POLICE ATTITUDES TOWARD RAPE

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Research has demonstrated that the general public accepts many rape myths and that rape attitudes are strongly connected to other deeply held and pervasive attitudes. However, it has not been clear whether police officers reflected similar attitudes.

This research attempted to ascertain if police share the same antecedents of rape myth acceptance as the general public. Using officers from two police departments, it was demonstrated that attitudes regarding sex role stereotyping, sexual conservatism, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and adversarial sexual beliefs were significantly correlated with acceptance of rape myths. However, police were more pro-victim \( p < .01 \) in their attitudes as compared to the general public. Officers who received specialized rape-related training were not significantly different in rape attitudes from those officers who had not received training.
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POLICE ATTITUDES TOWARD RAPE

In 1979, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Criminal Reports revealed that there were 75,989 forcible rapes reported to police agencies in the United States. This figure represented a 13.2% increase in the rate over the previous year and greatly exceeded the 37,270 reported rapes for 1970, and the 16,860 reported rapes in 1960 (F.B.I. Uniform Crime Reports, 1979). While the F.B.I. statistics have included only the incidence of reported rapes, it has been suggested by several investigators that for every one reported rape there have been from three to ten times that number which have gone unreported (Brownmiller, 1975; Chappel, Geis, Schafer & Siegel, 1974; Csida & Csida, 1974; Hick & Platt, 1976; Silver & Stonestreet, 1978). Stratton (1975) reported in the F.B.I. Law Enforcement Bulletin the view that societal attitudes toward rape and the victim of rape may have contributed substantially to the suspected gross under-reporting.

The effect of public attitudes toward the victim, however, has appeared to influence more than the decision to report the crime or to remain silent. A review of the literature revealed a consensus that attitudes toward rape may have figured significantly in other aspects of the victim's life such as feelings of self-esteem, general psychological

While cognizant of the impact societal beliefs regarding rape may have upon victims and victims' behavior, the majority of researchers have failed to systematically investigate the various dimensions of rape attitudes (Field, 1978). Instead, results were obtained from data based on a few clinical cases or unsystematic interviews plagued with methodological weaknesses (Holmstrom & Burgess, 1978) and involved only global descriptions of negative versus positive attitudes toward victims. A large portion of the research done to date has lacked conceptual basis to integrate and explain the findings (Veronen, Kilpatrick & Resick, 1979).

An exception to this trend has been the research efforts of Burt (1980). In research involving a random sample of 598 Minnesota adults, the author provided a conceptual framework for understanding attitudinal, personality, experiential, and demographic correlates of victim-distancing attitudes in the instance of rape. Regarding attitudinal correlates, she specifically tested the hypothesis that acceptance of rape myths, which have been shown by previous researchers to increase the tendency for individuals to blame victims for their own victimization (Burt, 1978; Jones & Aronson, 1973;
Weis & Borges, 1973), can be predicted from the following: (a) sex role stereotyping, (b) sexual conservatism, (c) adversarial sexual beliefs, and (d) acceptance of interpersonal violence.

Sex role stereotyping or attitudes toward women had previously been found by another researcher (Field, 1978) to vary directly with the rape myth acceptance or restrictive definitions of rape. Burt, therefore, hypothesized similar results. Sexual conservatism referred to restrictions on sexual behaviors such as appropriateness of sexual partners or acts. For an example, an extreme position on this variable would hold that only heterosexual, legally sanctioned, penile-vaginal intercourse was acceptable. The researcher's hypothesis included a positive correlation between those scoring high on sexual conservatism and rape myth acceptance. Adversarial sexual beliefs referred to the expectation that sexual relationships were basically exploitative, that each partner was not to be trusted and was considered to be manipulative. To a person holding an extreme position on this variable, rape would not be considered to be an unexpected or horrifying occurrence, nor one justifying sympathy. Significant positive correlations were anticipated between those scoring high on this variable and on the rape myth acceptance. Acceptance of interpersonal violence referred to the idea that coercion or force were legitimate ways to gain compliance and were specifically acceptable in sexual
or otherwise intimate relationships. Since much of the previous literature suggested rape to be an act of violence rather than a sexual act, the author hypothesized a strong relationship on this variable with the acceptance of rape myths.

Personality, experiential, and demographic characteristics were hypothesized to be more indirect antecedents of acceptance of rape myths, but nevertheless, were believed to have predictive validity. Using a regression analysis of the interview data, the results obtained on the attitudinal variables indicated that the higher the sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal violence, the greater the respondent's acceptance of rape myths. Acceptance of interpersonal violence was the strongest predictor of acceptance of rape myths. These data supported Burt's contention that attitudinal variables were to be considered direct antecedents to rape myth acceptance. Analysis of demographic variables indicated that younger and better educated respondents revealed less stereotypic, pro-violence, and adversarial attitudes as well as less rape myth acceptance. Of the three personality variables employed by the researcher (own sex role satisfaction, self-esteem, and romantic self-image), none were found to significantly correlate with rape myth acceptance. And finally, the experiential variables, as measured by particular responses on the interview
questionnaire, were found to display the least consistent and least important effects. However, Burt found the combined impact of all the antecedent variables explained 46% of the variance in rape myth acceptance.

Burt's study provided an opportunity to explore the predictive validity of feminists' ideas that there exists a rape-supportive atmosphere in the United States. The overall results of the data suggested two implications:
(a) American society does embrace many rape myths, and
(b) there may exist strong relationships between rape attitudes and other attitudes such as acceptance of interpersonal violence, distrust of the opposite sex, and sex role stereotyping. In her discussion of the results, the author made the following comments:

When over half of the sampled individuals agree with statements such as 'A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on the first date implies she is willing to have sex' and 'In the majority of rapes, the victim was promiscuous or had a bad reputation,' and when the same number think that 50% or more of reported rapes are reported as rape only because the woman was angry with or was trying to cover up an illegitimate pregnancy, the world is indeed not a safe place for rape victims. (p. 229)

While the results of the Burt (1980) study painted what might be considered a bleak picture by suggesting a rather
persuasive negative attitude toward victims, the researcher offered a final optimistic statement. Specifically, she stated that by developing an accurate account of the theoretical understanding of rape-related attitudes and assultive behavior, perhaps efforts aimed at social change would be more effective.

Burt's (1980) research, while providing much in the way of increasing knowledge of rape-related attitudes, was typical of much of the early research that was based on the data collected from samples of the general population. Only recently have researchers focused on belief systems held by particular subsections of the populace (Field, 1978). The medical community, rape crisis organizations, and law enforcement agencies appear to have received some attention in the literature. This trend toward targeting specific populations may prove to be a valuable source of information, as it has been suggested that these institutions and/or agencies and the belief systems of the lay people and professionals associated with them may be salient influencing factors in a victim's overall perception of rape.

Accordingly, Holmstrom and Burgess (1978), two of the more prolific writers in rape research, devoted their recent book to the topic. In The Victim of Rape: Institutional Reactions, these researchers concluded from the data that "the institutions that are to help victims can at the same time further victimize them . . . it is only knowing what
features are upsetting that we are in a position to provide support to victims and to recommend constructive change" (p. vii).

Of the three agencies previously mentioned, the rape crisis organizations have most consistently been found to hold favorable or generally positive attitudes toward the victims (Holmstrom & Burgess, 1978). This trend is not surprising since the primary function of crisis centers is to aid and assist victims in a variety of ways. For example, in addition to immediate and long-term counseling services, the organizations provide other victim-advocacy programs such as court-watching, speaker bureaus to educate the community regarding rape issues, and occasionally providing shelters for victims who could be in danger should they return to their homes following the rape (Brunson & Weel, 1976). Since crisis centers have been suggested as a source of positive support for victims, investigations to examine the exact components of a "positive" attitude would logically appear in order. However, at the present time such investigations seem to be lacking.

While not examining attitudinal components per se, Best and Kilpatrick (1977) did investigate the psychological characteristics of a group of individuals who volunteered for one such organization. Employing a battery of psychological tests, the researchers found crisis counselors to be "well adjusted women who were openminded, interested in
helping other women, nonanxious, relatively assertive, pro-feminist, and whose mood of vigor and activity leads them to both seek out and enjoy new experiences" (p. 1133).

In contrast to the attitudes victims may encounter in interactions with crisis centers, the attitudes and belief systems held by those professionals of the medical community have been shown to be less favorable (Holmstrom & Burgess, 1978; MacKellar, 1975; Nass, 1977). Although the bulk of the information has been found in anecdotal accounts of emergency room situations, the documentations appeared to be consistent with one another. Basically, investigators concluded that victims may fear destructive attitudes and insensitivity from the medical personnel which they must turn to for treatment, and that the victims' fears may be realistic (Kreutner, Kilpatrick, Best & Veronen, 1978; Williams & Williams, 1977).

The attitudes of the medical profession were indirectly assessed by Holmstrom and Burgess (1978) who observed the interactions between physicians and victims in 65 rape cases from Boston City Hospital. The investigators rated the overt reactions of physicians in the presence of the patients. While eight of the 65 overt response styles by the physicians were rated by the experienced observers as actually "negative" due to some concrete act in the patient's presence, 42 of the remaining 65 responses were considered to be "professionally polite" defined as "concentration on accomplishing
the technical job at hand but often lacking sympathy display toward the victims" (p. 65).

Kreutner et al. (1978) considered the potential advantages which could be reaped when a more "victim supportive" attitude was present in the medical professional. For instance, improved treatment of the victim's psychological and physical needs have been indicated when negative attitudes were replaced by more positive or supportive ones.

Williams and Williams (1977) captured the essence of conclusions reached by other researchers regarding the present attitude of the medical community as well as recognizing the potential contributions which may be made by this same group.

The emergency room can offer excellent physical and mental health care for the victim of rape. Too often this potential, however, is not actualized. The attitude which professional workers have about rape can be acted out when caring for the victim, resulting in disbelief, curiosity, moralizing, and even a rough pelvic examination. Rape victims should not be subjected to further trauma by professional workers at a time when help is so desperately needed. . . .

[however] she [the professional nurse] is in a key position to promote changes in the treatment of rape victims . . . her contributions can be the missing link in a problem long neglected in our society. (p. 99)
As with the medical community, a review of the literature revealed a lack of well controlled research regarding attitudes and belief systems of law enforcement personnel toward rape. What did frequently appear in the professional journals, however, were numerous documentations in the form of case histories of seemingly inadequate, unsympathetic, or impersonal treatment of victims by police agencies (Veronen, Kilpatrick & Resick, 1979). The plethora of articles in the popular press also expressed the dissatisfaction with police treatment of victims from crisis center workers, feminist groups, as well as rape researchers (Brownmiller, 1975; Stratton, 1975; Walker & Brodsky, 1978).

Of those writers who suggested that police attitudes toward victims are of a negative nature, as inferred from treatment afforded to the victim, Nass (1977) represented the extreme position. He referred to the treatment victims may experience at the hands of the police as "a degration ceremony barely second to the actual rape" (p. 64). In a similar vein, MacKellar (1975) referred to calloused police who were often blame-oriented in the questioning of victims. Several investigators have addressed the "inappropriateness" of questions directed toward the victims during the course of police interrogations. Question such as: "Are you sure you didn't smile at him?," Did you enjoy it?," and "When did you lose your virginity?" are felt to be indicative of an overall negative and nonsupportive attitude toward the
victim by the officer asking the questions (MacKellar, 1975, p. 83).

Stratton (1975) suggested that law enforcement personnel often copied the traditional bias of society to distrust the victim rather than her attacker, and in general negative attitudes held by police officers have been seen as mere reflections of society's negative attitudes. Goldstein (1976), reporting in a Criminal Justice Monograph, also suggested that the basic lack of trust in the victim's statement by police was a result of societal stigma associated with rape. In another publication sponsored by the National Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the hypothesis that the police reflected the values of society was given as a necessary issue to consider as state legislatures attempt to implement new rape legislation (Forcible Rape, 1979). The publication continued with an emphasis on the importance of exploring negative police attitudes by stating that ultimately, the attitudes and commitments of police and prosecutors may determine the impact of legislation. It concluded by suggesting that, unless these enforcement personnel believe victims and aggressively pursue cases, the more refined legal issues will never be raised.

Other investigators have taken a somewhat different view of the underlying causal agent for alleged negative attitudes held by police officers. Brownmiller (1975) stated
that such attitudes may be a direct result of the officers' choice of vocation and subsequent exposure to biased, "anti-rape" police manuals. Brownmiller cited a California police publication which instructed officers to consider rapes as not legitimate if reported after 24 hours from the commission of the crime. Other investigators (Field, 1978; Rohrbaugh, 1979) who shared the opinion that the training police received predisposed them toward a negative attitude toward rape often cited other texts as support for their theory. For example, O'Hara (1973) in a textbook on procedures of criminal investigation of rape cases, told recruits:

Where a vigorous woman alleges ravishment, it is expected that signs of violence such as wounds, bruises and scratches will be present and their absence should induce a moderate degree of skepticism, unless the girl avers that she fainted from fear, became panic stricken or was otherwise rendered incapable of physical resistance. The acts and demeanor of the female immediately after the alleged commission should be subjected to very critical investigation in these cases. (p. 305)

More often than actual "anti-rape" training, however, an absence of specialized training with regard to victims' psychological and emotional response to rape was reported as engendering a negative attitude in the police officers (Field, 1978; Stratton, 1975). The relative lack of specialized training for rape was demonstrated by Chappell (1976).
In a national survey, 90% of the 234 law enforcement agencies contacted responded to a questionnaire regarding rape. Of the individual respondents within those agencies, only 60% had received any in-service training relating to rape beyond the preliminary orientation given when they began their employment. In addition, only 90% of those agencies surveyed provided written guidelines for interviewing victims while, at the same time, a majority of the sample thought such guidelines would be useful if made available.

As was previously mentioned, empirical examination of police attitudes toward rape is indeed scarce. Recently, however, Field (1978) reported on data obtained on a sample of 254 police officers. The data were collected as a larger project which was a comparative analysis of police, rapists, crisis counselors, and citizens' attitudes toward rape. Generally, the investigation was designed to study the dimensionality of rape attitudes, the relationship between perceptions of rape, background characteristics of the four groups, and differences between these groups with regards to rape attitudes. Instruments employed included an attitude scale and a rape knowledge test developed for the project by the researcher, a short form of Spence and Helmreich's Attitude Toward Women Scale, and a personal data sheet.

While the original source should be consulted for data on all groups and all variables, a brief summary of Field's findings regarding the police sample follows. An examination
of between-group data revealed that police were more similar to rapists rather than the citizens or counselors in four of the eight factor analytic clusters of attitudinal variables. The police and rapist showed no difference on the following: (a) rape is motivated by power, (b) motivation for rape is sexual, (c) the perceived "normality" of the rapist, and (d) the perceived attractiveness of the victim after the rape. Both groups saw the victim as less attractive following the rape.

A within-group analysis revealed that one attitudinal variable, victim precipitation, could be predicted by selected characteristics. Sex and race were the predictors, with race being the most important. White officers were more likely to perceive the rape as being caused by the victim's behavior or appearance. Further within-group analysis revealed that participation in rape-related training programs was associated with the perception of a woman's behavior during rape. Those officers who had not participated in these programs were inclined to feel that one of the victim's prime responsibilities was to resist assault. On the other hand, those officers who had received rape-casework training were of the opinion that women should not resist a violent attack—an attitude shared with crisis counselors. These data suggested the possibility that individual's attitudes are subject to change and has important implications for those police administrators considering the potential advantages of implementing training programs.
However, the research had some limitations. The nature, extent, and length of specialized rape-related training programs were not ascertained. Therefore, statements about the generalizability or lack of generalizability of the findings were limited.

The purpose of the present study will be to examine attitudinal, demographic, and experiential correlates of police officers' perceptions of rape and rape victims. Using the Burt (1980) study of a random sample of citizens to provide the conceptual framework for the investigation, the present study will target police officers only. In addition to generating normative data for a population which (as a function of their vocation) may have a great deal of impact upon victims, comparisons will be made between the police sample in this present study and a sample of the general population as reported by Burt. It is hypothesized that the police share with the general public similar attitudes which are associated with acceptance of many rape myths and that the two groups will not be significantly different in the degree of rape myth acceptance.

In a final focus of this investigation, the possible effects of specialized training which the officer may have received regarding rape will be examined. As was first supported by Field (1978), it is hypothesized that the participation in such training may change the attitude of police officers and, therefore, those respondents will
differ from officers who have not received specialized training.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 34 law enforcement officers from two police departments serving Denton, Texas, a town with a population of 51,750 citizens. The sample consisted of 16 patrol officers and 8 superiors (including lieutenants, detectives, and sargents) from the city police department, 6 patrol officers and 4 superiors from the campus police department of North Texas State University.

The mean age of the subjects was 31.3 years ($sd = 6.06$) with an average educational level of 14.1 years ($sd = 1.58$). Thirty of the 34 respondents were married. All respondents were Caucasian and 90% were male officers. The average number of years on the police force was 5.3 years ($sd = 4.10$), with 17 of the 34 officers having served with another department for an average of 3 years.

Thirty-three per cent of the officers ($N = 11$) had testified in a rape case, while only 50% ($N = 17$) had interviewed more than 2 victims as a part of their official duties. Sixty-eight percent of the respondents ($N = 23$) had received specialized training regarding rape, although for 9 of the 23 officers who had received training, the length of training was 4 hours or less in duration.
Materials

The following instruments were utilized: (a) Burt's Four-Part Attitude Scale (Burt, 1978); (b) Burt's Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Burt, 1978); (c) Personal Information Data Sheet, and (d) abbreviated version of Burt's Experience Correlate Questionnaire (Burt, 1978).

Burt's Four-Part Attitude Scale (see Appendix B) was employed as a measure for assessing rape-related beliefs. Initially the Attitude Scale was developed for use in a study of a random sample of 598 Minnesota adults, and the final form consisted of 34 items divided into four subsections which were designed to assess attitudes and beliefs of respondents concerning: (a) sex role stereotyping, (b) adversarial sexual beliefs, (c) sexual conservatism, and (d) acceptance of interpersonal violence. All items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (scored 1) to strongly disagree (scored 7).

Burt's Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (see Appendix C), also developed for the Minnesota sample, was administered to the subjects. To remain consistent with the original scale, 11 of the 19 items were scored using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (scored 1) to strongly disagree (scored 7). Eight items were marked "almost all, about 3/4, about 1/2, about 1/4, and none" and the remaining 6 items were marked as "always, frequently, sometimes, rarely, and never." Typical items were: "A healthy woman can resist
rape if she wants to," and "In a majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation."

The Personal Information Data Sheet (see Appendix D) was an instrument designed to collect demographic information useful for the interpretation of the subject's responses. While including questions used by Burt (1978) and Field (1978), the Personal Information Sheet was expanded. Additional questions concerning special training that officers may have received pertaining to rape were included. In addition, several questions regarding previous law enforcement employment history and possible influences of law enforcement experiences also appear in this expanded form. A final segment of the Personal Information Sheet assessed the officers' perception of victim's satisfaction with their performance in rape cases.

Burt's Experience Correlate Questionnaire (see Appendix E) was administered to ascertain the effect that particularly selected experiences may have had upon rape-related attitudes and acceptance of the rape myth. Of the original questionnaire employed, only three variables were included. The three correlates focused on experiences of the subjects as they occurred in their private life and therefore not as a function of their vocation. In general terms, the correlates were: (a) previous opportunities to interact with a victim, (b) subject's experience with intrafamilial violence, and (c) subject's exposure to media treatments of sexual assault.
Procedure

Volunteers from both departments were recruited during the mandatory "up-date" meeting in which policy changes and duty assignments are discussed. Three recruitment efforts for each department were made so as to contact personnel working on the day, evening, and night shifts. All officers present at the meetings were asked to participate in a research project concerning attitudes toward rape and victims of rape. Participants were assured of the anonymity of their responses to the questionnaires and were asked to sign an informed consent statement (see Appendix A).

Following a brief introduction of the purpose of the study, subjects were given an envelope containing the four assessment measures. The subjects were asked to complete the enclosed questionnaires and return the envelope and its contents to the examiner.

Results

Pearson product-moment correlations are utilized to ascertain the degree of relationship between the four attitudinal measures and the rape myth acceptance measure. T tests are employed to test the hypothesis that the police samples are not significantly different on the attitudinal measures and the rape myth acceptance scale from the general public. Additional t tests are used to test the hypothesis that those officers who had specialized training in rape-related issues would differ significantly on the rape myth
acceptance scores from those officers who had not received such training.

The data regarding the topics covered during training sessions is presented in Table 1. The topic which receives the most attention during training is evidence gathering procedures (96% responded in the affirmative) while medical information concerning possible physical trauma which may be seen in a victim receives the least attention (44% responded in the affirmative).

Table 1
Topics Covered During Rape-Related Training Sessions and Percentages of Use

<table>
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<th>Topics</th>
<th>Percentage of Use</th>
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<tr>
<td>Evidence gathering procedures</td>
<td>96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Report writing</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emotional responses of victims to the rape</td>
<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>How to obtain statements from victims in a crisis state</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical information concerning possible trauma which may be seen in victims</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information concerning victim services in the community</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information about process of criminal justice system</td>
<td>61</td>
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</table>
Respondents indicate that other police personnel provide the source of training 78% of the time with crisis counselors, doctors, and social workers involved in training procedures 43%, 22%, and 17% of the time, respectively. One-hundred percent of the respondents who had received training indicate they desired additional training and 100% of those who had not received training indicate that they would participate if training were made available to them.

Inspection of the experiential correlate questionnaire reveals that 59% of the respondents (N = 20) had personally known a victim. As a group, the respondents score in the low range on experience with interfamilial violence. The average score was 4.82 on a scale ranging from a minimum of 3 to a maximum of 15. Of a possible maximum score of 20 exposures to the subject of rape from television, motion pictures, plays, and newspapers combined, the respondents had an average of 14.74 exposures.

Table 2 presents the mean scores and standard deviations of the four attitudinal variables and the rape myth acceptance scale from both the law enforcement officers and Burt's (1980) sample. For the police, all four attitudinal measures show a positive, significant correlation (p < .05) with the rape myth acceptance scale scores.
Table 2
Mean Scores, Standard Deviations, and Correlations of Attitude Scales with Rape Myth Acceptance Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Mean Scores</th>
<th>Standard Deviations</th>
<th>Correlations with Rape Myth Acceptance Scores</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sex role stereotyping</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>p &lt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adversarial sexual beliefs</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual conservatism</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>p &lt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance of personal violence</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>p &lt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape myth acceptance</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>14.6</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data reveals that the police are significantly different from the general population on 2 of the 4 attitudinal measures. Specifically, the police are less likely to endorse sex role stereotypic statements (p < .001) and less likely to hold adversarial sex beliefs (p < .001). Differences on the measures of acceptance of interpersonal violence and sexual conservatism are not significant at the p = .05 level. However, scores on the rape myth acceptance scale are found to be significantly different (p < .01) with the police scoring in the direction of less likely to accept rape myths. Finally, the difference between group mean scores on the rape myth acceptance scale for those officers who had received training compared to those officers who had not received training is not significant (p > .2).
Discussion

The results of this research partially supports the first hypothesis, that the police share with the general public similar attitudes which are associated with acceptance of rape myths, and that the police will not differ significantly in their degree of rape myth acceptance scores. The second hypothesis, that those individual police officers who have had specialized rape-related training will be significantly different on attitudinal measures from those officers who have not received specialized training, is not supported by the results of this research. Each hypothesis will be considered separately.

First, it appears that the police and the public do share one important similarity. Both groups show a significant, positive correlation between certain attitudinal measures (sex role stereotyping, sexual conservatism, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal violence) and the acceptance of rape myths. This may imply that for police, as well as citizens in general, rape attitudes are strongly connected to other deeply held and pervasive attitudes. This finding appears to provide additional support of Burt's (1980) original hypothetical model of the antecedents of rape myth acceptance. More importantly, this research indicates that the police do reflect, to a certain extent, societal values regarding rape and is consistent with the opinion of other investigators.
(Stratton, 1975; Goldstein, 1976; Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1979). However, the fact that a significant difference is found on three out of five measures investigated (sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, and rape myth acceptance) shows that, while the same antecedents of the acceptance of rape myths are shared with the public, the traditional biases of society are not perfectly copied; therefore, the first hypothesis is not fully supported.

Of interest is the direction of the differences that do exist, namely, police are more pro-victim and less accepting of rape myths in their attitudes and beliefs than the sample of the general public. Several factors may account for this finding. First, the police are younger (11 years) and better educated (1-1/2 years) than the original general population sample; two variables demonstrated by Burt (1980) to be associated with lower rape myth acceptance scores. Secondly, more frequent exposures of the police to media treatment of rape (14.7 exposures versus 7.8 exposures) may be a powerful influencing factor as the police may be affected in their attitudes and beliefs as a function of a television show or a motion picture's favorable portrayal of a rape victim. In other words, an increased sensitivity to the potential psychological distress victims typically undergo and to the complexity of some rape situations may make the officers less willing to blame victims for the victims' own victimization and less likely to reduce the perceived psychological and/or physical injury of a victim.
A third factor, that of gender, may account for some of the difference in the samples. The police sample consists of 90% males while the general public sample is 60% female. However, the direction of the differences does suggest that the Minnesota sample (of which women are the majority) holds more negative views of victims than the police sample (which is predominately male). The extent to which this trend may or may not generalize cannot be adequately answered by this research due to the previously mentioned differences in demographic characteristics.

In any event, the present research does not support the contention of Brownmiller (1975) that police necessarily hold more negative attitudes regarding rape than the general public as a direct result of the choice of their vocation. Nor does it support the opinion of O'Hara (1973) that existing police biases are solely a function of official police department textbooks and training manuals on procedures for investigating rape cases. This is based on the fact that the general public sample is not exposed to procedural manuals, yet generally hold more negative views of the victims as far as perceiving the victims more responsible for the rape. One possible implication of this may be that, while the existence of biased manuals as reported in case studies is not questioned, perhaps the use of such material is not as widespread as it once was.
The second hypothesis, that police officers who receive specialized rape-related training do differ significantly on rape myth acceptance scores from those officers who have not received specialized training is not supported by this research. Failure to achieve a significant difference on this hypothesis may be the function of several factors.

First, the training sessions may not be sufficient in length to adequately address attitudinal issues which would respond to change efforts as the length of the sessions is often less than 4 hours. Secondly, the fact that the most frequently covered topic is evidence gathering procedures may indicate that the nature of the training does not deal with issues which would be expected to show a difference on a measure of attitudes. Lastly, that the training is most frequently conducted by police personnel rather than by physicians, emergency room staff, rape crisis counselors, etc., suggests that the present format may not provide the opportunity for officers to be exposed to new or different perspectives which could provide an impetus for examining and possibly changing long-held beliefs which, in turn, could show up on the measures employed in this research.

One of the merits of this research is the acquisition of normative data on a group of individuals who, as a function of their vocation, may hold particular salience to victims of rape. Such information heretofore has been noticeably lacking in the literature, leaving one to make
guesses as to the attitudes of police officers or to rely only on information provided via case histories of individual victim's treatment by police.

The relatively small sample size may affect generalizability of the results to the law enforcement profession as a whole. Replications of this research involving a larger number of officers from other locations is in order. And as with all assessment of attitudes, the issue of construct validity is important. However, at the present time, Burt's (1980) rape myth scale appears to represent one of the more valid measures in a field of psychological study that is newly emerging.

The results reported here have two major implications. First, police rape attitudes, closely resembling those of the general public, are strongly connected to other deeply held and pervasive attitudes such as sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and sexual conservatism. While efforts to change rape attitudes may prove difficult since they are so closely interconnected to other attitudes, at the same time, the knowledge of this apparently strong interconnection suggests strategies for changing rape attitudes. Should rape-supportive attitudes be found to exist within police agencies, efforts may be made to: (a) diminish sex role stereotyping in daily departmental functioning, (b) insure that adversarial sex behaviors of officers are not reinforced, and (c) deal
with attitudes within the department which reflect a high
degree of sexual conservatism or acceptance of violence.

Another implication of this research is for future
specialized rape-related training programs. It is suggested
that, if one of the goals of the officials charged with the
responsibility of training officers is to affect attitude
change in their law enforcement personnel (in addition to
providing them with procedural information), the extent,
nature, and manner of training must be given additional
consideration.
Appendix A

Informed Consent

I, ________________________ do hereby consent to participate in an experiment designed to investigate attitudes held by police officers concerning rape.

The examiner, ________________________ has agreed to answer any inquiries that I may have concerning the procedure.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue participation at any time.

______________________________ ____________________________
witness signature date

professional obtaining consent
Appendix B

For each of the following, please indicate the degree to which you strongly agree or strongly disagree with the statements. Please circle the number corresponding to your beliefs ranging from "strongly agree" = 1 to "strongly disagree" = 7.

SRS

A man should fight when the woman he's with is insulted by another man.

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

It is acceptable for the woman to pay for the date.

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

A woman should be a virgin when she marries.

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

There is something wrong with a woman who doesn't want to marry and raise a family.

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

A wife should never contradict her husband in public.

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

It is better for a woman to use her feminine charm to get what she wants rather than ask for it outright.

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

It is acceptable for a woman to have a career, but marriage and family should come first.

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree
Appendix B--continued

It looks worse for a woman to be drunk than for a man to be drunk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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</thead>
</table>

There is nothing wrong with a woman going to a bar alone.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<th>6</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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ASB

A woman will only respect a man who will lay down the law to her.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<th>3</th>
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<th>6</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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</table>

Many women are so demanding sexually that a man just can't satisfy them.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<th>3</th>
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<th>6</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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</table>

A man's got to show the woman who's boss right from the start or he'll end up henpecked.

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<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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Women are usually sweet until they've caught a man, but then they let their true self show.

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<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<th>6</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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A lot of men talk big, but when it comes down to it, they can't perform well sexually.

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<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<th>6</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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In a dating relationship, a woman is largely out to take advantage of a man.

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<th>Strongly agree</th>
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<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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</table>
Appendix B--continued

Men are out for only one thing.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**

Most women are sly and manipulating when they are out to attract a man.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**

A lot of women seem to get pleasure in putting men down.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**

**SC**

A woman who initiates a sexual encounter will probably have sex with anybody.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**

A woman shouldn't give in sexually to a man too easily or he'll think she's loose.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**

Men have a biologically stronger sex drive than women.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**

A nice woman will be offended or embarrassed by dirty jokes.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**

Masturbation is a normal sexual activity.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**

People should not have oral sex.

**strongly agree** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **strongly disagree**
Appendix B--continued

I would have no respect for a woman who engages in sexual relationships without any emotional involvement.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |

Having sex during the menstrual period is unpleasant.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |

The primary goal of sexual intercourse should be to have children.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |

Women have the same needs for a sexual outlet as men.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |

AIV

People today should not use "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" as a rule for living.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |

Being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |

Many times a woman will pretend she doesn't want to have intercourse because she doesn't want to seem loose, but she's really hoping the man will force her.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |

A wife should move out of the house if her husband hits her.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |
Sometimes the only way a man can get a cold woman turned on is to use force.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |

A man is never justified in hitting his wife.

| strongly agree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | strongly disagree |
Appendix C

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

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<th>Strongly Agree</th>
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Any female can get raped.

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

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

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

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

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

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Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve.

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Appendix C--continued

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

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

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

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

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

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 disagree

What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?

almost all ___; about 3/4 ___; about half ___; about 1/4 ___; none ___.

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

almost all ___; about 3/4 ___; about half ___; about 1/4 ___; none ___.

A person comes to you and claims they were raped. How likely would you be to believe their statement if the person were: (Please place a check mark in the appropriate blank.)

your best friend?

always ___; frequently ___; sometimes ___; rarely ___; never ___

an Indian woman?

always ___; frequently ___; sometimes ___; rarely ___; never ___
Appendix C--continued

a neighborhood woman?
  always ___; frequently ___; sometimes ___; rarely ___;
  never ___

a young boy?
  always ___; frequently ___; sometimes ___; rarely ___;
  never ___

a black woman?
  always ___; frequently ___; sometimes ___; rarely ___;
  never ___

a white woman?
  always ___; frequently ___; sometimes ___; rarely ___;
  never ___.
Appendix D

Personal Information Data Sheet

I.D.#: __________________________ Age: __________________________ Sex: __________________________

Race: Caucasian____; Black____; Hispanic____; Other____

Education level: less than 12 years____; high school grad____; 1 - 2 years college____; college degree____; masters____

Marital status: single____; married____; widowed____; co-habitating____

Current rank in department: (write in)__________________________

Number of years on the Denton Police force: (write in)____

Number of years in other police departments: (write in)____

If you have ever worked with another police department, what size town did the department serve? smaller than Denton____; about the same size____; larger city____

In the line of duty, have you ever testified in court during a rape trial? yes____; no____ If "yes," how may times? (write in the number)____

How may times have you interviewed rape victims about their rape as part of an investigation? (write in number)____

Have you ever received any specialized training regarding rape? yes____; no____ If "yes," please answer the following:

1) Length of training: 4 hours____; 1 day____; 2 days____; more than 2 days____; other (write in estimated length)__________________________

2) Training was done by: police personnel____; doctor or nurse____; rape crisis counselor____; social worker____; other (please specify)__________________________

3) Which of the following topics were covered during the training? (You may check more than one answer)
   ______ evidence gathering procedures
   ______ rape report writing
   ______ emotional responses of victims to the rape
   ______ how to obtain statements from victims who are in a state of crisis
medical information concerning possible trauma
which may be seen in victims
information concerning victims services in the
community, such as rape crisis centers
information about the process which rape cases
follow through the criminal justice system

Even if you already have had specialized training in rape-related cases, would you like to receive additional training? yes____; no____

If you did not receive any specialized training, would you like to have such training made available to you? yes____; no____

In the majority of rape cases you have worked with, how satisfied were you with your duty performance? (circle one) not very satisfied 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very satisfied

In the majority of rape cases you have worked with, how satisfied do you think victims were with your duty performance? (circle one) not very satisfied 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very satisfied
Appendix E

Burt's Experience Correlate Questionnaire

Please answer the following as they relate to you in your "off-duty" life and not as a function of your police duties.

1) Have you ever known someone who was a victim of a sexual assault, that is, someone who was forced to engage in sex against their will? yes; no. If "yes," how many sexual victims have you known? (please write in the number)

Please answer the following questions by making a check mark in the appropriate place.

2) a. How often did your parents hit you when you were growing up? always; frequently; sometimes; rarely; never

b. In your family, when you were growing up, how often did your parents hit each other violently? always; frequently; sometimes; rarely; never

c. In your marriage, how often does/did the husband hit the wife? always; frequently; sometimes; rarely; never

3) Of the following sources of popular media, how much exposure to the subject of rape or sexual assault have you experienced? (Please indicate by a check mark the number of exposures for each category.)

a. on television: one exposure or none; two; three; four; five or more exposures

b. in motion pictures: one exposure or none; two; three; four; five or more exposures

c. dramatics or plays: one exposure or none; two; three; four; five or more exposures
Appendix E--continued

d. in the newspaper: one exposure or none; two; three; four; five or more exposures
References


