could be employed as independent predictors in analyses to test whether they moderated the effects of type of rape on perpetrator blame. Correlation analyses were then performed. These yielded significant correlations amongst all the measures, except for BS and perpetrator blame. The strongest correlation was between HS and BS (r = .62). These results are

[2] Although men scored higher than women on both BS and HS, a cursory glance at the means indicates that the gender differences in BS are smaller than the gender differences in HS.

in line with the findings from the studies that have been conducted for this thesis and previous research that has obtained a substantial positive relationship between BS and HS (e.g. Glick et al., 2000; Masser & Abrams, 1999). Multiple regression analyses were then conducted to assess whether our predictor variables had unique effects on the dependent variable.

Table 10: Correlations among measures of Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and Perpetrator Blame.

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Perpetrator Blame
Benevolent Sexism	-		
Hostile Sexism	.62**	-	
Perpetrator Blame	-.17	-.31**	-

Note. ** = $p<.01$

Perpetrator Blame

To analyse the impact of type of rape and BS, hierarchical regression analysis was employed. All variables were centred prior to analysis (Jaccard, Turissi & Wann, 1990). In the first step, type of rape and BS were entered and in the second step the interaction term (BS x type of rape) was entered. A significant main effect for type of rape was obtained (see beta coefficients in Table 9). As expected, more blame was attributed to the stranger rape perpetrator than to the acquaintance rape perpetrator (M = 6.38, SD = .58; M = 5.88, SD = .87, respectively). No significant main effects of BS on perpetrator blame were obtained.

Table 11: Regression Analysis of the Effects of Benevolent Sexism and Type of Rape on Perpetrator Blame.

Regression Step		*Beta* (β)	*T*	Sig.	*r*	*pr*	*sr*	R^2 Change
Step 1	Benevolent Sexism	-.17	1.67	.098	-.17	-.18	-.17	
	Type of Rape	.31	3.04	.003	.31	.32	.31	.13
Step 2	BS x Type of Rape	.65	2.13	.036	.10	.23	.22	.04

The above results were, however, qualified by a significant interaction between BS and type of rape ($p<.04$; see Table 9). This interaction effect remained significant even after the effects of HS on perpetrator blame had been accounted for in the regression equation ($\beta = .61$, $t = 2.02$, $p<.05$). Simple effects analyses were performed on the data to further examine the nature of the interaction effect observed for BS and type of rape. These analyses revealed different relationship patterns between BS and perpetrator blame for the different types of rape. In the stranger rape condition, the relationship between BS and perpetrator blame failed to reach significance ($\beta = .20$, $t = 1.22$, *ns*). In contrast, there was a significant negative relationship between perpetrator blame and BS in the acquaintance rape condition ($\beta = -.31$, $t = 2.26$, $p<.03$). Thus, the higher an individual's score on BS, the less they blamed the acquaintance rape perpetrator for the rape (see Figure 7).

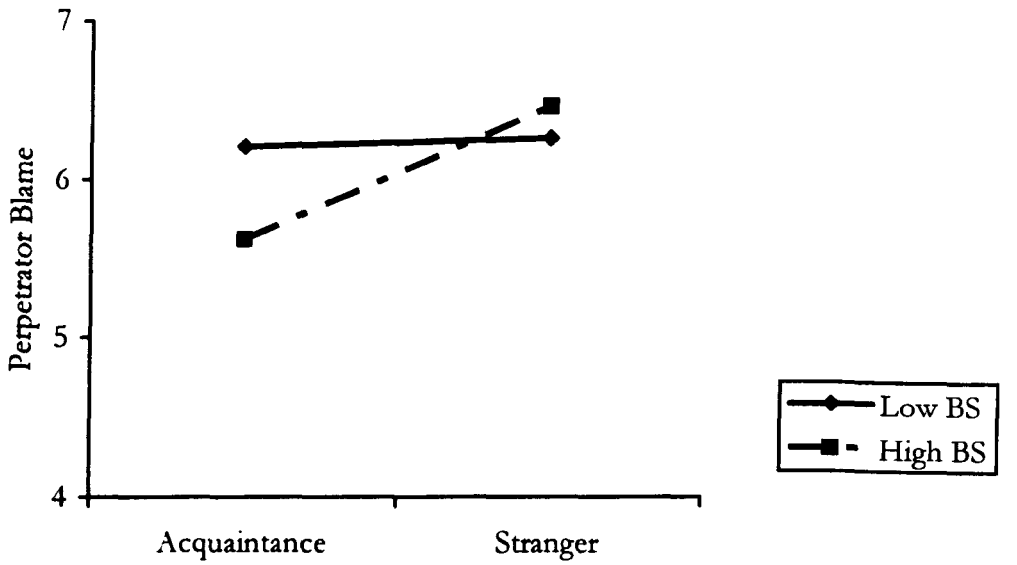

Figure 7: The effects of Benevolent Sexism (BS) and Type of Rape on Perpetrator Blame.

Hierarchical regression analyses, similar those performed above, were conducted to examine whether HS moderated the effects type of rape on perpetrator blame. In the first step, type of rape and HS were entered and in the second step the interaction term (HS x type of rape) was entered. This analysis yielded significant main effects of both HS (β = -.28, t = 2.84, p<.01) and type of rape (β = .28, t = 2.85, p<.01) on perpetrator blame. In contrast, and consistent with the predictions, the interaction effects of type of rape and HS failed to reach statistical significance (t = 1.64, *ns*). These results indicate that, although HS has a significant main effect, it may not moderate the effects of type of rape on perpetrator blame. Interestingly, HS had a significant main effect on perpetrator blame even after the effects of BS, in the above regression equation, were accounted for (β = -.29, t = 2.24, p<.03).

DISCUSSION

The current study was conducted to examine whether high BS individuals also differentiate between stranger and acquaintance rape perpetrators. As predicted, participants attributed less blame to the acquaintance rape perpetrator in comparison to the stranger rape perpetrator. Furthermore, BS was found to moderate the effects of type of rape on perpetrator blame. Specifically, individuals high in BS attributed less blame to the acquaintance rape perpetrator than low BS individuals. No significant differences between high and low BS individuals were obtained in the stranger rape condition. As predicted, HS did not moderate the effects of type of rape on perpetrator blame. Instead, the higher an individual's HS score, the less blame they generally attributed to the perpetrator, no matter what scenario they had read. The results of this study suggest that, in addition to distinguishing stranger and acquaintance rape victims, high BS individuals also distinguish between stranger and acquaintance rape perpetrators. A follow up study was then conducted to investigate whether the effects obtained in this study could be replicated using a different dependent measure (i.e. recommended sentences).

STUDY 7

Method

Participants

Sixty-seven students (45 males and 22 females) participated in Study 7. All participants were students at the University of Kent who participated on a voluntary basis. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 31 years. Ninety-four percent of the

participants reported ages younger than 26 years (M = 21.16, SD = 2.51). All participants were classified as being of European descent.

Design, Materials and Procedure

This study employed the same methodology as Study 6. However, recommended sentences rather than perpetrator blame was utilised as the dependent variable in this study. Participants were asked to indicate the number of years they felt the perpetrator's sentence should be if he is found guilty for the offence. Participants responded on an 8-point Likert type scale (0 = *none at all* to 7 = *21 years and above*). Perpetrator blame was not assessed in Study 7 because the goal was to examine the effects of BS and type of rape on sentencing decisions independent of perpetrator blame. This was done so that participants did not feel that they had to assign sentences that reflected their prior ratings of blame or vice versa. None of the participants revealed any suspicions concerning the aims or hypotheses of the current study.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

The internal consistencies of the ASI sub-scales in this study were acceptable (HS, α = 93; BS, α = .77). In order to examine gender differences in HS and BS, a 2 (gender: male vs. female) x 2 (sub-scale: HS vs. BS) mixed model ANOVA was performed. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of gender (F (1, 65) = 7.49, p<.01), whereas the main effect of subscale failed to reach statistical significance (F (1, 65) = .91, *ns*). The above effects were qualified be a significant interaction between gender and sub-scale (F (1, 65) = 15.55, p<.001). Simple effects analyses yielded

significant gender differences for HS (F (1, 65) = 15.32, p<.001). Consistent with previous studies (e.g. Study 1), men scored higher than women on HS (males M = 4.14, SD = 1.30; females M = 2.85; SD = 1.19). However, no significant gender differences in BS were obtained (F (1, 65) = .18, *ns*; males M = 3.41, SD = 1.01; females M = 3.31; SD = .97). These results are in line with previous findings that have shown that women may be just as willing as men to accept BS, but not as willing to accept HS. Similar to Study 6, further analyses showed that gender did not have any significant main or interaction effects (with BS or HS) on recommended sentences (all p's<.05). As such, gender is not discussed in further analyses.

Multivariate analysis of variance was performed to examine whether type of rape had any effects on BS and HS. This analysis yielded no significant effects of type of rape on BS or HS (all F's<.1). As such, BS and HS were employed as independent predictors in analyses to test whether they moderated the effects of type of rape on recommended sentences. Correlation analyses were then performed. The only significant correlation obtained was between HS and BS (r = .48; see Table 10). Multiple regression analyses were then conducted to assess whether our predictor variables had unique effects on recommended sentences.

Table 12: Correlations among measures of Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and Recommended Sentences.

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Perpetrator Blame
Benevolent Sexism	-		
Hostile Sexism	.47**	-	
Recommended Sentence	.02	-.24	-

Note. ** = p<.01

Recommended Sentence

Hierarchical regression analyses, similar those conducted for Study 6, were performed to test the hypothesized interaction between BS and type of rape. Type of rape and BS were entered in the first step. In the second step, the interaction term (BS x type of rape) was entered. A significant main effect for type of rape was obtained (see beta coefficients in Table 11). Participants recommended longer sentences for stranger rape than the acquaintance rape perpetrator (M = 4.63, SD = 2.03; M = 2.29, SD = 1.06, respectively). No significant main effects of BS on recommended sentences were obtained. As in Study 6, the above main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between BS and type of rape ($p<.05$; see Table 11). This interaction effect remained significant after the effects of HS on recommended sentences were accounted for ($\beta = .69$, $t = 2.32$, $p<.05$).

Table 13: Regression Analysis of the Effects of Benevolent Sexism and Type of Rape on Recommended Sentences.

Regression Step		*Beta* (β)	*T*	Sig.	*r*	*pr*	*sr*	R^2 Change
Step 1	Benevolent Sexism	.04	.41	.684	.02	.05	.04	
	Type of Rape	.59	5.87	.001	.59	.59	.59	.35
Step 2	BS x Type of Rape	.62	2.02	.047	.10	.25	.20	.04

Simple effects analyses were then performed. In the stranger rape condition, the relationship between BS and recommended sentences failed to reach significance ($\beta = .18$, $t = .97$, *ns*). In contrast, there was a significant negative relationship between

recommended sentences and BS in the acquaintance rape condition (β = -.42, t = 2.66, p<.02). These results indicate that the higher an individual's score on BS, the shorter the sentence they recommended for the acquaintance rape perpetrator (see Figure 8).

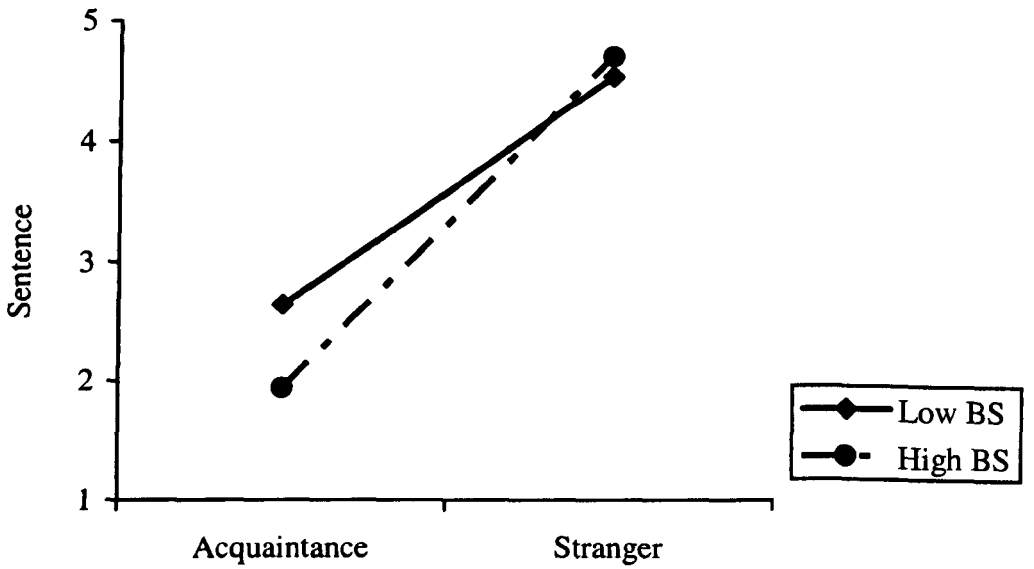

Figure 8. The effects of Benevolent Sexism (BS) and Type of Rape on Recommended Sentence.

Hierarchical regression analyses were also performed to examine whether HS moderated the effects type of rape on recommended sentences. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of type of rape on recommended sentence (β = .57, t = 5.78, p<.001). The main effect of HS on recommended sentence was marginally significant (β = -.18, t = 1.80, p<.08). As expected, regression analysis revealed that HS did not moderate the effects of type of rape on recommended sentences (t = 1.62, *ns*; for the interaction effect). Interestingly, the main effect of HS on recommended sentences remained marginally significant after the effects of BS, in the above equation, were accounted for (β = -.21, t = 1.82, p<.08).

DISCUSSION

The current study aimed to replicate the findings of Study 6 using a different dependent measure. As expected, participants recommended shorter sentences for the acquaintance rape perpetrator in comparison to the stranger rape perpetrator. Furthermore, BS (and not HS) moderated the effects of type of rape on sentence recommendations. Specifically, individuals high in BS attributed less blame and recommended shorter sentences for the acquaintance rape perpetrator than low BS individuals. No significant differences between high and low BS individuals were obtained in the stranger rape condition. These results are similar to those of Study 6 and further support the argument that individuals high (vs. low) in BS are more likely to differentiate between stranger and acquaintance rape perpetrators.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Previous studies (e.g. Studies 1 & 2; see also Abrams et al., *in press*) have shown that individuals who score high in BS respond differently to acquaintance and stranger rape victims. High BS individuals have been found to attribute more blame to acquaintance rape than stranger rape victims. The studies reported within this chapter were conducted to examine whether high BS individuals also differentiate between stranger and acquaintance rape perpetrators. Consistent with the hypotheses, participants attributed less blame and recommended shorter sentences for the acquaintance rape perpetrator in comparison to the stranger rape perpetrator. Furthermore, BS (and not HS) was found to moderate the effects of type of rape on perpetrator blame and sentence recommendations. Individuals high in BS attributed less blame and recommended shorter sentences for the acquaintance rape perpetrator

than low BS individuals. No significant differences between high and low BS individuals were obtained for the stranger rape condition in both studies.

The above results complement and extend the findings reported in the preceding chapters. As already noted in Chapter 4, benevolent sexists blame acquaintance rape victims because they evaluate them as having behaved inappropriately for a woman. The results reported in the current chapter further show that, in situations where a woman is perceived as having violated traditional gender role expectations, high BS individuals may condone, or at least tacitly approve of, hostile and violent behaviours towards her. These findings are in line with research which has shown that BS is contingent and fails to protect women from domestic abuse if they are viewed as having challenged a husband's authority or behaved in a manner that violates traditional gender role expectations (e.g. Glick, Sakalli-Urgurlu, Ferreira & de Souza, 2002; see Chapter 2).

The combined findings from the above studies are also consistent with the feminist hypothesis that sexual violence functions as a form of social control through which women are oppressed (Brownmiller, 1975; Day, 1995). By condoning sexual aggression against certain "types" of women, BS forms part of a social system that attempts to regulate and control women's social behaviour, keeping them in subservient roles. In such a social system, protection against the threat of rape is only "guaranteed" for women who conform to traditional gender role expectations. When women fail to conform, men who perform violent acts against them are less likely to be held accountable. Thus, the threat of rape seems to be used as a tool to force women to "fall in line" and conform to traditional gender role expectations for which they will then be rewarded with benevolent protection.

Interestingly, no gender differences in the interaction effects reported above were obtained. Other studies reported within this thesis have also observed no gender differences in victim blame, once the effects of BS and type of rape are accounted for. These results are consistent with Jost and Banaji's (1994) system justification hypothesis, which proposes that oppressed groups sometimes endorse the system justifying ideologies of dominant groups in a manner that perpetuates their oppression. It appears to be the case that, to the extent that women endorse benevolent sexist attitudes, they are just as likely as high BS men to condone sexual violence against certain types of women.

The finding that high BS individuals appear to condone sexual violence against certain types of women has important psycho-legal implications. This is because benevolent sexist attitudes are often perceived as pro-social and, therefore, go unchallenged (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). However, the current study shows that benevolent sexist protection is not available to all women. It is, therefore, not surprising that jurors have been found to be more likely to acquit acquaintance rape perpetrators in comparison to stranger rape perpetrators (Weller, 1992). Thus, to the extent that benevolent sexist attitudes are allowed to permeate social attitudes, men who perpetrate violent acts towards women who do not conform to traditional gender roles may be allowed to 'get away with it'.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Benevolent Sexism and Evaluations of Acquaintance Rape Victims: The Moderating Effects of Legal Verdicts

"A verdict in a rape trial... contributes to the on-going process of defining rape..."

La Free, *Rape and the Criminal Justice System* (1989, p.153)

In the previous chapters, studies have consistently shown that individuals high in benevolent sexism (BS) are more likely to negatively evaluate acquaintance rape victims. In the current chapter, I explore the potential role of legal verdicts in moderating the relationship between BS and evaluations of rape victims. Two studies (Studies 8 & 9) exploring the argument that legal verdicts play a significant role in influencing people's beliefs about rape were conducted. In both studies, participants read an acquaintance rape scenario and were then informed that the perpetrator had been found either guilty or not-guilty for the offence. Participants' evaluations of the victim were then assessed and related to their levels of benevolent and hostile sexism (HS). In both studies, the results revealed that the relationship between BS and the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour was stronger when the perpetrator was found not-guilty rather than guilty. The results of Study 9 also showed that the relationship between BS and victim blame was stronger when the perpetrator was found not-guilty (vs. guilty). No interaction effects between HS and verdict were obtained for the dependent measures. The legal and social implications of the findings are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

The studies reported in the preceding chapters reveal a consistent pattern of results. Individuals high (vs. low) in BS attribute more blame to the acquaintance rape victim and perceive her behaviour as more inappropriate in comparison to the stranger rape victim. High (vs. low) BS individuals also appear to view the acquaintance rape perpetrator as less culpable than the stranger rape perpetrator. This consistent pattern of results raises important questions about potential moderators of the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape cases. Can the attitudes that underlie the relationship between BS and blame in acquaintance rape cases be attenuated or strengthened? Does strengthening or weakening these attitudes result in similar changes in the magnitude of the relationship between BS and victim blame?

In considering these issues, the present research focuses on the potential role of the criminal justice system in influencing attitudes towards acquaintance rape victims. As noted in the previous chapter, acquaintance rape perpetrators are more likely to be treated leniently within the criminal justice system (cf. Miethe, 1997; Temkin, 2000). It is possible that the legal verdicts that are reached during rape trials influence public opinion about what constitutes a "real" rape. Knowing that an acquaintance rape perpetrator has been found guilty (or not-guilty) may influence participants' attitudes towards acquaintance rape victims (cf. Sinclair & Bourne, 1998). The studies reported below explore the potential for legal verdicts to weaken or strengthen the relationships between BS, perceived appropriateness of the victim's behaviour and victim blame which have been reported in previous studies (e.g. Chapter 3).

Sexual Violence and Conviction Rates

Despite the high incidence rates of rape described in Chapter One, the percentage of reported rape cases that result in convictions is remarkably low (LaFree, 1989; Sinclair & Bourne, 1998). A majority of rape cases never reach the courts because the police, lawyers and prosecutors consider them to be unfounded (LaFree, 1989; National Victim Center, 1992; Temkin, 2000). Furthermore, once a rape case reaches the court room, suspected perpetrators are often found not-guilty (Frohman, 1995). Rhode (1989) estimates that conviction rates for rape cases could be as low as 2.5%, while Greenfeld (1997) and LaFree (1989) put conviction rates at slightly above 10%. In Germany, a suspect is officially identified in about 70% of reported cases. However, only 25% of these result in a conviction (Bohner, 1998). According to Gregory and Lees (1996), the conviction rate for sexual assault in the United Kingdom is 8-10%. Similarly, Temkin (1999) reports that 42% of all reported rape cases in England and Wales make it to trial and only 9% of these result in a conviction. Most authorities now agree that conviction rates for rape are well below those of other violent crimes (Frazier, Candell, Arikian & Tofteland, 1994; LaFree, 1989; Sinclair & Bourne, 1998; Temkin, 2000).

The high attrition rate of rape cases in the United Kingdom has been attributed to a number of factors. First, although there have been some improvements in the way police treat rape victims, officers continue to classify about half of all reported rape cases as 'no crime' (Harris & Grace, 1999; Temkin, 1999). Second, police in the UK refer less than a third of the original reported cases to the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) (Gregory & Lees, 1996). For example, Harris and Grace (1999) reported that 37% of reported rape cases were marked 'no further action' by the police who argued that there was insufficient evidence to press charges.

Third, when the cases get to the CPS, the prosecuting barrister may decide not to proceed due to insufficient evidence. For example, Gregory and Lees (1996) found that 16% of all referrals were dropped at this stage. Harris and Grace (1999) note that over 25% of all rape cases are dropped by the CPS due to insufficient evidence or on the grounds of public interest. Finally, in those cases that do make it to the Crown Court, more than 25% of the defendants are acquitted (Harris & Grace, 1999). Thus, although there has been a significant increase in the number of rape cases reported to the police in the United Kingdom, the conviction rates are yet to improve.

A Cycle of Blame?

The low conviction rates for rape can contribute to the perpetuation and trivialisation of sexual violence against women (Sinclair & Bourne, 1998). This may occur because "when a jury returns a... verdict in a rape trial, (they) contribute to the ongoing process of defining rape" (LaFree, 1989, p. 153). For example, if juries consistently bring not-guilty verdicts in rape cases involving sexual assault by an acquaintance they, in a very real sense, contribute to the notion that acquaintance rape, in comparison to stranger rape, is not a "real" rape (or is the fault of the victim). Kramer (1994) notes that defendants in alcohol-related rape trials are hardly ever convicted, even though the law identifies intoxication as one of the reasons why a victim may be unable to give consent (see also Myhill & Allen, 2002). Thus, despite the fact that alcohol consumption is involved in the majority of acquaintance rape cases (Kramer, 1994; Warshaw, 1988), the not-guilty verdicts reached by juries in these cases imply that a woman who is raped while she is under the influence of alcohol is not a "genuine" victim (Sinclair & Bourne, 1998).

Due to the fact that stranger rapes are more likely to result in a conviction in the courts, members of the public may have come to view a "real rape" as involving a sudden and violent attack (La Free, 1989; Weller, 1992). Krahe (1991-b) conducted a study in which she examined both police officers and members of the public's conceptions of a prototypical rape case. She found that the use threats and violence by the perpetrator were considered to be prototypical features of a rape. In contrast, both police officers and members of the public were suspicious of a rape involving a prior relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. These attitudes are clearly indicated by the findings reported throughout this thesis. Besides the moderating effects of BS, a consistent research finding is that people generally view an acquaintance rape victim as more blameworthy than a stranger rape victim (see also Pollard, 1992). They also view the acquaintance rape perpetrator as less blameworthy than the stranger rape perpetrator and, thus, recommend shorter sentences (Miethe, 1997). As such, the criminal justice system appears to play a role in the process of defining what constitutes a "real" rape and this may influence society's responses to rape victims.

Sinclair and Bourne (1998) proposed a cycle-of-blame principle to explain the above observations. They argued that not-guilty verdicts not only contribute to defining what constitutes a rape but also serve to strengthen people's pre-existing beliefs (i.e. myths) about rape. To test this hypothesis, Sinclair and Bourne conducted a study in which participants were presented with a summary of a rape trial in which the perpetrator was either found guilty or not-guilty for the rape. Consistent with their predictions, they found that men showed a greater acceptance of rape myths and less empathy towards the rape victim after reading a rape vignette with a not-guilty versus a guilty verdict. These effects were not obtained for female participants. It is

important to note that previous research has shown that men are more willing to accept rape myths than women (e.g. Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). Thus, exposure to a not-guilty legal verdict from a rape trial appears to strengthen male participants' pre-existing attitudes concerning what constitutes a "real" rape. These findings are consistent with the proposal that the low-conviction rates in rape cases can contribute to the definition and trivialisation of sexual violence against women (c.f. Brownmiller, 1975).

The Present Research

The studies reported in this chapter examine the cycle-of-blame hypothesis within an acquaintance rape context in relation to hostile and benevolent sexism. The results obtained in previous studies indicate that individuals who are high in BS are more likely to attribute blame to acquaintance rape victims because they perceive them as having violated traditional gender role expectations (see Chapter 4). The current research, explores whether the previously reported relationship between BS and the negative evaluations of acquaintance rape victims is moderated by legal verdicts. Since individuals who endorse BS are likely to hold particular assumptions about how good women should behave (see Chapter 5), legal verdicts may serve to confirm or disconfirm the correctness of these assumptions. If this is the case, a not-guilty verdict in an acquaintance rape case would confirm and support benevolent sexist's beliefs about the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Furthermore, a not-guilty verdict may lead high BS individuals to attribute even more blame to the acquaintance rape victim. In contrast, guilty verdicts in acquaintance rape cases may challenge high BS individuals' beliefs concerning the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour and, therefore, weaken victim blame.

To investigate this hypothesis two studies focusing on acquaintance rape were conducted. The first study (Study 8) was an exploratory study that sought to establish whether legal verdicts would affect the previously obtained relationship between BS and the perceived inappropriateness of an acquaintance rape victim's behaviour[1]. Participants were presented with the description of an acquaintance rape case in which the perpetrator was either found guilty or not-guilty. A significant main effect of BS was predicted. It was expected that the higher an individual's score on BS the more they would perceive the victim's behaviour as being inappropriate. However, the effects of BS on perceived inappropriateness of victim's behaviour were expected to be moderated by legal verdict. The relationship between BS and the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour was expected to be stronger when the perpetrator was found not-guilty rather than guilty (i.e. the higher an individual's BS score the more they view the victim's behaviour as inappropriate when the perpetrator is found not guilty). As a conceptual parallel to the studies reported thus far, no interaction effects between HS and verdict were predicted.

STUDY 8

Method

Participants

Fifty-four students (6 males, 48 females) from the University of Kent participated in this study on a voluntary basis. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 25, with 87% of the sample being younger than 21 years (M = 19.96; SD = 1.49). Of the

[1] This research approach was taken so as to establish whether legal verdicts influence the psychological mechanisms that underlie the relationship between BS and victim blame. After establishing this initial effect, a full study involving BS, victim blame and the mediator would be conducted (i.e. Study 9).

participants, 92.6% were classified as European. The remaining participants (7.4%) were classified as Asian or African.

Design, Measures and Procedure

A between-subjects design was employed in the study, with verdict (guilty vs. not-guilty) as the independent variable. The acquaintance rape vignette utilised in this study is similar to the one that has been used in other studies reported in this thesis (e.g. Study 3). However, after reading the rape scenario participants were informed that the jury had found the perpetrator either guilty or not-guilty of rape, depending on the condition (see Appendix H). Participants were randomly assigned to read about a rape case that resulted in a guilty verdict or a not-guilty verdict. The dependent variable in this study was participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. This was assessed using the 10-item (7 point) semantic differential scale employed in Study 3 (e.g. Ladylike vs. Unladylike).

Data for this study were collected in a psychology laboratory at the University of Kent. When participants arrived they were directed into a private room where they received a questionnaire on 'gender relations'. Only participants who had not taken part in previous studies were allowed to participate in the current study. Participants were then left to complete the questionnaire on their own. The questionnaire was arranged so that participants first read the scenario describing the rape and the verdict before responding to the questions examining the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. After completing this part of the questionnaire, participants completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Later, all participants were debriefed, thanked and dismissed. None of the participants indicated any suspicions about the hypotheses being tested in the current study.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

The items assessing the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour were averaged to obtain a composite rating score for each participant. This composite measure was reliable (α = .85). The internal consistencies of the ASI sub-scales were also acceptable (HS, α = 86; BS, α = .79). Due to the relatively small number of male participants (*n=6*) no statistical analyses focusing on gender differences could be conducted. A between subjects MANOVA was performed to examine the effects of legal verdict on HS and BS. These analysis revealed that participants scores on these variables were not influenced by condition (all *p*'s>.19). Thus, HS and BS could be used as independent predictors in a regression model predicting participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour.

Correlation analyses were performed to assess the relationships among all the measures used in this study (see Table 12). This analysis yielded significant zero-order correlations between all the measures (all *p*'s<.01), except for HS and ratings of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour (all *p*'s >.05). Nevertheless, the correlation between HS and perceived inappropriateness was in the same direction and magnitude obtained in Study 2. The highest correlation was between BS and HS (*r* = .56). This finding is again in line with previous studies that have reported a substantial positive relationship between BS and HS (e.g. Glick and Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2000). Multiple regression analyses were then conducted to assess whether the predictor variables had unique effects on the dependent variable. All variables were centred prior to the analyses (Jaccard et al., 1990).

Table 14: Correlations among measures of Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and Perceived Inappropriateness of the Victim Behaviour.

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Perceived Inappropriateness
Benevolent Sexism	-		
Hostile Sexism	.56**	-	
Perceived Inappropriateness	.34*	.26	-

Note. * = $p<.05$; ** = $p<.01$

Inappropriateness of Victim's Behaviour

To analyse the impact of verdict and BS, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. No significant main effects of verdict were obtained (see Table 13). In contrast, a significant main effect of BS was obtained. The results suggest that the higher an individual's score on BS the more they perceive the acquaintance rape victim's behaviour as being inappropriate. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between BS and verdict (see Table 13). This interaction effect remained marginally significant after the effects of HS had been partialled out (β = .48, t = 1.92, $p<.05$).

Table 15: Regression Analysis of the Effects of Benevolent Sexism and Verdict on Perceived Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour.

Regression Step		Beta (β)	T	Sig.	r	pr	sr	R^2 Change
Step 1	Verdict	.20	1.51	.138	.25	.21	.20	
	Benevolent Sexism	.30	2.31	.025	.33	.31	.30	.14
Step 2	BS x Verdict	.85	2.02	.048	.39	.28	.25	.06

Simple effects analyses were conducted and these yielded different relationship patterns between BS and the ratings of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour for the different conditions. When the perpetrator was found guilty, there was no significant relationship between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour (β = -.01, t = .05, *ns*). In contrast, when the perpetrator was found not-guilty, a significant relationship between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour was obtained (β = .50, t = 2.88, p<.01). As shown in Figure 9, the higher an individual's score on BS, the more they perceived the victim's behaviour as inappropriate when the verdict was not-guilty.

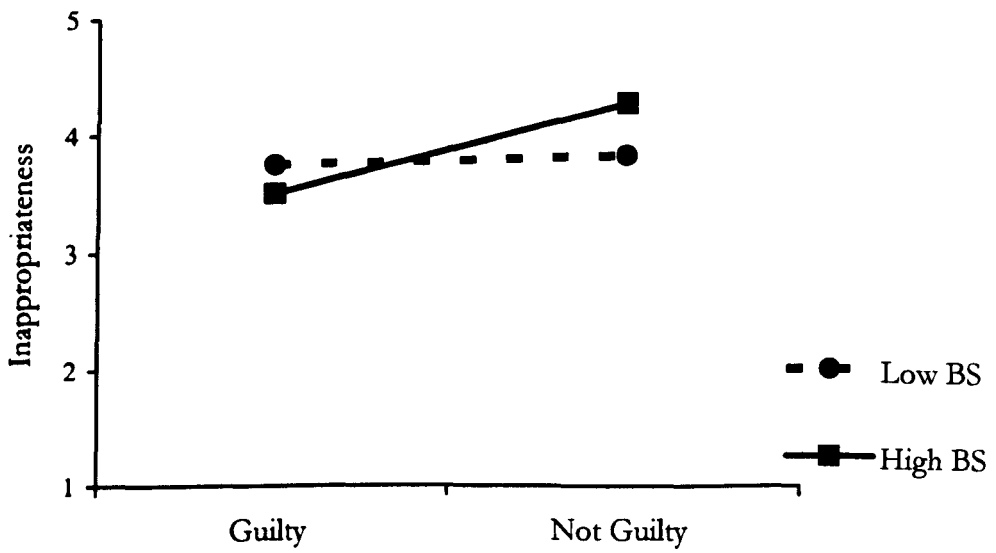

Figure 9: The effects of Benevolent Sexism (BS) and Verdict on Perceived Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour.

Hierarchical regression analyses were also performed to examine whether HS interacted with verdict in predicting the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. This analysis yielded marginally significant main effects of verdict (β = .24,

$t = 1.85, p<.08$) and HS ($\beta = .25, t = 1.94, p<.06$). In contrast, and consistent with the predictions, the interaction between verdict and HS failed to reach significance ($\beta = .22, t = .49, ns$). These findings suggest that the relationship between HS and participants evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour is not moderated by verdict.

DISCUSSION

The results are generally consistent with the hypotheses. The relationship between BS and the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour was stronger in the condition in which the perpetrator was found not-guilty than in the condition in which he was found guilty. In fact, in the guilty condition the relationship between BS and the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour was reduced to non-significance. These results support the argument that legal verdicts influence participants' beliefs concerning rape. It appears that a not-guilty verdict in acquaintance rape cases confirms high BS individuals' beliefs that the victim's behaviour was not appropriate, whereas the guilty verdict serves to disconfirm these beliefs.

A potential limitation of Study 8 was that there were unequal numbers of male and female participants. It is possible that the moderating effects of verdict only affect only male but not female participants. Indeed, Sinclair and Bourne (1998) obtained cycle-of-blame effects for male, but not female participants. Thus, it is important to conduct a study with comparable numbers of male and female participants in order directly examine any gender differences. Also, because Study 8 was conducted as an exploratory study, victim blame was not assessed. However, the results of Study 3 showed that perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's

behaviour mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame. Since legal verdicts moderate the relationship between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour, it would be interesting to explore whether similar moderation effects are present for the relationship between BS and victim blame.

A second study (Study 9) was conducted to further explore the issues raised above. This study was an empirical replication of Study 8. However, in this study there were comparable numbers of male and female participants. Furthermore, in addition to assessing the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour, attribution of blame to the victim was also assessed. As in Study 8, a significant main effect of BS was predicted. It was expected that the higher an individual's score on BS the more they would perceive the victim's behaviour as being inappropriate and the more they would blame the victim. However, the effects of BS on the dependent measures were expected to be moderated by legal verdict. The relationships between BS and victim blame, and BS and the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour were expected to be stronger when the perpetrator was found not-guilty rather than guilty (i.e. the higher an individual's score on BS the more they would view the victim's behaviour as inappropriate and attribute blame to her when the perpetrator was found not-guilty). As in Study 8, no interaction effects between HS and verdict were predicted for both dependent measures.

STUDY 9

Method

Participants

Participants were 50 students (20 males, 30 females) from the University of Kent. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 49 years, with 94% of the sample being

younger than 25 years (M = 21.16; SD = 4.98). Of the participants, 94% were classified as European (n = 47) and 6% were classified as Asian or African (n=2). Only one participant did not indicate his race. All participants took part in this study on a voluntary basis.

Design, Measures and Procedure

The design and procedure were the same as in Study 8. However, in addition to assessing the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour, participants were also asked to indicate how much blame they assigned to the victim. Victim blame was measured using the same items employed in Study 1 (e.g. "How much do you think Kathy should blame herself for what happened?"). As in Study 8, only participants who had not taken part in the previous studies were permitted to complete the questionnaire. After participants had completed the questionnaire, they were debriefed by the researcher. None of the participants indicated any suspicions about the hypotheses being tested in this study.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

The items assessing the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour and victim blame were averaged to obtain a composite rating score for each participant on each dependent measure. These composite measures had acceptable internal consistencies (α = .92 and α = .73, respectively). The internal consistencies of the HS and BS sub-scales were also acceptable (α = 93 and α = .76, respectively). A 2 (gender: male vs. female) x 2 (sub-scale: HS vs. BS) mixed model ANOVA was performed to examine gender differences in BS and HS. This analysis yielded

significant main effects of gender (F (1, 49) = 6.82, p<.02) and sub-scale (F (1, 48) = .15, p<.04). However, the above effects were qualified by a significant interaction between gender and sub-scale (F (1, 49) = 7.34, p<.01). Simple effects analyses revealed a significant gender difference for HS (F (1, 49) = 7.86, p<.01). As in previous studies, men scored higher than women on HS (males M = 4.31, SD = 1.31; females M = 3.23; SD = 1.33). In contrast, no significant gender difference was obtained for BS (F (1, 49) = .31, *ns*). Preliminary analysis also revealed that gender did not have any significant main or interaction effects (with verdict, HS or BS) on the dependent measures (all p's >.05). As such, gender is not discussed in the main analyses.

A between subjects MANOVA was also performed to examine the effects of legal verdict on HS and BS. These analysis revealed that participants' BS and HS scores were not significantly affected by condition (all p's>.28). As such, HS and BS were employed as independent predictors of the dependent measures in the main analyses. Correlation analyses were then performed to assess the relationships among all the measures used in this study (see Table 14). This yielded significant zero-order correlations between all the measures (all p's <.01). These findings are in line with the results reported in previous chapters (e.g. Chapter 3). Multiple regression analyses were then conducted to assess whether our predictor variables had unique effects on the dependent variables. All variables were centred prior to the analyses (Jaccard et al., 1990).

Table 16: *Correlations among measures of, Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, Victim Blame and Perceived Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour.*

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Victim Blame
Benevolent Sexism	-		
Hostile Sexism	.50**	-	
Victim Blame	.46**	.47**	-
Perceived Inappropriateness	.38**	.33*	.55**

Note. * = $p<.05$; ** = $p<.01$

Inappropriateness of Victim's Behaviour

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. No significant main effects of verdict were obtained (see Table 15). In contrast, BS had a significant main effect on participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. The higher an individual's score on BS the more they perceived the rape victim's behaviour as being inappropriate. However, these main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between BS and verdict (see Table 15). Furthermore, the interaction between BS and verdict remained significant after the effects of HS had been partialled out ($\beta = .41$, $t = 2.41$, $p<.03$).

Table 17: *Regression Analysis of the Effects of Benevolent Sexism and Verdict on Perceived Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour.*

Regression Step		Beta (β)	T	Sig.	r	pr	sr	R^2 Change
Step 1	Verdict	.02	0.16	.873	-.03	.02	.02	
	Benevolent Sexism	.38	2.77	.008	.38	.37	.37	.14
Step 2	BS x Verdict	.44	2.59	.013	.49	.36	.33	.11

Simple effects analyses yielded different relationship patterns between BS and participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour for the different conditions. When the perpetrator was found guilty, no significant relationship between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour was obtained (β = .10, t = .51, *ns*). In contrast, when the perpetrator was found not-guilty, a significant relationship between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour was obtained (β = .72, t = 4.57, p<.01). These findings suggest that the higher an individual's score on BS, the more they perceived the victim's behaviour as inappropriate when the perpetrator was found not-guilty.

Hierarchical regression analyses, similar to those performed above, were conducted to examine whether HS and verdict had significant interaction effects on the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. This analysis yielded marginally significant main effects of HS on the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour (β = .32, t = 2.35, p<.05), whereas the main effects of verdict failed to reach significance (β = -.02, t = .18, *ns*). Consistent with the predictions, the interaction between verdict and HS also failed to reach statistical significance (β = .21, t = 1.05, *ns*).

Victim Blame

To analyse the impact of verdict and BS, hierarchical regression analyses similar to those performed above were conducted. Verdict had a marginally significant main effect on victim blame (see Table 16). More blame was attributed to the victim when the perpetrator was found not-guilty than when the perpetrator was found guilty (M = 3.31, SD = 1.07; M = 2.98, SD = .93, respectively). A significant

main effect of BS was also obtained. The results suggest that the higher an individual's score on BS the more they blamed the rape victim. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between BS and verdict. Furthermore, this interaction effect remained marginally significant after the effects HS had been partialled out ($\beta = .31$, $t = 1.97$, $p<.06$).

Table 18: Regression Analysis of the Effects of Benevolent Sexism and Verdict on Victim Blame.

Regression Step		Beta (β)	T	Sig.	r	pr	sr	R^2 Change
Step 1	Verdict	.24	1.89	.065	.16	.27	.24	
	Benevolent Sexism	.50	3.92	.001	.46	.50	.49	.27
Step 2	BS x Verdict	.36	2.27	.028	.50	.32	.27	.07

Simple effects analyses were then conducted and these yielded different relationship patterns between BS and the victim blame across conditions. When the perpetrator was found guilty, the relationship between BS and victim blame failed to reach significance ($\beta = .28$, $t = 1.51$, *ns*). In contrast, when the perpetrator was found not-guilty a significant relationship between BS and victim blame was obtained ($\beta = .76$, $t = 5.15$, $p<.001$). As shown in Figure 10, the higher an individual's score on BS, the more blame they attributed to the rape victim when the perpetrator was found not guilty.

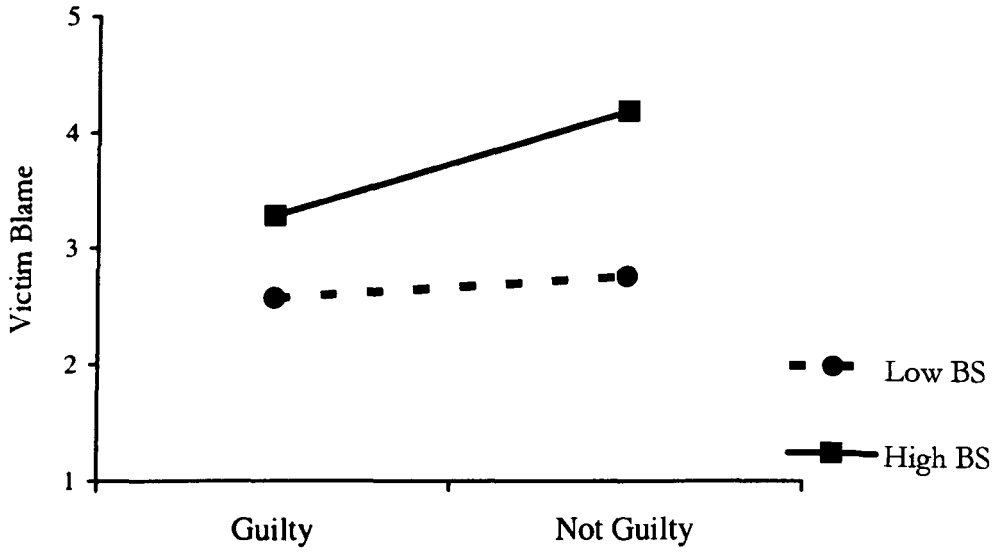

Figure 10: The effects of Benevolent Sexism (BS) and Verdict on Victim Blame.

In order to examine the interaction effects of HS and verdict, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. These analyses yielded a significant main effect of HS on victim blame (β = .48, t = 3.78, p<.001). No significant main effects of verdict were obtained (β = .18, t = 1.42, *ns*). In line with the hypotheses, the interaction effects between verdict and HS also failed to reach significance (β = .01, t = .07, *ns*). These results suggest that the main effects of HS on victim blame are not moderated by verdict.

Mediation Analyses

The results of Study 3 (Chapter 4) indicate that participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour mediate the relationship between BS and victim blame. As such, mediation analyses (Baron & Kenny, 1996) were performed to examine whether participant's perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour mediated the interaction effects of BS and verdict on victim blame. As shown above, the interaction term (BS x verdict) significantly predicts both victim

blame and perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Furthermore, preliminary analyses revealed a significant relationship between victim blame and the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour across conditions. As such, the critical result for the current analyses is whether the interaction between BS and verdict for victim blame is reduced to non-significance once participant's evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour are included in the regression equation. Such a result would be an indication of mediated moderation effects (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

To test this hypothesis, hierarchical regression analysis was performed. In the first step, victim blame was regressed on BS and verdict. In the second step, victim blame was regressed on the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour and the BS x verdict interaction term simultaneously. This analysis revealed a significant relationship between perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour and victim blame ($\beta = .38$, $t = 2.99$, $p<.01$), whereas the interaction term (BS x verdict) no longer significantly predicted victim blame ($\beta = .19$, $t = 1.23$, *ns*). A Sobel test (Sobel, 1982) revealed that the reduction in the interaction effect was significant ($z = 1.96$, $p=.05$)[2]. These results offer further support for the argument that the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape cases is mediated by participants' perceptions that the victim's behaviour was inappropriate.

Supplementary Analyses

An important caveat in the current series of studies is that no data were collected for a "control" condition in which the acquaintance rape is described but no information concerning the verdict is given to the participants. It is, thus, unclear

[2] This mediation effect was significant at ($z = 2.02$, $p<.05$) using the Goodman test (Goodman, 1960).

from the present data whether a not-guilty verdict increased or a guilty verdict decreased the strength of the relationship between BS and victim-related judgements. Nevertheless, the rape scenario employed in the studies reported above is exactly the same as the one utilised in previous studies reported in this thesis (e.g. Studies 1, 2 and 3). The only difference is that, in the current studies, participants were informed of the legal verdict. Therefore, it is possible to conduct analyses that substitute the missing control condition by comparing the differences in the magnitude of the correlations between BS and victim blame in the acquaintance rape conditions from Studies 1 and 3 and the relationship between BS and blame in the two conditions of the current study. Similar analyses can also be conducted for the correlation between BS and participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victims' behaviour, this time combining the acquaintance rape conditions of Studies 2 and 3 and then comparing them with the respective correlations in the guilty and not-guilty conditions of the current study.

In order to conduct these analyses, *r*s must first be converted to r-prime (*r* ') using the following formula (Cohen & Cohen, 1983):

$$r' = (0.5)\ln\left|\frac{1+r}{1-r}\right|$$

After converting the *r*s to *r* ', the *r* 'scores are then entered into the formula below (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Z scores greater than 1.96 indicate a significant difference between the two correlations.

$$z = \frac{r'_1 - r'_2}{\sqrt{\frac{1}{N_1 - 3} + \frac{1}{N_2 - 3}}}$$

The above analyses were conducted to compare the correlations between BS and victim blame obtained in the acquaintance rape conditions of Studies 1 and 3, with the correlation between BS and victim blame obtained in the guilty and not-guilty conditions of the current study. Similar analysis were also performed to compare the correlations between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour in the acquaintance rape conditions of Studies 2 and 3, with the correlations between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour in the guilty and not-guilty conditions of the current study[3]. Where more than one correlation was present for the same condition (e.g. BS and victim blame in Studies 1 and 3), mean r' scores (weighted by N) were computed before comparisons across conditions were made.

Perceived Inappropriateness of Victim Behaviour

The weighted average r-prime scores for the relationship between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour were as follows: "control" condition (i.e. acquaintance rape conditions in Studies 2 and 3) r'=.36 (n = 67); guilty condition r'=.09 (n = 29) and the not-guilty condition r'= .91 (n = 21). Comparisons of the correlation coefficients revealed no significant differences between the "control" condition and the guilty condition (z = 1.17, *ns*). However, a significant difference in the size of the correlation coefficients between the not-guilty and the "control" condition was obtained (z = 2.07, p<.05). These findings suggest that a not-guilty verdict significantly strengthens the relationship between BS and participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour in acquaintance rape

[3] Data from Study 8 was not included in the current analyses because the unequal number of male and female participants rendered this data non-comparable with the earlier studies.

cases. In contrast, although the relationship between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour is reduced to non-significance, a guilty verdict does not appear to significantly weaken the relationship.

Victim Blame

The weighted average r'scores for the relationship between BS and victim blame were as follows: "control" condition (i.e. Studies 1 and 3) $r'=.52$ (n = 77); guilty condition $r'=.29$ (n = 29) and the not-guilty condition $r'=1.00$ (n = 21). Similar to the above analyses, no significant differences between the control condition and the guilty condition were obtained (z = 1.03, *ns*). However, marginally significant differences between the not-guilty and the "control" condition were obtained (z = 1.85, $p<.07$)[4]. These results are similar to those obtained for the relationship between BS and participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. A not-guilty verdict appears to significantly strengthen the relationship between BS and victim blame in acquaintance rape cases. However, a guilty verdict does not appear to significantly weaken this relationship.

DISCUSSION

The results of the current study are generally consistent with the hypotheses. The relationship between BS and the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour was stronger when the perpetrator was found not-guilty rather than guilty. Similarly, the relationship between BS and victim blame was stronger in the not-guilty (vs. guilty) condition. In fact, the relationship between BS and the perceived

[4] Given the specificity of the hypotheses, one-tailed analyses actually indicate that this Z-score is significant at $p<.05$.

inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour and the relationship between BS and victim blame were reduced to non-significance in the guilty condition. These results are in line with Sinclair and Bourne's (1998) proposals that legal verdicts influence participants' beliefs concerning rape. The combined results suggest that a not-guilty verdict in an acquaintance rape case confirms high BS individuals' beliefs that the victim's behaviour was not appropriate and as a result, increases their tendency to blame acquaintance rape victims. This argument is further supported by the finding that the interaction effects of BS and verdict on victim blame are mediated by participants' evaluations of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour.

Preliminary analyses revealed that gender did not have any significant main or interaction effects (with HS, BS or verdict) in predicting both dependent measures. These results are not consistent with Sinclair and Bourne's (1998) findings that the cycle-of-blame principle applies to men only. The findings are more in line with the results that have been reported in other studies within this thesis. The results are, however, not surprising when one considers that preliminary analyses revealed no gender differences in BS. Furthermore, Sinclair and Bourne's (1998) study focused on rape myth acceptance (RMA). As already noted in Chapter One, RMA reflects hostile attitudes towards women, which female participants are less likely to accept in comparison to male participants (cf. Pollard, 1992). Thus, to the extent that women endorse benevolently sexist attitudes, they are just as vulnerable as their male counterparts to the cycle-of-blame effects (cf. Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Further analyses comparing the correlation between BS and the dependent measures in the legal verdict conditions of the current study and the correlations between BS and the evaluations of acquaintance rape victims obtained in previous studies were conducted. These analyses revealed that a not-guilty verdict significantly

strengthens the relationship between BS and perceived inappropriateness of victim behaviour. Similarly, a not-guilty verdict appears to significantly strengthen the relationship between BS and victim blame. In contrast, a guilty verdict does not appear to significantly weaken the above relationships. These non-significant results may have been obtained because of the relatively small sample sizes that were being compared in this study. Nevertheless, the broad pattern of the results obtained from the current studies supports the cycle-of-blame argument. The interaction effects reported above at the least show that there are significant differences between the correlations in the not-guilty and guilty conditions.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Previous studies (e.g. Studies 1, 2 and 3) have shown that there is a significant relationship between BS and negative evaluations of victims in acquaintance rape conditions. The studies reported within this chapter were conducted to examine whether legal verdicts would moderate this relationship. Across the two studies, the results provide a consistent picture of the potential role of legal verdicts in influencing people's attitudes towards acquaintance rape victims. The pattern of results appears to be consistent with Sinclair and Bourne's (1998) argument that legal verdicts play an important role in the process of defining how society should respond to different types of rape victims and perpetrators. The results reported above seem to suggest that not-guilty verdicts significantly strengthen high BS participants' previously negative beliefs about acquaintance rape victims.

These results complement the findings that have been reported in the preceding chapters. The cycle-of-blame process seems to involve high (vs. low) BS participants negatively evaluating and attributing more blame to acquaintance rape

than stranger rape victims. This then results in acquaintance rape perpetrators being viewed as less culpable than stranger rape perpetrators. When acquaintance rape perpetrators go through the criminal justice system they are more likely to be acquitted for the crime or given shorter sentences in comparison to stranger rape perpetrators (see Miethe, 1997). The not-guilty verdicts and lighter sentences that are given to acquaintance rape perpetrators then feedback into society, further strengthening high BS individuals' assumptions about how women should conduct themselves within intimate relationships. Thus, consistent with the feminist hypothesis (Brownmiller, 1975; Day, 1995), sexual violence may indeed function as a tool of social control through which men regulate the behaviour of women in society.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Summary, Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

"With every comment on our body, every leer, men are letting us know, quite clearly, that they have access to our bodies and that we have no control over that access. They are saying in effect, 'if I choose, I can rape you - so make sure you don't antagonise me."

London Rape Crisis Centre,
Sexual Violence: The Reality for Women, (1984, p.153)

In this chapter, the findings from the current programme of research are summarised and directions for future research suggested. First, the background and aims of the thesis are discussed. A summary of the results that have been obtained in the current programme of research is then presented. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of the findings reported in this thesis. In this regard, the role of benevolent and hostile sexism in people's perceptions of rape is discussed. The potential role of the criminal justice system in influencing these attitudes is also discussed. Finally, the limitations of the current programme of research are discussed and directions for future research outlined.

BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF THESIS

Due to the high prevalence of rape and the severity of its effects on victims, a number of researchers have examined the nature and extent of the phenomenon (see Ellis, 1989; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995; Pollard, 1992 for reviews). While some research has focused on the potential causes of rape (e.g. Thornhill & Palmer, 2000), a majority of the research has focused on factors that influence people's responses to

victims and perpetrators of rape. These researchers have observed that victims of certain types of rape (e.g. acquaintance rape) are more likely to be blamed for the occurrence of the incident in comparison to victims of other types of rape (e.g. stranger rape; see Pollard, 1992). Such perceptions of rape appear to be influenced by societal beliefs (i.e. rape myths) in the distinction between "good" and "bad" rape victims (Critchlow, 1985; Vali & Rizzo, 1991). Indeed, there appears to be a general societal belief that there are "good" or "respectable" women (e.g. married mothers) who are different from women that can be viewed as "bad" or of "ill-repute" (e.g. feminists and prostitutes). Thus, perceptions of rape seem to be influenced by stereotypical beliefs concerning how women ought to behave within intimate relationships (Cassidy & Hurrell, 1995).

Unfortunately, the majority of the research that has been conducted in this area has almost exclusively examined the role of sexist hostility in people's perceptions of rape (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). Such a limited focus is consistent with previous conceptualisations of sexist attitudes that defined sexism as a unitary antipathy towards women (Spence & Heimreich, 1972; Swim et al., 1995; Tougas, et al., 1995). However, such conceptualisations of sexism neglected the subjectively positive feelings that characterise several sexist stereotypes (Eagly & Mlandinic, 1989). Glick and Fiske (1996) note that sexism may not necessarily manifest as a unitary antipathy towards women. They propose that sexism comprises of both hostile and benevolent attitudes toward women, potentially resulting in *ambivalent sexism.*

Although subjectively positive, benevolent attitudes toward women are still considered a form of sexism because they are based on the same assumptions as hostile sexist attitudes (i.e. women are the weaker sex; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Glick et al. (1997) found that benevolent sexism (BS) is related to positive evaluations of

women. However, these positive attitudes were reserved for women that conform to traditional gender role expectations. Thus, BS seems to play an important role in maintaining societal beliefs in the distinction between "good" and "bad" women. This appears to be done through the idealisation of women who conform to traditional gender role expectations. It is, therefore, possible that benevolent sexism also plays a role in people's judgements of victims of different types of rape.

The aim of the current thesis was to examine the feminist argument that rape may function as a form of social control. However, unlike previous research, the current thesis not only considered HS but also the role of BS in people's perceptions and judgements of rape victims and perpetrators. Specifically, the current thesis examined whether individuals who endorse the distinction between "good" versus "bad" women and idealise the "good" women (i.e. high BS), respond differently to stranger and acquaintance rape scenarios. Prior to the research programme reported within this thesis, there were no reported studies that had considered the role of BS in people's responses to rape.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The first study in the current thesis (Study 1; Chapter 3) explored the potential for BS to account for previous research findings that acquaintance rape victims are attributed more blame than stranger rape victims. This study was a replication of an earlier study by Viki (2000) in which an all male sample had been used. In Study 1, male and female participants read either an acquaintance rape or a stranger rape scenario and then were asked to attribute blame to the victim. Also measured were participants' levels of HS, BS, RMA and impression management. As expected, participants were found to attribute more blame to the acquaintance rape victim in

comparison to the stranger rape victim. However, these effects were moderated by BS such that individuals high in BS attributed more blame to the acquaintance rape victim than low BS participants. No differences between high and low BS participants were obtained for the stranger rape victim. This pattern of results was obtained even after the effects of HS and RMA on victim blame were accounted for. Furthermore, HS and RMA were not found to moderate the effects of type of rape on victim blame. Regression analyses also revealed that gender did not have any significant main or interaction effects (with BS, HS or RMA) on victim blame.

In Chapter 4, studies examining the psychological mechanisms underlying the effects observed in Study 1 were reported. These studies (Studies 2 and 3) examined the argument that individuals high in BS blame the acquaintance rape victim because they perceive her as having behaved in a manner that is not appropriate for a woman (cf. Viki & Abrams, *in press-b*). Study 2 revealed that the acquaintance rape victim's behaviour was perceived as more inappropriate than the stranger rape victim's behaviour. However, and in line with the hypotheses, BS (but not HS) was found to moderate the effect of type of rape on the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Individuals high (vs. low) in BS evaluated the acquaintance rape victim's behaviour as being more inappropriate than the stranger rape victim's behaviour. In Study 3, the relationship between BS and victim blame in the acquaintance rape condition was found to be mediated by participants' perceptions of the inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour.

The studies reported in Chapter 4 also provided a closer examination of the psychological mechanisms that underlie the relationship between HS and rape proclivity in acquaintance rape situations (Studies 2 and 4). In an earlier study, Viki (2000) observed that males who are high (vs. low) in HS report a higher likelihood of

committing an acquaintance rape than a stranger rape. Studies 2 and 4 examined whether perceptions that the victim "really" wanted sex or perceptions that the perpetrator was led on mediated the relationship between HS and acquaintance rape proclivity. In Study 2, HS (but not BS) was found to moderate the effects of type of rape on participants' perceptions of whether the victim "really" wanted sex and whether the perpetrator was led on. Individuals high (vs. low) in HS perceived the acquaintance (but not the stranger) rape victim as "really" wanting sex and as having led the perpetrator on. Study 4, further revealed that the relationship between HS and rape proclivity in acquaintance rape situations was mediated by participants' perceptions that the victim "really" wanted to have sex.

In Chapter 5, the idea that individuals high in BS hold conservative beliefs about what constitutes appropriate conduct for women within intimate relationships was further explored (Study 5). However, rather than focusing on the evaluations of specific targets, Study 5 examined whether BS was related to more general beliefs about the appropriate roles for women in intimate relationships. A scale measuring *paternalistic chivalry* (PC) was developed. Paternalistic chivalry refers to attitudes that are simultaneously courteous and restrictive to women. As expected, BS was found to be significantly positively related to PC. This finding suggests that individuals who are high in BS are more likely to endorse PC than individuals low in BS. In line with the predictions, HS and gender did not significantly predict individual differences in PC.

Chapter 6 contains two studies (Studies 6 and 7) that were specifically conducted to evaluate the role of BS in participants' evaluations of rape perpetrators. These studies were conducted to examine whether, in addition to negatively evaluating rape victims (Studies 1, 2 and 3), individuals high in BS absolved the acquaintance rape perpetrator from blame. Participants read either a stranger rape or

an acquaintance rape scenario and were asked to either attribute blame to the perpetrator (Study 6) or recommended a sentence if the perpetrator was found guilty (Study 7). As predicted, relative to low BS individuals, participants who scored high in BS attributed less blame and recommended shorter sentences for the acquaintance rape perpetrator. No differences between low and high BS participants were obtained for the stranger rape condition. Furthermore, HS was not found to moderate the effects of type of rape on perpetrator blame or recommended sentence.

Chapter 7 reported two studies (Studies 8 and 9) that explored the potential role of legal verdicts in moderating the relationship between BS and negative evaluations of acquaintance rape victims. Participants read an acquaintance rape scenario in which they were informed that the perpetrator had been found either guilty or not guilty. In both studies, the relationship between BS and the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour was stronger when the perpetrator was found not-guilty rather than guilty. In Study 9, it was observed that the relationship between BS and victim blame was stronger when the perpetrator was found not-guilty (vs. guilty). Study 9 also revealed a mediated-moderation effect in which the interaction effects of BS and verdict on victim blame were mediated by the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. No interaction effects involving HS and verdict were obtained in both Study 8 and Study 9.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

The findings obtained in the current programme of research have important theoretical implications for the study of sexual violence and for sexism research in general. These implications will now be outlined below. First, the role of BS in the perception of rape will be considered. The role of HS in the perception of rape will

then be discussed. Finally, the question of whether HS and BS play different, but complementary, roles in people's perception of rape will be addressed.

Benevolent Sexism and Perceptions of Rape

The combined results of this thesis support the proposal that, unlike HS (or RMA), BS provides a mechanism through which the differences in blame attributed to stranger and acquaintance rape victims can be explained (cf. Viki, 2000). Individuals high in BS hold particular beliefs about how "good" women should conduct themselves in social situations. Glick et al.'s (1997) research findings suggest that individuals high in BS idealise women who conform to traditional gender roles (e.g. married mothers). Thus, in situations where a woman is evaluated as violating these norms, she is more likely to be seen as responsible for anything unfortunate that happens to her. Consistent with this argument, the results of Studies 2 and 3 indicate that individuals high (vs. low) in BS attribute blame to the acquaintance rape victim because they perceive her as having behaved in a manner that is not appropriate for a woman. The results of Studies 6 and 7 further indicate in situations where a woman is judged as behaving inappropriately, high (vs. low BS) individuals may condone, or at least tacitly approve of hostile behaviours towards her (cf. Glick et al., 2002).

It appears to be the case that high BS individuals generally regard the behaviour of a woman who invites a relationship with a man (e.g. by kissing him first or going to his apartment) as a violation of what is considered to be appropriate conduct for women within intimate relationships. Indeed, the findings obtained in Study 5 are in line with the suggestion that BS is associated with conservative beliefs about the range of behaviours women can exhibit during courtship. Individuals high in BS seem to endorse a belief system in which women are treated with courtesy but

are also restricted in the roles they may play in intimate relationships. Ultimately, high BS individuals seem to be uncomfortable with the idea of women having more power than men within intimate relationships.

Such findings offer further support for Glick and Fiske's (1996) contention that, despite being subjectively positive, BS is a form of sexism. Consistent with Glick et al.'s (1997) findings, the results obtained in this thesis clearly indicate that sexist benevolence is reserved for women who conform to traditional gender roles. Individuals high in BS believe that women ought to be protected and served by the men in their lives. However, high BS individuals also believe that women ought to behave in ways the allow them to be "protectable". The notion that women should be the guardians of sexual morality is based on the benevolent stereotype of "good" (vs. "bad") women being pure and special. Thus, being "protectable" essentially means women have to conform to the roles that are considered appropriate for them within intimate relationships (i.e. being chaste and reserved). In this regard, BS can be viewed as a form of sexism because it contributes to the social system that keeps women in restricted and subservient roles.

Interestingly, the pattern of results obtained across all the studies reported in this thesis suggests that women generally endorse BS to the same extent as men. In fact, significant gender differences in BS were observed in only two studies (Studies 5 and 6). In these studies, men had higher mean BS scores than women. Across all the other studies no significant gender differences in BS were obtained. In contrast, significant gender differences in HS were obtained across all studies, except one (Study 2). These findings suggest that women are less willing to accept HS than men, but they are just as willing as men to endorse BS. According to Glick et al.'s (2000),

women may be willing to accept BS because of its positive tone and promises of affection and protection.

Given the above findings, it is hardly surprising that across all the studies reported in this thesis, gender was not found to have any significant main or interaction effects with BS (or HS) on any of the dependent variables. These findings suggest that, to the extent that women are high in BS, they are just as likely as high BS males to perceive the acquaintance rape victim as having behaved inappropriately. Such results are consistent with Jost and Banaji's (1994) system justification hypothesis. Jost and Banaji (1994) note that members of oppressed groups tend to endorse system-justifying "positive" stereotypes about their in-group (such as BS) in manner that perpetuates their oppression. Bohner et al. (1993) note that women sometimes derogate rape victims in order to maintain an illusion of safety. Thus, by condoning violence against certain women, females who endorse BS may feel that they are safe from sexual violence as long as they conform to traditional gender roles. Unfortunately, such beliefs lead to the perpetuation of a social system in which women are restricted to subservient roles within male-female relationships.

All in all, the findings concerning the role of BS in perceptions of rape extend and complement previous research. As already noted, previous studies tended to focus mostly on the role of hostile sexist attitudes in perceptions of rape scenarios. The construct of rape myths, as conceptualised by Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994; see also Bohner, 1998), acknowledges the existence of the myth that only certain types of women (i.e. "bad" women) are likely to become victims of rape. Studies conducted within this tradition of research clearly show that "respectable" rape victims are less likely to be blamed for a rape in comparison to "non-respectable" rape victims (Pollard, 1992; see Chapter 1 for a full review). However, most (if not all) of this

research does not explicitly consider the role of benevolent sexist beliefs in people's perceptions of rape.

Feminist writers have also argued that rape may function as a tool that "encourages" women to conform to traditional gender role expectations (e.g. Brownmiller, 1975). The distinction between "good" and "bad" rape victims is seen as contributing to this process. However, feminist debates on sexual violence hardly make reference to benevolent sexist attitudes and how such beliefs may contribute to negative perceptions of victims of certain types of rape and to the encouragement of women to conform to traditional gender roles. The findings reported in this thesis strongly suggest that apparently positive attitudes that idealize women in traditional roles play an important part in people's perceptions of rape. Such findings are actually not surprising because any notion of "bad" women (towards whom hostility is to be directed) must essentially be derived from some notion of "good" women (who deserve benevolent rewards). Thus, the current thesis makes an important complementary contribution to the research literature on sexual violence by providing the first series of empirical studies that demonstrate the role of BS in perceptions of rape.

Hostile Sexism and Perceptions of Rape

The findings across all the studies reported in this thesis indicate that hostile sexist attitudes do not moderate the effects of type of rape on attributions of blame to victims and perpetrators. Rather, HS was found to have a robust main effect on these judgements. Individuals high in HS seem to attribute blame to both stranger and acquaintance rape victims. These results may have been obtained because hostile sexist attitudes are not related to perceptions that women are pure and special.

Individuals high in HS do not idealise "good" women, and thus may not differentially evaluate the stranger and acquaintance rape victims' behaviour in terms of violating traditional gender role expectations. This argument is supported by the findings from Study 2, in which HS was not found to moderate the effects of type of rape on the perceived inappropriateness of the victim's behaviour. Given these findings, it can be concluded that HS does not provide a mechanism through which the differences in blame attributed to stranger and acquaintance rape victims and perpetrators can be explained.

Nevertheless, hostile sexist attitudes appear to provide a mechanism through which differences in self-reported proclivity to commit stranger and acquaintance rape can be explained. Previous researchers have observed that the acceptance of interpersonal violence and adversarial sexual beliefs are linked to hostile attitudes towards women (Bohner et al., 1998; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Furthermore, Viki (2000) found that HS (but not BS) moderates the effects of type of rape on self-reported rape proclivity. Individuals high (vs. low) in HS reported a higher likelihood of committing acquaintance rape in comparison to a stranger rape. Viki (2000) proposed that high HS individuals reported a higher proclivity for acquaintance rape because they viewed it as more easily justifiable than stranger rape. Thus, in situations where the malevolent intent of the rapist can be disguised (e.g. acquaintance rape), individuals high in HS report higher levels of proclivity for rape. This argument is supported by the results obtained Chapter 4. Individuals high in HS were more likely to view the acquaintance (but not the stranger) rape victim as "really" wanting sex. Furthermore, perceptions that the victim "really" wanted sex mediated the relationship between HS and rape proclivity in the acquaintance rape condition. Thus,

HS (but not BS) appears to function as a means to rationalise sexual violence against women.

Hostile and Benevolent Sexism: Different but Complementary Ideologies

What have we learned from the current programme of research regarding the concept of ambivalent sexism? First, sexual violence appears to provide an area in which the discriminant validity of BS versus HS can be further demonstrated (see also Glick et al., 1997). The results clearly indicate that BS moderates the effects of type of rape on victim blame, whereas HS doesn't. In contrast, HS moderates the effects of type of rape on rape proclivity, whereas BS doesn't (Viki, 2000; see also Abrams et al., *in press*). Second, the constructs of HS and BS allow us to further examine the motivations that underlie victim blame and rape proclivity. In this regard, the findings from this thesis corroborate the argument that different motivational and attitudinal processes influence rape proclivity and victim blame (Viki, 2000).

Individuals who are high in benevolent sexism were found to be more likely to blame certain victims of rape. However, in Viki's (2000) study these individuals did not report a higher proclivity to engage in sexual aggression. Moreover, in Study 3 BS did not predict participants' views concerning whether the victim "really" wanted sex or perceptions of whether the perpetrator was led on. It can, therefore, be argued that benevolent sexist attitudes may not function as a means to justify or excuse aggressive behavioural inclinations. Rather, it is possible that individuals who are high in benevolent sexism attribute blame to victims of rape in order to preserve their beliefs in a just world, where women who enter a sexual relationship with a man are seen as accepting responsibility for the man's sexual behaviour (e.g. because high benevolent sexism individuals are more likely to believe the woman has violated traditional

gender role expectations). In contrast, hostile sexism seems to function as a means to rationalize sexual violence (e.g. the victim "really" wanted sex); hence the significant relationship between rape proclivity and hostile sexism in acquaintance rape situations. In some fashion the acquaintance rape scenario may appear to make the act of rape seem less deviant and this may encourage proclivity.

The results of the present research can also be interpreted as supporting Glick and Fiske's (1996) suggestion that hostile sexism and benevolent sexism are complementary attitudes. First, consistent with previous findings, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism were found to be significantly positively correlated across all the studies (r's ranged from .47 to .66, all p's <.05). Second, the interaction effects for benevolent sexism and type of rape for victim blame obtained in Study 1 have a similar pattern to the interaction effects involving hostile sexism and type of rape for rape proclivity obtained by Viki (2000). The situation in which benevolent sexism predicts victim blame is the same situation in which hostile sexism predicts rape proclivity (see Studies 3 and 4). As such, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism may function in a complementary fashion. Benevolent sexism may provide the socio-cultural climate and belief system that allows for hostile sexist behaviour to be manifested or be seen as justifiable.

These conclusions are consistent with the feminist argument that rape functions as a form of social control (Brownmiller, 1975; Day, 1995). By judging that only certain types of women, or only women in certain situations, cannot be blamed for being raped, benevolent sexism implies that 'true rape' only happens when women adhere to traditional gender roles. When women choose to disregard these roles, this may invite aggressive sexual responses from hostile sexists. Thus, the distinct reactions to rape associated with benevolent and hostile sexism serve to maintain a

socio-cultural climate that encourages the acceptance of rape myths and keeps women in subservient roles (cf. Jost & Banaji, 1994). Consistent with this idea, the relationships between benevolent sexism and blame and between hostile sexism and proclivity were found to be significant only for the acquaintance rape scenario.

Finally, the combined findings of the current thesis also have important implications for theoretical developments within prejudice research. As noted in Chapter 2, researchers have tended to define prejudice as unitary antipathy towards an out-group. However, a clearer understanding of inter-group prejudice may be derived from considering the role of subjectively positive, yet stereotypical, beliefs about out-groups. Recent studies (e.g. Fiske et al., 2002) have shown that stereotypes about out-groups are often not uniformly hostile. This has been found to be the case even for low-status out-groups. Indeed, Jackman (1994) argues that subordination and affection may not be mutually exclusive. It is possible for affection to be used as a tool for subordination. The findings of the current thesis clearly indicate that benevolent prejudices may contribute to the continued oppression of low-status groups (e.g. women, black people and other ethnic minorities).

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

The findings of the current thesis have several important social and legal implications. Given that the prevalence of acquaintance rape is much higher than that of stranger rape, the finding that acquaintance rape victims are more likely to be blamed than stranger rape victims is worrying (see Study 1). The finding that individuals who commit acquaintance (vs. stranger) rape are likely to get away with it is also worrying (see Studies 6 and 7). This is further compounded by the finding that individuals who endorse benevolent ideas about women are more likely to blame

acquaintance rape victims. Benevolent sexist attitudes are often perceived as pro-social and, therefore, go unchallenged in broader society (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For example, Kilianski and Rudman (1998) found that women tend to prefer a man who is described as benevolently sexist in comparison to a hostile sexist man. As long as benevolent sexist ideas permeate society's conceptions of male-female relationships, it is likely that victims of acquaintance rape may not receive the social or legal support they need (Shapiro & Schwarz, 1997).

Research evidence shows that rape can have serious physical and psychological consequences for the victim (Petrak, 2002). Furthermore, studies have found that women who are raped by someone they know are more likely to experience negative symptoms in comparison to stranger rape victims (Shapiro & Schwarz, 1997). The humiliation that acquaintance rape victims have to endure within society and the criminal justice system can further add to the trauma of the event (cf. Weller, 1992). Furthermore, acquaintance rape victims may come to blame themselves for the event and feel disinclined to report its occurrence due to fears of negative reactions from relatives and friends (Bechhofer & Parrot, 1991). Indeed, there is research evidence that acquaintance rape victims are hesitant to report the occurrence of the event to the police (Gross et al., 1998). Thus, benevolent sexist ideas about how women should behave may contribute to the negative experiences of acquaintance rape victims within society and the criminal justice system.

Benevolent sexist attitudes also appear to have a pervasive influence on the attitudes of members of the criminal justice system. As already noted, police officers, judges, lawyers and medical personnel are not very supportive of acquaintance rape victims (Weller, 1992; Holmstrom & Burgess, 1991). Temkin (2000) found that lawyers in the U.K. often consider that acquaintance rape victims are partly to blame

for their own fate. Furthermore, prosecutors are relatively unwilling to prosecute acquaintance rape cases, and defence lawyers often attempt to damage the victim's reputation by portraying her as sexually promiscuous. Clearly, such defences appeal to benevolent sexist ideals concerning women's roles in society, which result in sexual violence being viewed as justified in some cases. It is, therefore, unsurprising that jurors have been found to acquit perpetrators when the victim is successfully portrayed as a 'slut' (Weller, 1992). The results of the current thesis suggest that jurors who claim to have positive (benevolent sexist) attitudes toward women may nonetheless be highly biased against victims of acquaintance rape and acquit or recommend short sentences for the perpetrator (see Study 7).

Of equal concern is the finding that hostile sexist men actually seem to experience heightened rape proclivity when considering cases of acquaintance rape (Viki, 2000). The perception that they will be able to justify and/or get away with acquaintance rape may influence high HS men's proclivity to commit the crime (see Study 4). These findings suggest that if hostile sexists are denied the cultural context that accepts their justifications and excuses for acquaintance rape, the proclivity to commit the crime may be reduced. Thus, changes in societal beliefs concerning how women should behave within intimate relationships may be one way to reduce prejudice against acquaintance rape victims and the proclivity to commit rape amongst hostile sexist males. Although this idea may seem grandiose in the short term, it is possible to develop effective intervention strategies aimed at achieving this goal in the long term. These strategies may include media-based campaigns (e.g. television and radio advertising), lectures and/or seminars (see Flores & Hartlaub, 1998 for a review).

The findings from Studies 8 and 9 suggest that the criminal justice system may have an important part to play in efforts to change people's attitudes towards acquaintance rape victims. The verdicts that are reached by the courts during acquaintance rape trials seem to influence the relationship between BS and perceptions that the victim behaved inappropriately. The fact that the courts often acquit acquaintance rape perpetrators and the police often disbelieve women who have been assaulted by someone they know may result in a "vicious" cycle-of-blame, that often has negative outcomes for the victims. As such, interventions aimed at changing the attitudes of members of the criminal justice system may be the most effective way to break the cycle-of-blame. The hope would be that changes in the attitudes of the police, lawyers and judges may feedback into society and influence members of the general public's reactions to victims of different types of rape.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The present analysis has illustrated the role that both HS and BS may play in people's responses to different types of rape. It has also been shown that victim blame and rape proclivity may be the result of different motivational processes. However, there are a number of limitations within the current research programme and these raise interesting possibilities for future research. This section will, therefore, outline these limitations linking them to suggestions for further research.

An important caveat to consider when interpreting the findings of the current research is the correlational nature of the studies. Although type of rape was manipulated, HS and BS were assessed using a scale that measures pre-existing individual differences. This raises questions of whether or not BS and HS have a causal impact on participants' evaluations of rape victims or vice versa. It is also

possible that a third variable influences all the above factors without any direct relationships among them. Future research could explore the possibility of manipulating both type of rape and BS or HS. This could possibly be done by raising the salience of either BS or HS through a priming procedure (Rudman & Glick, 2001; Schwarz & Clore, 1988; Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 1997). Such a manipulation may reveal whether the salience of BS (or HS) differentially influences people's responses to different victims of different types of rape.

A further issue, related to the above caveat, concerns whether measuring sexism after participants had responded to the scenarios may have led to a reverse causal chain from the one proposed in this thesis. Previous research on prejudice has routinely included prejudice as a post-test measure, in part to avoid alerting participants to the research hypotheses (Devine & Elliott, 1995; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 1997). Moreover, the reverse causality is unlikely in the present research for two reasons. First, across all the studies conducted in this thesis HS and BS scores did not differ as a function of condition (all Fs < 1.0). Second, hostile and benevolent sexism appear to be robust and stable individual differences (Masser & Abrams, 1999), with a one-year retest reliability above $r=.75$ (Masser, 1998). It, therefore, seems more plausible that sexist attitudes cause particular responses to rape scenarios than the other way around. Nevertheless, future researchers could examine whether order variations significantly influence the effects reported in this thesis.

Another possible limitation of the current series of studies is that, to ensure comparability, the same two vignettes (acquaintance vs. stranger) were used across all the studies. It is, therefore possible that the observed results may be due to unintended subtle differences between stimuli. Although Study 5 shows that BS is

related to general beliefs about how women should behave during courtship, future research could examine whether the findings reported in this thesis can be replicated using different methodologies or scenarios. Presenting participants with stranger and acquaintance rape situations is not the only possible method of manipulating perceptions that the victim's behaviour was inappropriate. Manipulating information about the victim's clothing, alcohol consumption and previous sexual history are some possible methods of presenting participants with different types of rape victims and perpetrators (see Pollard, 1992). Viki and Abrams (*in-press-b*) manipulated whether or not the victim was sexually assaulted while cheating on her husband. They found that individuals high in BS attributed more blame to a woman who was raped during an act of infidelity in comparison to a victim in similar circumstances who was not cheating on her partner. These findings suggest that it might be possible to replicate the effects reported in this thesis using different rape scenarios.

Future researchers could also conduct studies that focus on the construct and discriminant validity of the paternalistic chivalry (PC) scale employed in Study 5. For purposes of the current thesis, the scale was developed to illustrate that BS is related to general conservative beliefs about how women should behave during courtship. However, there is potential to develop the scale further by exploring whether or not PC is related to other sexism scales, such as the neo-sexism scale (Tougas et al., 1995). Researchers could also examine whether PC is related scales that measure people's views about male-female intimacy (see Fletcher, 2002). Due to the fact that Study 5 was the first time the PC scale had been employed in a research study, exploratory factor analyses were employed. In future research, confirmatory factor analyses should be employed because such analyses offer stronger evidence of the construct and discriminant validity of an individual difference measure.

In Studies 6 and 7 the potential for BS to account for participants' responses to stranger and acquaintance rape perpetrators was explored. These studies were conducted to investigate whether the effect of BS on victim blame (Study 1, see also Viki, 2000) would replicate on participants' evaluations of the perpetrator. Although the results of these studies complement earlier research, future researchers may want to conduct a more comprehensive study in which evaluations of both the victim and the perpetrator are assessed. Such research would be more ecologically valid because in most judicial contexts perpetrators and victims are not evaluated independently from each other. A study that considers the evaluations of both the victim and the perpetrator would also provide a more direct examination of whether perceptions that the victim's behaviour was inappropriate mediate the relationship between BS and recommended sentences.

Another conceptually interesting question for future researchers concerns whether appropriateness ratings of the behaviour of the victim or appropriateness ratings of the behaviour of the perpetrator mediate the relationship between BS and recommended sentences. The findings from the research reported within this thesis suggest that the former mediational path might be stronger than the latter. Individuals high in BS seem to be mostly disturbed by the inappropriateness of the behaviour of the acquaintance rape victim. Furthermore, the results of Study 5 suggest that individuals high in BS hold strong beliefs about how women ought to behave within intimate relationships. These evaluations of the victim may lead high BS individuals to absolve the perpetrator of any responsibility for the rape.

As already noted, an important caveat of the studies reported in Chapter 7 is that no data were collected for a control condition in which no information about the verdict is given to participants. Although subsequent analyses were performed using

"control" conditions from earlier studies, further research in which participants are randomly allocated to the conditions within the same research context is needed. This research could also explore possible psychological mechanism that account for the results obtained in Studies 8 and 9. For example, participants in the not-guilty condition may have inferred *normative social support* for their attitudes towards rape victims. This may have then reinforced participants' benevolently sexist views about male-female relationships. Alternatively, the not-guilty condition may have resulted in a *reframing of the event* as not being really a rape. In this situation, the woman may be negatively evaluated because she is perceived as having "dragged" an innocent man to court. Such behaviour could also be evaluated as inappropriate by high BS individuals. As such, future researchers could examine whether the above perceptions mediate the effects of legal verdicts on high BS individuals' evaluations of acquaintance rape victims.

The results of Study 1 and the results from Viki's (2000) research suggest that rape myth acceptance may be too general a concept to account for the differences in participants' responses to victims of stranger and acquaintance rape (see also Abrams et al., *in press*). Rape myth acceptance, as a construct, seems to measure general attitudes concerning rape. As such, RMA may be limited in its ability to differentiate between different types of rape. As noted in Chapter 1, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) criticise the RMA construct for its failure to distinguish between issues of stranger and acquaintance rape. It is possible that there are different myths concerning different types of rape (i.e. stranger rape myths and acquaintance/date rape myths). Thus, future researchers could attempt to differentiate and measure stranger rape myth acceptance and acquaintance/date rape myth acceptance.

It is important to note, however, that the current rape myth acceptance scales remain useful instruments especially if one is interested in measuring general attitudes toward rape and rape victims. In fact, rape myth acceptance was found to be a significant predictor of victim blame even after the effects hostile sexism and benevolent sexism had been controlled for (Study 1). The general beliefs about rape that are measured by rape myth acceptance scales may serve different functions (Bohner et al., 1998b). These functions (just world beliefs, illusion of invulnerability, justifications of aggressive tendencies) may be more directly related to judgments about particular rape scenarios. Furthermore, the functional beliefs measured by rape myth acceptance scales may be empirically related to, but operate relatively independently from sexist attitudes. Thus, rape myth acceptance is both a more direct measure of attitudes toward rape, which may explain the robustness of its effects, and also a more general measure, which may explain why its effects are less differentiated across target scenarios.

An interesting question to explore would be whether the effects of BS and HS observed in this thesis replicate in different cultures. In conceptualising sexism, Glick et al. (2000) argued that ambivalent feelings towards women arise from social conditions that are present in virtually all human societies. Indeed, Glick et al.'s cross-cultural study strongly suggests that this might be the case. As such, it is possible that the evaluations of rape victims observed in the current thesis may replicate in different cultural contexts. To the extent that men and women in different cultures endorse HS and BS, these attitudes (rather culture per se) may influence their responses to different types of rape victims in a manner similar to that reported in this thesis. Given Glick et al.'s (2000) findings concerning the presence of ambivalent sexism within different cultures, such an expectation is not entirely implausible.

Finally, the current researcher is aware of the limitations of scenario studies. However, this approach is likely to be as close to real life behaviour as we can get within reasonable ethical limits. The scenario method also has some strengths. If it is true that people judge aspects of a situation based on their chronic beliefs, there is high content validity in a method that requires people to vividly imagine a realistic situation. This may provide a closer approximation to people's reactions in relevant situations (e.g. being told about such an event by a peer, through a media report, or by being jury member) compared with some alternative methods which are further from real life [e.g. Malamuth's (1981) abstract and hypothetical measure of rape proclivity, see Bohner et al. (1998)].

SUMMARY

In sum, the current thesis introduces an original way of examining people's perceptions of rape. The role of benevolent (as well as hostile) sexism in perceptions of rape is explored. As such, the findings of this thesis have important theoretical implications for research into sexual violence, sexism and prejudice. It appears to be the case that apparently "positive" attitudes that idealise women in traditional roles have a negative impact on people's evaluations of victims of certain types of rape. These findings are in line with Glick et al.'s (2000) argument that benevolent attitudes towards women are a form of sexism. The results of the current thesis are also consistent with the feminist argument that rape functions as a tool of social control through which women are "forced" into restricted and subservient social roles.

There are important social and legal implications within the findings of the current thesis. Benevolent sexist attitudes often go unchallenged in broader society because they are perceived as pro-social. However, as long as such attitudes permeate

society's conceptions of male-female relationships, victims of acquaintance rape may not receive the social or legal support they need. Furthermore, acquaintance rape victims may also blame themselves for the event and, therefore, fail to report its occurrence due to fears of negative reactions from relatives and friends. Also of concern is the finding that men who are high (vs. low) in HS reported a higher proclivity for rape when considering cases of acquaintance rape. Such findings suggest that a social climate that condones violence against certain types of women may encourage males to be aggressive against those types of women. Finally, the findings from this thesis suggest that the criminal justice system may have an important part to play in changing people's attitudes toward acquaintance rape victims.

Despite the theoretical and practical implications of the above findings, there are important limitations within the research reported within this thesis. Furthermore, these limitations need to be addressed in future research. Future studies may take an experimental approach to further establish the casual direction of the findings reported in this thesis. Future researchers could also use different vignettes and methodologies to explore the robustness of the effects of BS on evaluations of victims and perpetrators of rape. The discriminant and construct validity of the PC scale could be examined in future studies. Further research is also needed to examine the psychological mechanisms that underlie the effects of legal verdicts on high BS individuals' judgements of acquaintance rape victims. Finally, future researchers could examine whether the effects reported in this thesis generalise across different cultural contexts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Rape Scenarios

Acquaintance Rape Scenario

Please read the following text carefully and, as honestly as possible, answer the questions that follow.

Jason and Kathy met and got acquainted at a party thrown by a mutual friend. Since they had a lot in common, they spent the night laughing, dancing, talking and flirting with each other. At the end of the party, Kathy invited Jason over to her apartment to talk some more and have coffee. When they got to her room, Kathy started kissing and caressing Jason. Jason then grabbed Kathy and tried to take her clothes off in order to have sex with her. At this point Kathy pushed him away and asked him to stop. However, Jason did not listen to her, and instead used force to hold her down and eventually penetrated her.

Stranger Rape Scenario

Please read the following text carefully and, as honestly as possible, answer the questions that follow.

After meeting her friends for coffee one evening, Kathy left the restaurant and began walking towards her apartment. As she was walking, she was approached by a man who introduced himself as Jason and asked if he could walk her home. Kathy politely declined the offer. However, Jason insisted on walking her, stating that it wasn't safe for a woman to walk home on her own. Kathy just ignored him and carried on walking. Jason didn't take the hint, and kept walking alongside Kathy, asking her for her name and phone number. When they got to an unlit part of the street, Jason grabbed Kathy and tried to take her clothes off in order to have sex with her. At this point, Kathy pushed him away and asked him to stop. However, Jason did not listen to her and instead used force to hold her down and eventually penetrated her.

Appendix B: The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Below are a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicated the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement (***strongly disagree*** = 1 up to ***strongly agree*** = 7).

	Strongly Disagree						**Strongly Agree**
1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Women are too easily offended.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Men are incomplete without women.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix C: The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale

For each of the following statements, please indicate how much you agree or disagree by circling a number on the scale that follows the statement. (***Strongly Disagree*** = 1 and ***Strongly Agree*** = 7).

	Strongly Disagree						**Strongly Agree**
1. In order to protect the male it should be difficult to prove that a rape has occurred.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Women are conditioned by sexist attitudes in our society to be rape victims.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Most charges of rape are unfounded.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. In general, rape victims exhibit more provocative behaviour than victims of other kinds of violent crime.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Most rapists are over-sexed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Many women really want to be raped.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. A basic motive of a rapist is not so much sexual as it is to humiliate the victim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. No healthy adult female who resists vigorously can be raped by an unarmed man.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Women often provoke rape through their appearance or behaviour.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. A charge of rape two days after the act has occurred is probably not rape.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Any woman who is a "tease" or leads a man on is just asking to be raped.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. A woman should be responsible for preventing her own rape.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Most women who claim they were raped by a man they knew probably consented at the time and then changed their mind afterward.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. A raped woman is an innocent victim, not a responsible one	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. The defence in a rape trial should *not* be able to submit as evidence the sexual history of the alleged victim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Within a marriage there can be no such crime as rape by a husband, since a wife's "consent" to the husband is a permanent part of the marriage vows and cannot be withdrawn	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. If a woman is going to be raped, she might as well relax and enjoy it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Economic threats (for example, an employee threatened with the loss of her job if she doesn't have sex with her boss) should be treated legally on an equal basis with threats of force in cases of rape.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. A woman can be raped against her will.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. In forcible rape the victim never causes the crime.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix D: The Impression Management Scale

For each of the following statements, please indicate how much you agree or disagree by circling a number on the scale that follows the statement. (***Strongly Disagree*** = 1 and ***Strongly Agree*** = 7).

	Strongly Disagree						**Strongly Agree**
1. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I always declare everything when asked by police or customs officials.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. When I was young I sometimes stole things.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I never read sexy books or magazines.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I never take things that don't belong to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I have never damaged a library book or store merchandise without reporting it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I don't gossip about other people's business.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix E:

Regression Analyses on the Effects of BS, Type of Rape and Gender on Victim Blame

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Correlations		
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	-1.222	.493		-2.478	.016			
	Type of Rape	.831	.225	.392	3.696	.000	.425	.428	.391
	Gender	-2.89E-02	.228	-.014	-.127	.899	-.076	-.016	-.013
	Benevolent Sexism	.327	.095	.371	3.432	.001	.408	.402	.363
2	(Constant)	-2.558	1.107		-2.312	.024			
	Type of Rape	1.635	.703	.772	2.325	.024	.425	.292	.233
	Gender	.833	.694	.393	1.201	.235	-.076	.156	.120
	Benevolent Sexism	1.812E-02	.377	.021	.048	.962	.408	.006	.005
	BS X Type of Rape	.452	.187	.839	2.416	.019	.461	.302	.242
	BS X Gender	-.255	.189	-.476	-1.351	.182	.349	-.175	-.135
	Gender X Type of Rape	-.539	.438	-.566	-1.232	.223	.190	-.160	-.123
3	(Constant)	-2.594	1.114		-2.329	.023			
	Type of Rape	1.684	.711	.795	2.369	.021	.425	.299	.238
	Gender	.831	.697	.392	1.192	.238	-.076	.156	.120
	Benevolent Sexism	.585	.960	.662	.609	.545	.408	.080	.061
	BS X Type of Rape	6.889E-02	.625	.128	.110	.913	.461	.015	.011
	BS X Gender	-.625	.606	-1.165	-1.031	.307	.349	-.135	-.104
	Gender X Type of Rape	-.552	.440	-.579	-1.254	.215	.190	-.164	-.126
	BS X Gender X Type of Rape	.244	.380	.767	.642	.523	.397	.085	.065

Appendix F: The Paternalistic Chivalry Scale

Below are a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships. Please indicated the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement (***strongly disagree*** = 1 up to ***strongly agree*** = 7).

	Strongly Disagree						**Strongly Agree**
1. It is up to the man to decide where the couple are to have their dinner date.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
*2. During a date, the man should pull chairs out for the woman to sit.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
*3. A man should be expected to pay for a woman on the first date.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
*4. A good man open doors for a woman when out on a date.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. It is up to a man to ask a woman out on date	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
*6. It is up to the man to make sure a woman enjoys herself during a date.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
*7. A woman can not be expected to pay on the first date.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
*8. During a date, a man should protect the woman if she is being harassed by other men.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. It is up to a man to initiate sexual contact with a woman.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. It is inappropriate for a woman to kiss a man first during a date.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. A man should make the first move to have sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. A woman should not make it obvious that she wants to sleep with a man.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. It is inappropriate for a woman to make sexual advances towards a man.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. It is men, not women, who should make the first move to have sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. It is not right for a woman to kiss a man first.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. A woman should not kiss a man unless he has already kissed her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Note * = Items dropped from the scale for the final analysis.

Appendix G

The Factor Structure of the BS, HS and PC Subscales

Pattern Matrix[a]

	Factor		
	PC	HS	BS
No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman			.752
In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.			.523
People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.			.723
Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess			.620
Women should be cherished and protected by men.			.712
Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.			.790
Men are incomplete without women			.792
A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man			.580
Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.			.494
Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives			.456
Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.			.424
Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."		.732	
Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.		.718	
Women are too easily offended.		.707	
Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men.		.530	
Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.		.555	
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.		.634	
Women exaggerate problems they have at work		.720	
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.		.543	
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.		.745	
Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.		.527	
Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.		.623	
It is up to the man to decide where the couple are to have their dinner date.	.406		
It is up to a man to ask a woman out on date	.474		
It is up to a man to initiate sexual contact with a woman.	.689		
It is inappropriate for a woman to kiss a man first during a date.	.682		
A man should make the first move to have sex.	.795		
A woman should not make it obvious that she wants to sleep with a man.	.412		
It is inappropriate for a woman to make sexual advances towards a man.	.755		
It is men, not women, who should make the first move to have sex.	.812		
It is not right for a woman to kiss a man first.	.827		
A woman should not kiss a man unless he has already kissed her.	.852		

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Note * All factor loadings less than .30 are not displayed.

Appendix H: The Rape Scenarios (Studies 8 & 9)

The Guilty Scenario

Please read the following description of a rape case that came before the high court recently and answer the questions that follow.

The court heard that Jason and Kathy met and got acquainted at a party thrown by a mutual friend. Since they had a lot in common, they spent the night laughing, dancing, talking and flirting with each other. At the end of the party, Kathy invited Jason over to her apartment to talk some more and have coffee. When they got to her room, Kathy started kissing and caressing Jason. Jason then grabbed Kathy and tried to take her clothes off in order to have sex with her. At this point Kathy pushed him away and asked him to stop. However, Jason did not listen to her, and instead used force to hold her down and eventually penetrated her. The jury found the defendant (Jason) guilty in this case.

The Not Guilty Scenario

Please read the following description of a rape case that came before the high court recently and answer the questions that follow.

The court heard that Jason and Kathy met and got acquainted at a party thrown by a mutual friend. Since they had a lot in common, they spent the night laughing, dancing, talking and flirting with each other. At the end of the party, Kathy invited Jason over to her apartment to talk some more and have coffee. When they got to her room, Kathy started kissing and caressing Jason. Jason then grabbed Kathy and tried to take her clothes off in order to have sex with her. At this point Kathy pushed him away and asked him to stop. However, Jason did not listen to her, and instead used force to hold her down and eventually penetrated her. The jury found the defendant (Jason) not guilty in this case.