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COMPARING RAPE VICTIM AND PERPETRATOR BLAMING IN A POLICE OFFICER SAMPLE

Differences Between Police Officers With and Without Special Training

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This study compared victim blaming and perpetrator blaming in a sample of police officers ($N = 123$), comparing the responses of police officers specially trained to deal with rape victims with those who had not received this training. Victim blaming was significantly predicted by rape myth acceptance and belief in a just world but not by gender role. For perpetrator blaming, significant differences were found for gender role, but no significant relationship was found with rape myth acceptance or belief in a just world. There were no significant differences between officers who were specially trained and those who were not in terms of victim blaming, but there were significant differences in relation to perpetrator blaming. No relationships were found between police experience (measured as years of service) and victim blaming or perpetrator blaming. These findings are discussed in the context of previous victim and perpetrator blaming research and the real-world implications for criminal justice systems.

Keywords: police; victim blaming; perpetrator blaming; belief in a just world; rape myths; gender role

Interest in the crimes of rape and other sexual offenses has remained substantial since they came to the fore in the 1970s. Alongside this research interest, there has been considerable political and media attention, particularly in recent times (Gunby, Carline, & Beynon, 2010). One direction to this research has been to examine the characteristics of the rape or the rape victim that result in an increased level of blame and responsibility being attributed to the victim. This research has established that victims of acquaintance rape (where the victim knows the perpetrator) are blamed more than are victims of stranger rape (Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Sleath & Bull, 2010), that revealingly dressed victims are blamed more than modestly clothed victims (Pollard, 1992), and that alcohol-intoxicated victims are blamed more than sober victims (Maurer & Robinson, 2008). Male participants may attribute higher levels of blame toward a rape victim than do female participants (Krahe, Temkin, & Bieneck, 2007), but this effect is not as consistent as the previously highlighted effects (Newcomb, van den Eynde, Hafner, & Jolly, 2008). In conjunction with

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research on victim blaming, there has been some limited research examining the blame that is attributed to the perpetrator. Female participants tend to blame perpetrators at a higher level than do male participants (Alicke & Yurak, 1995; Gerber, Cronin, & Steigman, 2004), and stranger rape perpetrators are blamed more than acquaintance rape perpetrators (Golge, Yavuz, Mudderrisoglu, & Yavuz, 2003; Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004).

Victim and perpetrator blaming have been associated with three particular concepts: acceptance of rape myths, belief in a just world, and gender role. Burt (1980) defined rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped or false beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists" (p. 217). Johnson, Kuck, and Schander (1997) found that the percentage of their respondents who agreed with a variety of different myths ranged from 0.7% to 89.4%. However, the greater percentage of respondents accepted myths that tended to excuse the perpetrator rather than blame the victim. A smaller but considerable proportion of respondents adhered to myths that blame the victim. Male participants tend to accept myths at a higher level than do female participants (Anderson, Cooper, & Okamura, 1997; Frese, Moya, & Megias, 2004). The acceptance of these myths is problematic, as an increased acceptance of rape myths has been associated with higher levels of blame attributed toward the victim of rape (Frese et al., 2004). Also, Golge et al. (2003) found that the presence of myths in vignettes increased the responsibility participants attributed to victims.

Lerner (1980) originally formulated belief in a just world as a framework through which people can construct the world as a just and fair place, where good or bad events happen only to people who deserve them (Crome & McCabe, 2001). In relating to victim blaming, some studies have demonstrated a positive association with belief in a just world and victim blaming (e.g., Sakalli-Ugurlu, Yalcun, & Glick, 2007; Whatley & Riggio, 1993). Other studies have demonstrated a variety of gender effects (e.g., Foley & Piggott, 2000; Ford, Liwag-McLamb, & Foley, 1998; Kleinke & Meyer, 1990; Murray, Spadafore, & McIntosh, 2005). Finally, others have demonstrated no significant relationship at all (e.g., Brems & Wagner, 1994; Lambert & Raichle, 2000; Rye, Greatrix, & Enright, 2006). With regard to the variety of gender effects, Cowan and Curtis (1994) found that belief in a just world was significant only in explaining female participants' victim blaming. However, Kleinke and Meyer (1990) found that only men with a high belief in a just world evaluated a female rape victim more negatively than did men with a low belief in a just world. They found that women with a high belief in a just world were less negative toward the female rape victim than were those with a low belief in a just world. Hafer and Begue (2005) argue that perpetrator blaming offers the possibility of more easily restoring justice to a situation than does victim blaming. As with victim blaming, the findings in relation to perpetrator blaming show a variety of effects (e.g., Murray et al., 2005; Rye et al., 2006).

In many societies, the expected gender role for men is that they be dominant, powerful, sexually aggressive, and able to gain sexual access to reluctant women. For women, the expected role is more passive, including components of submission but control of the extent of their sexual activity (Simonson & Subich, 1999). In some societies, rape is constructed as an extreme but normal extension of traditional gender roles (Burt, 1980). Adhering to a traditional gender role (e.g., masculine or feminine) has been associated with an increased level of blame being attributed towards the victim. Quackenbush (1989), using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), found that participants who were classified as masculine or undifferentiated held more rape-supportive beliefs than did androgynous participants. However, Kopper (1996) found that female participants who were classified as

androgynous were significantly more likely (than those with other gender roles) to believe that the rape could have been avoided, suggesting a much more victim-blaming stance. However, Szymanski, Devlin, Chrisler, and Vyse (1993) and Golge et al. (2003) found no effect of gender role on the level of responsibility attributed to the rape victim.

Given the research cited above, it is clear that attributions of blame and responsibility exist in our society (Buddie & Miller, 2001). Therefore, it would be unsurprising that these attitudes also exist in professionals who come into contact with rape victims (Jackson, Witte, & Petretic-Jackson, 2001). However, considering the impact that the police response can have on rape victims, there has been little research examining police attitudes toward rape (Frazier & Haney, 1996). Indeed, Page (2008) notes that "research assessing police officers' attitudes toward rape has been sparse in the last thirty years" (p. 45). Lonsway, Welch, and Fitzgerald (2001) contend that the police are often considered the key determinant of the type of response that the rape victim will receive. These authors also note the lack of research on police attitudes as well as a very limited understanding of the impact of specialist training.

Edward and MacLeod (1999) suggest there is evidence that supports the viewpoint that a police officer's belief in a rape victim's allegation is based in his or her own individual beliefs about rape (see also Schuller & Stewart, 2000). It is more problematic that these personal definitions have been shown to differ from those ascribed by law (Campbell & Johnson, 1997). It may be that these personal definitions reflect police culture, which can be dominated by White, heterosexist, male culture (Loftus, 2008). Many researchers have reflected on a "culture of skepticism" that exists within police culture whereby disbelief of rape cases has become entrenched in many aspects of the criminal justice system (Kelly, 2010, p. 1352). Koppelaar, Lange, and van de Velde (1997) found that judgments made by detectives working in the vice squad were related to their stereotypical beliefs about rape. The greater the stereotypical belief, the more responsibility was attributed to the victim and less responsibility attributed toward the perpetrator. In terms of acceptance of rape myths, Page (2008) reported that the majority of police officers disagreed with rape myths; for example, 65% disagreed with the myth that "in the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation." This analysis demonstrated that the majority of police officers may not accept these myths, but a smaller proportion did demonstrate some acceptance of rape myths. For example, 20% agreed with the myth that "women who dress provocatively are inviting sex." This suggests that police officers' rape myth acceptance mimics that of the general population, where a small but significant proportion of the population adheres to such myths (Johnson et al., 1997; see also Page, 2010).

Page (2007) also demonstrated that male police officers endorsed rape myths at a higher level than did female police officers. Similarly, Brown and King (1998) found that male police officers held more rape-promoting attitudes compared to female police officers. However, Galton (1975) suggested that female police officers can be more disbelieving or suspicious of rape allegations than male counterparts, placing higher demands on the victim (e.g., in terms of resistance behaviors).

In terms of reported rapes, Jordan (2004) notes that subjective judgments are being made about rape victims' credibility by the police (see also Her Majesty's Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate [HMCPPI]/Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary [HMIC], 2007), with a focus on appraisals of the victim's characteristics and culpability. Jordan notes a tendency on the part of the police to view rape victims' behavior through a narrow

perspective, with an approach that emphasizes suspicion and disbelief. Rape victims also report being particularly concerned about expected negative treatment by the police, which can result in a decision to not report the crime to the police (Winkel & Vrij, 1993). It is a challenging experience for victims to report their rape to the police, and this is a process that many choose not to go through (HMIC/HMCPSP, 2007). In addition, secondary victimization can be experienced by victims when the police respond in an unhelpful or victim-blaming way (Campbell et al., 1999; Ullman & Filipas, 2001). Some studies have found that reporting to the police is associated with an increased severity of the impact of the sexual assault, with increased levels of depression and posttraumatic stress disorder symptomology found in victims who receive negative social reactions (Filipas & Ullman, 2001; Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009). However, some caution must be taken with this association in that certain types of rape are more likely to be reported to the police. It may be that these types of rape have an increased likelihood of more significant long-term effects (Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003; Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009). Also, Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, and Barnes (2001) found that being involved within the criminal justice system was considered hurtful by a third of their sample of victims (but another third considered this involvement to be healing). A lack of prosecution of their case was associated with victims being more likely to rate involvement with the system as hurtful.

Within England and Wales, police officers who deal with rape victims are currently called "Specially Trained Officers" (STOs). However, previously these officers were also called "Sexual Offences Investigation Trained" officers (SOITs) and can still be called this in some force areas. Very little is known about the impact of police training and any resulting effect on police attitudes and behavior toward rape victims in England and Wales. Indeed, very little is known about the content of police training in specializing to work with rape victims; however, it is understood that the focus of this specialist police training is on forensic medical examination and interviewing skills. Lonsway et al. (2001) carried out one of the few known evaluations of police officer training within the United States and found that training did not affect rape myth acceptance. However, Page (2007) found that police officers (in the United States) who were experienced in working on rape investigations (defined as having investigated 21 or more rape investigations) accepted rape myths at a lower level than police officers who were inexperienced in carrying out rape investigations (defined as 5 or fewer cases). These findings suggest that—although training may not alter the endorsement of stereotypes about rape—experience in dealing with rape cases may in fact lower adherence to rape myths.

The above review casts a somewhat negative light with regard to the police response to rape victims. However, attitudes gathered from some rape victims suggest that they held generally positive attitudes toward the police that they encountered (Frazier & Haney, 1996). This viewpoint is supported by Lea, Lanvers, and Shaw (2003), who found that many police officers did seem able to empathize with rape victims. Maier (2008) also argues that the nature of rape may be one reason rape victims can have very differing attitudes toward the police. As rape is so traumatic, a police officer who responds well and sympathetically is very quickly appreciated, whereas negative attitudes demonstrated can have a devastating effect (Jordan, 2001). However, Brown, Hamilton, and O'Neill (2007) have argued that any prejudicial attitudes demonstrated by the police are not more prejudicial or stereotypical than the lay public's attitudes toward rape victims. This is a viewpoint supported by Brown and King (1998), who found that there was no difference between

students and police officers in attitudes toward rape. However, the research does tend to suggest that there is a small minority of officers with traditional views about rape and rape victims (i.e., showing less sympathy toward victims and being more likely to doubt their report of rape). It seems that such officers still seemed to believe that women “cry rape” to seek attention (Lea et al., 2003). It also must be noted that victims themselves tend to report myth-congruent rapes to the police (e.g., where the victim is injured), suggesting that the police may encounter a more skewed sample of rape victims that may confirm their own stereotypical perceptions (Campbell et al., 2001; Du Mont et al., 2003).

Therefore, this study first examined U.K. police officers’ victim and perpetrator blaming in relation to acceptance of rape myths and belief in a just world. It was predicted that both would predict victim and perpetrator blaming. It was also predicted that the adoption of a traditional gender role (e.g., masculine or feminine) would increase the level of victim blaming and decrease the level of perpetrator blaming within this sample. Previously, factors such as gender of participants, type of rape, and level of rape myths have affected levels of victim blaming. Therefore, it was predicted that male participants would blame at a higher level compared to female participants. The acquaintance rape victim would be attributed more blame than the stranger rape victim. Finally, victims in a scenario containing a higher level of rape myths would be attributed more blame than those in scenarios involving a lower level of rape myths. Opposite effects were expected for perpetrator blaming. The main focus of this study was to establish any differences in victim and perpetrator blaming between police officers who received specialist training compared to those police officers who did not. It was predicted that this training would affect the perception of the victim, reducing the level of victim blaming engaged in and increasing perpetrator blaming (as would be expected as part of the purpose of such training). Furthermore, the role of policing experience (as measured by years of police service) was examined for its association with victim and perpetrator blaming. The previous literature suggests a relationship whereby greater experience will reduce victim blaming and increase perpetrator blaming (Page, 2007).

METHOD

DESIGN

A between-subjects design was used in which we examined the effects of type of rape (stranger vs. acquaintance), level of rape myths present in the scenario (high vs. low), and gender on (a) victim blaming and (b) perpetrator blaming. We also examined the relationships between rape myth acceptance and belief in a just world with (a) victim blaming and (b) perpetrator blaming. Furthermore, we examined the effect of gender role on (a) victim blaming and (b) perpetrator blaming. As this sample comprised police officers, two additional analyses were carried out assessing the role of policing experience and the effect of receiving relevant specialist training on (a) victim blaming and (b) perpetrator blaming.

PARTICIPANTS

The sample consisted of data gathered from two U.K. police forces. All police officers in these forces who had received specialist training to deal with rape victims were invited to take part, as was a sample of officers who were identified as not having received this

training. This recruitment was undertaken by a gatekeeper in each of the police forces. Unfortunately, because of this, a response rate cannot be calculated. In one force, the participants consisted of 61 police officers (25 female and 36 male) whose ages ranged from 27 to 54 years, with a mean of 37.18 years ($SD = 5.47$). Their range of years in police service was from 3 to 26 years, with a mean of 12.51 years ($SD = 5.94$). This force's sample included 24 police officers who had received specialist training to deal with rape victims and 37 who had not received this training. The length of time in a specialist role ranged from 3 to 117 months, with a mean of 10.59 months ($SD = 22.09$).

In the second police force, the sample consisted of 62 police officers (38 female and 24 male) whose ages ranged from 21 to 52 years, with a mean of 35.16 years ($SD = 7.38$). The range of years in police service was from 2 to 27 years, with a mean of 12.64 ($SD = 6.95$). This second force included 14 police officers who had received specialist training to deal with rape victims and 48 who had not received this training. The length of time in a specialist role ranged from 1 to 202 months, with a mean of 19.25 months ($SD = 32.79$). A series of t tests was run to examine any gender differences. Male police officers were found to have significantly more years of service than female police officers, $t(113.39) = 5.15, p < .01$. However, there were no significant gender differences for having received specialist training or not or for their length of experience working within that specialist role.

Participants were randomly assigned to read one scenario depicting either stranger or acquaintance rape which was also manipulated by low or high level of rape myths. Sixty-five participants were presented with a stranger rape scenario (32 low level of rape myths, 33 high level of rape myths), and 58 participants were presented with an acquaintance rape scenario (24 low level of rape myths, 34 high level of rape myths). This study was approved by the School of Psychology's Ethics Committee following the guidelines as laid down by the British Psychological Society.

MATERIALS

The four scenarios used within this study were developed from Sleath and Bull (2010) but were designed to depict a female rape. These scenarios described either a stranger or an acquaintance rape and were also manipulated by level of rape myths (low vs. high). The level of rape myths was achieved by including information about the clothing of the victim, the drinking of alcohol by both the victim and perpetrator, and the location of the attack. For example, with regard to the victim's clothing, within the scenario with a low level of rape myths, the victim was described as wearing a coat, a long skirt, and flat shoes. For the scenario with a high level of rape myths, the victim was described as wearing a short skirt, high heels, and a low-cut top (see appendix for examples of scenarios). These scenarios were developed to be as similar as possible to each other in all other ways. The phrase *physically forced sex* was used instead of *rape* to avoid a bias that may be caused by describing the event as rape (Davies & Rogers, 2006). Having read the scenario, participants then responded to four questionnaires, which measured victim blaming and perpetrator blaming, belief in a just world (Dalbert, Montada, & Schmitt, 1987), gender role (Bem, 1981), and rape myth acceptance ((IRMAS [Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale]; Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999).

Victim and Perpetrator Blaming scale. This scale was developed from Sleath and Bull (2010). Previous reliabilities of this scale have been .87 and .88 for the Victim and

Perpetrator Blaming scales, respectively. Originally, this scale contained 14 items. A principal component analysis (PCA) of these data recommended a two-factor solution (see Results section). The Victim Blaming scale consisted of Items 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, and 11. Reliability analysis of this scale revealed an alpha of .77, demonstrating an acceptable level of reliability. The Perpetrator Blaming scale consisted of Items 6, 7, 8, and 13. Reliability analysis of this scale revealed an alpha of .60. Scores on each of the Victim Blaming and Perpetrator Blaming scales were averaged so that comparisons could be made between victim and perpetrator blaming.

General belief in a just world (Dalbert et al., 1987). An English-language version of the six-item scale was used that measures general belief in a just world, with responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Reliability analysis in this study revealed an alpha of .77. An example of a scale item is “I am convinced that in the long run people will be compensated for injustices.”

BSRI (Bem, 1981). The shortened version of the inventory was used, which consists of 30 items. This measure includes 10 masculine items, 10 feminine items, and 10 neutral items. Participants respond along a 7-point scale (1 = *almost never true* and 7 = *almost always true*) to attributes such as “strong personality” (masculine attribute). In using the BSRI, to ensure that the most valid results are achieved from the analysis, we used a two-fold approach. The first analyzed the BSRI using the original method of categorizing participants as outlined by Bem. This involved categorizing participants as masculine, feminine, androgynous, and undifferentiated. Reliability analyses for this study revealed an alpha of .79 for the masculine items and .88 for feminine items. The second method involved using the structure developed in Choi, Fuqua, and Newman (2009). This involves creating a mean score from three factors. One reflects femininity and is formed from Items 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, and 29 from the BSRI. The second factor relates to personal masculinity and is formed from Items 1, 4, 10, 16, and 25. The third factor relates to social masculinity and is formed from Items 7, 13, 22, and 28. Reliability analyses demonstrated a = .71 for social masculinity items, a = .70 for personal masculinity items, and a = .90 for femininity.

Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Payne et al., 1999). This scale includes 40 rape myth items as well as five filler questions (to reduce the effects of response set). There are seven subscales that measure rape myths: “She asked for it,” “It wasn’t really rape,” “He didn’t mean to,” “She wanted it,” “She lied,” “Rape is a trivial event,” and “Rape is a deviant event.” Reliability analyses for this study revealed an alpha of .96, demonstrating an excellent level of reliability. A 7-point response scale was used, labeled 1 (*very strongly disagree*) to 7 (*very strongly agree*), with a neutral midpoint of 4 (*neither agree nor disagree*). An example item is “If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.”

PROCEDURE

The vignette and questionnaires assessing victim and perpetrator blaming, belief in a just world, gender role, and rape myth acceptance were distributed to participants as they were recruited to the study. These police participants were given a questionnaire pack that

TABLE 1: Descriptive Statistics of Victim Blaming, Perpetrator Blaming, Rape Myth Acceptance, and Belief in a Just World

<i>Variable</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Skew</i>	<i>Kurtosis</i>
Victim blaming ^a	1.81	0.90	1.55	2.88
Perpetrator blaming ^a	6.69	0.53	-1.92	3.27
Rape myth acceptance	94.68	29.15	1.53	7.14
Belief in a just world	17.41	4.93	0.10	-0.69

a. Following the principle component analysis procedure outlined in the Results section.

included the consent form, the questionnaire, and a return envelope. Participants were informed that there were no time limits on completing the pack but were given a date by which to return the pack to the police officers acting as gatekeepers for this study. These were then returned to the researcher. Participants were advised on their confidentiality of responses and also were advised of their right to withdraw. Debriefing information could be requested via an e-mail address.

RESULTS

The means and standard deviations of the questionnaire data are presented in Table 1.

We carried out a descriptive analysis of the percentage of police officer participants by gender who indicated a level of agreement with the rape myth scale items (see Table 2). The table is organized by rape myth type so that comparisons can be drawn within the data. An examination of these levels of acceptance seems to show that there is a greater level of acceptance of certain myths, such as myths that emphasize that rape victims lie and myths that excuse the actions of the perpetrator (“He didn’t mean to”).

ANALYSIS OF RAPE VICTIM AND PERPETRATOR BLAMING SCALE

Prior to the analysis, Scale Item 4 was removed from the analysis because of deviations from normality. A PCA was then carried out on the 13 scale items. Kaiser’s criterion recommended a four-factor solution, but a parallel analysis recommended a two-factor solution. Given the criticism of Kaiser’s criterion in retaining too many factors (Field, 2009; Pallant, 2007), the two-factor solution was adopted. The PCA was carried out, but Items 2 and 14 did not adequately load on either factor. Item 12 cross-loaded on the two variables. These items were removed from the analysis, and the test was rerun.

A PCA was carried out on the 10 Victim and Perpetrator Blaming scale items using a varimax rotation. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure demonstrated that the sampling adequacy was at a level designated good, $KMO = .70$ (Field, 2009). Also, all KMO values for the individual items were above the acceptable level of .5 (Field, 2009). The Bartlett’s test of sphericity demonstrated that the correlations between items were large enough for PCA to be a suitable method to use, $\chi^2(45) = 284.95, p < .001$. The analysis supported a two-factor solution explaining 47.50% of the variance (via parallel analysis). (See Table 3 for factor loadings.) This analysis process meant that the Victim Blaming scale comprised Scale Items 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, and 11. The Perpetrator Blaming scale consisted of Scale Items 6, 7, 8, and 13. The intercorrelations between the scale items and the total blaming measures demonstrated highly significant positive relationships.

TABLE 2: Percentage of Participants (by Gender) Who Indicated a Level of Acceptance to the Female Rape Myth

<i>Item</i>	<i>Myth</i>	<i>Wording</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
1	SA	If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.	11.67	20.63
15	SA	When women go around wearing low-cut tops or short skirts, they're just asking for trouble.	0	4.76
19	SA	If a woman goes home with a man she doesn't know, it is her own fault if she is raped.	0	7.94
25	SA	When a woman is a sexual tease, eventually she is going to get into trouble.	18.33	20.63
36	SA	A woman who "teases" men deserves anything that might happen.	1.67	1.59
37	SA	When women are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was ambiguous.	5.00	7.94
41	SA	A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.	1.67	3.17
43	SA	A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on the first date is implying that she wants to have sex.	0	6.35
2	WI	Although most women wouldn't admit it, they generally find being physically forced into sex a real "turn-on."	0	3.17
8	WI	Many women secretly desire to be raped.	0	1.59
18	WI	Many women find being forced to have sex very arousing.	1.67	1.59
23	WI	Some women prefer to have sex forced on them so they don't have to feel guilty about it.	0	1.59
44	WI	Many women actually enjoy sex after the guy uses a little force.	8.33	6.35
5	LI	Women who are caught having an illicit affair sometimes claim that it was rape.	60.00	65.08
7	LI	Many so-called rape victims are actually women who had sex and "changed their minds" afterwards.	40.00	34.92
16	LI	Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men.	31.67	28.57
31	LI	A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape.	18.33	20.63
33	LI	A lot of times, women who claim they were raped just have emotional problems.	6.67	19.05
3	MT	When men rape, it is because of their strong desire for sex.	21.67	15.87
20	MT	Rapists are usually sexually frustrated individuals.	11.67	12.70
30	MT	When a man is very sexually aroused, he may not even realize that the woman is resisting.	5.00	14.29
39	MT	Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.	16.67	9.52
42	MT	Rape happens when a man's sex drive gets out of control.	8.33	4.76
4	TE	If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little farther and has sex.	1.67	6.35
14	TE	Rape isn't as big a problem as some feminists would like people to believe.	1.67	4.76
26	TE	Being raped isn't as bad as being mugged and beaten.	0	1.59
29	TE	Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them.	0	3.17
38	TE	If a woman isn't a virgin, then it shouldn't be a big deal if her date forces her to have sex.	0	1.59
9	DE	Rape mainly occurs on the "bad" side of town.	0	1.59
10	DE	Usually, it is only women who do things like hang out in bars and sleep around that are raped.	1.69	4.76
13	DE	Men from nice middle-class homes almost never rape.	1.67	1.59
22	DE	It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped.	1.67	3.17
27	DE	Rape is unlikely to happen in the woman's own familiar neighborhood.	0	1.59
28	DE	In reality, women are almost never raped by their boyfriends.	3.33	1.59
35	DE	Rape almost never happens in the woman's own home.	1.67	4.76
12	NR	If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape.	0	1.59
17	NR	A rape didn't happen if the woman has no bruises or marks.	0	1.59
24	NR	If the rapist doesn't have a weapon, you really can't call it rape.	0	1.59
34	NR	If a woman doesn't physically resist sex—even when protesting verbally—it really can't be considered rape.	3.33	1.59
45	NR	If a woman claims to have been raped but has no bruises or scrapes, she probably shouldn't be taken too seriously.	0	3.17

Note. SA = "She asked for it"; WI = "She wanted it"; LI = "She lied"; MT = "He didn't mean to"; TE = "Rape is a trivial event"; DE = "Rape is a deviant event"; NR = "It wasn't really rape."

TABLE 3: Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis With Varimax Rotation of Victim and Perpetrator Blaming Scale

<i>Item</i>	<i>Wording</i>	<i>Victim Blaming</i>	<i>Perpetrator Blaming</i>
Eigenvalue = 3.01			
1	How much do you blame Sarah for what happened?	.72	-.05
3	In your opinion, did Sarah communicate that she did not agree to sexual intercourse?	.44	-.10
5	How much do you consider the incident to be Sarah's fault?	.77	<-.01
9	Overall, to what extent was Sarah responsible for what happened?	.72	-.20
10	In your opinion, was Sarah sexually provocative?	.63	.04
11 ^a	To what extent do you believe that the man described in the paragraph believed that Sarah was willing for sexual intercourse to occur?	.57	-.37
Eigenvalue = 1.74			
6	How much do you blame the man described in the paragraph for what happened?	-.14	.82
7 ^a	To what extent do you consider Sarah's claim of rape to be credible?	-.11	.53
8	How much do you consider the incident to be the man described in the paragraph's fault?	-.05	.54
13	To what extent do you consider the man described in the paragraph is guilty?	-.01	.86

Note. Factor loadings greater than .40 are in bold.

a. Items were then reverse coded.

TABLE 4: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Victim Blaming

<i>Variable</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Step 1			
Female rape myth acceptance	.01	.003	.35*
Step 2			
Female rape myth acceptance	.01	.003	.41*
Belief in a just world	-.06	.02	-.31*

Note. $\Delta R^2 = .11$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .20$ for Step 2 ($p < .01$).

* $p < .001$.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM BLAMING AND (A) RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE AND (B) BELIEF IN A JUST WORLD

A hierarchical multiple regression examining the relationship between victim blaming and two predictor variables was carried out. In Step 1 (rape myth acceptance), the model was significant, $F(1, 121) = 16.29, p < .01$. In Step 2 (rape myth acceptance and belief in a just world), the model was significant, $F(2, 119) = 15.74, p < .01$. Thus, rape myth acceptance and belief in a just world were significant predictors of victim blaming (please see Table 4 for further details).

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM BLAMING AND SUBFACTORS OF RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE

To further examine the role of different types of female rape myths, a standard multiple regression was carried out with the seven subfactors ("She asked for it," "She wanted it," "He didn't mean to," "Rape is a trivial event," "She lied," "Rape is a deviant event," and

TABLE 5: Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Subfactors of Female Rape Myth Acceptance Scale Predicting Victim Blaming

<i>Myth</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
She asked for it	.02	.02	.20
She wanted it	.06	.02	.30*
He didn't mean to	-.06	.02	-.31*
Rape is a trivial event	-.04	.04	-.17
She lied	.01	.02	.07
Rape is a deviant event	.17	.02	.10
It wasn't really rape	.05	.04	.22

Note. $\Delta F^2 = .16$.

* $p < .05$.

“It wasn't really rape”) of the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale as predictor variables of victim blaming (see Table 5). The model was significant, $F(7, 115) = 4.31, p < .001$. This analysis demonstrated that “She wanted it” and “He didn't mean to” were significant predictors of victim blaming.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERPETRATOR BLAMING AND (A) RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE AND (B) BELIEF IN A JUST WORLD

A hierarchical multiple regression examining the relationship between perpetrator blaming and two predictor variables was carried out. Rape myth acceptance was entered in Step 1 with belief in a just world added in Step 2. Neither model was significant ($p > .05$). Thus, rape myth acceptance and belief in a just world were not significant predictors of perpetrator blaming. As rape myth acceptance was not found to be a significant predictor of perpetrator blaming, a further examination of the subfactors of this scale was not carried out.

EXAMINING THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER ROLE ON VICTIM AND PERPETRATOR BLAMING

The BSRI categorizes individuals into four different gender roles according to the strength of belief in their masculine and feminine attributes. Gender role was found to be spread among the sample as 21.14% masculine, 17.07% feminine, 31.70% undifferentiated, and 30.08% androgynous. A one-way ANOVA was carried out with the four gender role groups (masculine, feminine, undifferentiated, and androgynous) with victim blaming as the dependent variable. There was no significant effect for victim blaming ($p > .05$). A second one-way ANOVA was carried out with perpetrator blaming as the dependent variable. This model was significant, $F(3, 119) = 2.98, p = .03$. This was a small effect ($r = .16$). Via Tukey post hoc tests, a significant difference ($p = .05$) was found between androgynous and undifferentiated individuals, with an inspection of the mean values demonstrating that individuals with an androgynous gender role ($M = 6.81, SD = 0.42$) blamed the perpetrator at a higher level than did undifferentiated individuals ($M = 6.50, SD = 0.60$).

Using the Choi et al. (2009) categorizations of femininity and personal and social masculinity, a standard multiple regression was carried with the three variables placed as predictor variables of perpetrator blaming. The model was significant, $F(3, 119) = 3.08, p = .03$. Both femininity and social masculinity approached significance ($p < .10$) in predicting perpetrator blaming (see Table 6). The same analysis was run with victim blaming as the dependent variable. This model was not significant ($p > .05$).

TABLE 6: Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Femininity, Personal Masculinity, and Social Masculinity Predicting Perpetrator Blaming

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Femininity	.45	.26	.15*
Personal masculinity	.12	.32	.04
Social masculinity	.43	.26	.18*

Note. $F^2 = .07$.

* $p < .10$.

THE INFLUENCE OF PARTICIPANT GENDER, TYPE OF RAPE, AND LEVEL OF RAPE MYTHS ON VICTIM AND PERPETRATOR BLAMING

No significant gender differences were found in rape myth acceptance ($p > .05$).

Victim blaming and perpetrator blaming were significantly negatively correlated ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$), demonstrating a medium effect (Field, 2009). It therefore is appropriate to use a MANOVA to analyze these dependent variables together (Field, 2009). A 2 (male vs. female) \times 2 (stranger rape vs. acquaintance rape) \times 2 (low level of rape myths vs. high level of rape myths) between-subjects MANOVA was carried out. There was a statistically significant difference regarding the combined dependent variable between stranger rape and acquaintance rape, $F(2, 114) = 3.82$, $p = .03$, Wilks's Lambda = .94; partial $\eta^2 = .06$; between low level of rape myths and high level of rape myths, $F(2, 114) = 13.26$, $p < .01$, Wilks's Lambda = .81, partial $\eta^2 = .19$; and between males and females, $F(2, 114) = 3.59$, $p = .03$, Wilks's Lambda = .94, partial $\eta^2 = .06$. There was a statistically significant interaction between level of rape myths in the vignette and gender, $F(2, 114) = 3.64$, $p = .03$, Wilks's Lambda = .94, partial $\eta^2 = .06$.

When the results for the dependent variables were considered separately, significant main effects were found in victim blaming for type of rape, $F(7, 115) = 4.71$, $p = .03$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, which is a small to medium effect. Inspection of the mean values demonstrated that victims of acquaintance rape ($M = 2.00$, $SD = 1.06$) were blamed more than victims of stranger rape ($M = 1.64$, $SD = 0.69$). There was also a significant main effect for level of rape myths, $F(7, 115) = 22.20$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .16$, which is a large effect. Gender did not have a significant main effect ($p > .05$). There was a significant interaction between gender and level of rape myths, $F(7, 115) = 7.01$, $p = .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, which is a medium effect. For the analysis of the simple effects, a Bonferroni correction was applied to the significance level as four t tests were being carried out. The required significance level was therefore $p < .013$. Males blamed the rape victim at a significantly higher level, $t(58) = -5.42$, $p < .01$, $d = 1.42$, when there was a high level of rape myths in the scenario ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 0.99$) compared to when there was a low level of rape myths in the scenario ($M = 1.20$, $SD = 0.32$). Also, when there was a low level of rape myths, $t(58) = -3.16$, $p = .003$, $d = 0.83$, females ($M = 1.67$, $SD = 0.72$) blamed the rape victim significantly more than males ($M = 1.20$, $SD = 0.32$).

For perpetrator blaming, significant main effects were found for type of rape, $F(7, 115) = 5.06$, $p = .03$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, which is a small to medium effect, and for gender, $F(7, 115) = 7.23$, $p = .008$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, which is also a medium effect. An inspection of the mean scores for type of rape demonstrated that perpetrators of stranger rape ($M = 6.87$, $SD = 0.27$) were blamed more than perpetrators of acquaintance rape ($M = 6.57$, $SD = 0.54$).

For the effect of gender, males ($M = 6.85$, $SD = 0.26$) were found to engage in higher levels of perpetrator blaming than females ($M = 6.59$, $SD = 0.55$).

**THE INFLUENCE OF SPECIALIST TRAINING ON
(A) VICTIM BLAMING AND (B) PERPETRATOR BLAMING**

To examine the influence on victim blaming of receiving specialist training to deal with rape victims, a 2 (received specialist training vs. no specialist training) \times 2 (male vs. female) \times 2 (stranger rape vs. acquaintance rape) \times 2 (low level of rape myths vs. high level of rape myths) between-subjects ANOVA was carried out. This revealed no significant effects beyond those reported in MANOVA analysis above. Training neither had a significant main effect nor interacted with any of the other dependent variables.

For perpetrator blaming, as there had been significant main effects for gender and type of rape, these variables were included in a 2 (male vs. female) \times 2 (stranger rape vs. acquaintance rape) \times 2 (received specialist training vs. no specialist training) between-subjects ANOVA. This analysis revealed a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 115) = 3.61$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$. There was a significant interaction between gender and training, $F(1, 115) = 1.34$, $p = .02$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. As before, the p value was set at $p < .013$. Analysis of the simple effects demonstrated one significant difference, $t(36) = 3.12$, $p < .01$, $d = 1.04$, between male and female specially trained officers, such that female trained officers ($M = 6.32$, $SD = 0.79$) blamed the perpetrator less than male trained officers ($M = 6.90$, $SD = 0.25$). There was also a significant interaction between type of rape and training, $F(1, 115) = 1.61$, $p = .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, $d = 0.77$. Again, the p value was set at $p < .013$. Analysis of the simple effects demonstrated one significant difference, $t(83) = 3.49$, $p = .001$, such that among police officers who were not specially trained, the stranger rape perpetrator ($M = 6.87$, $SD = 0.25$) was blamed more than the acquaintance rape perpetrator ($M = 6.53$, $SD = 0.61$).

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VICTIM AND PERPETRATOR BLAMING AND
(A) YEARS OF SERVICE AS A POLICE OFFICER AND (B) MONTHS IN A SPECIALIST ROLE**

A hierarchical multiple regression examining the relationship between victim blaming and two predictor variables was carried out to assess the unique contribution of each of these variables. Years of service as a police officer was entered in Step 1 with months in a specialist role added in Step 2. Neither model was significant ($p > .05$). Thus, years of police service and months in a specialist role were not significant predictors of victim blaming. A second hierarchical multiple regression was carried out with the same predictor variables but with perpetrator blaming as the dependent variable. Again, neither model was significant ($p > .05$). Thus, neither years of police service nor months in a specialist role predicted perpetrator blaming.

DISCUSSION

This study has demonstrated a number of effects in relation to victim and perpetrator blaming. First, police officers' rape myth acceptance significantly predicted victim blaming. This supports the previous findings by Koppelaar et al. (1997) that the greater the

police officers' stereotypical beliefs about rape, the more responsibility was attributed toward the victim (see also Frese et al., 2004). These outcomes are supported by the previous findings in the research literature with general population samples. The fact that this is also demonstrated in police officers makes this finding more problematic. It may be that an acceptance of these myths affects a police officer's assessment of the victim, which may therefore affect his or her investigation of the crime. At this point, such links can only be hypothesized, but given the police "culture of skepticism" (Kelly, 2010, p. 1352), it is not surprising that such a relationship was found.

This study also examined specific types of rape myths that predicted victim blaming, finding that "She wanted it" and "He didn't mean to" were significant effects (Payne et al., 1999). "She wanted it" relates to myths that suggest that women secretly want to be raped and that physical force is sexually arousing, whereas "He didn't mean to" relates to myths that excuse men as perpetrators of rape because men are not in control of their sex drive and so may get "carried away." In terms of acceptance of rape myths, higher levels of acceptance were found in the subfactor "She lied," whereby 40% of male police officers (and 34% of female police officers) accepted the myth that "many so-called rape victims are actually women who had sex and 'changed their minds' afterwards." However, many of the myths showed very low levels of acceptance, demonstrating, as Page (2008) found, that rape myth acceptance can be low in the majority of police officers. However, it is still problematic to find some high levels of rape myth acceptance, particularly of those myths that reflect more negatively on the victim. This acceptance of myths may guide the process of subjective judgments being made about rape victims' credibility (see HMIC/HMCPSI, 2007). Further research should examine the link between police attitudes and their behavior. For example, how problematic is police officers' acceptance of rape myths, and how does this relate to their investigative actions in pursuing the case and the treatment of the victim?

Rape myth acceptance did not relate to perpetrator blaming. This may be explained by the IRMAS's greater focus on myths that relate to the victim. It would be interesting to further explore the relationship between myths that relate to perpetrators and how these may predict perpetrator blaming (e.g., the "He didn't mean to" factor within the IRMAS). There has been little previous research examining perpetrator blaming, but Frese et al. (2004) found no significant effect relationship with rape myth acceptance, supporting the current study's findings.

In the present study, police officers demonstrated a significant relationship between belief in a just world and victim blaming (e.g., Sakalli-Ugurlu et al., 2007). This finding suggests that in relevant professionals, Lerner's (1980) concept of people's need for the world to be a just and fair place may be useful in understanding how rape victims are attributed blame. However, given the inconsistency of the previous research, belief in a just world may not be an important explanation in explaining rape victim blaming. No significant relationship was found between perpetrator blaming and belief in a just world. As with rape myth acceptance, the relationship between perpetrator blaming and belief in a just world has been little examined. Murray et al. (2005) found that only among female participants was a high belief in a just world associated with a more negative perception of the perpetrator, whereas Rye et al. (2006) found no such effect of belief in a just world. Given the opportunity that blaming the perpetrator has in restoring justice to a situation, this area needs further development (Hafer & Begue, 2005).

With regard to gender role, a small effect was found in that individuals with an androgynous gender role (higher-than-average masculine and feminine scores) blamed the perpetrator at a higher level than did individuals with an undifferentiated gender role (lower-than-average masculine and feminine scores). There was no significant effect for victim blaming. This lack of effect is similar to that found by Golge et al. (2003) but counter to Quackenbush (1989), who demonstrated that participants who were categorized as androgynous were less victim blaming than participants categorized as masculine or undifferentiated. In addition, femininity, personal masculinity, and social masculinity (see Choi et al., 2009) did approach significance in predicting perpetrator blaming. Adherence to social masculinity includes a greater adherence to traits such as assertive, forceful, dominant, and aggressive, whereas femininity includes a greater adherence to traits such as affectionate, sympathetic, understanding, and compassionate. It would be expected that a greater adherence to these traits would increase victim blaming, thus reducing perpetrator blaming. This is counter to the current findings at present, but as gender role has not been examined in relation to perpetrator blaming, it is difficult to explain this finding more thoroughly.

Additional factors relating to victim blaming that were assessed within this study were gender, type of rape, and level of rape myths. This study found that acquaintance rape victims were blamed more than stranger rape victims, extending this finding to a police officer sample beyond that previously demonstrated in student and community samples (Sleath & Bull, 2010). This finding is cause for concern because of the numerous research findings that have demonstrated that acquaintance rape is a far more frequent occurrence than is stranger rape (HMCPSI/HMIC, 2007). This suggests, as argued by Jordan (2004), that the police (as with the general population) view rape through a very narrow perspective that emphasizes the idea that rape is committed only by strangers (Golge et al., 2003). The interaction between gender and rape myths offers some interesting insight into how gender may influence victim blaming when combined with other factors. Male police officers blamed the rape victim significantly more when there was a higher level of rape myths present in the scenario compared to when there was a lower level. Male police officers' assessments of the rape victim have been affected by including elements such as alcohol intoxication and clothing. This finding again reflects the skewed perception that police officers may have regarding rape that does not reflect the true characteristics of the occurrence of this crime (see Feist, Ashe, Lawrence, McPhee, & Wilson, 2007, for an analysis of the characteristics of rape). It is not surprising that these effects have been found, as prior research within the general population has demonstrated increased levels of blaming attributed toward rape victims in relation to alcohol and clothing (e.g., Maurer & Robinson, 2008; Pollard, 1992).

The second effect found (that when there was a low level of rape myths, female police officers blamed the victim at a higher level than did male police officers) is harder to explain in relation to the current literature. It is more usual to find gender effects whereby females blame the victim less than males (Krahe et al., 2007). However, police officers do represent a unique sample, and Galton (1975) found that female police officers could be more disbelieving of rape allegations than their male counterparts. This may also reflect an aspect of police culture whereby female police officers are encouraged to adopt attributes of the dominant male culture (Loftus, 2008). Future research examining this effect can add to our understanding of the reliability of this effect.

Among these police officers, perpetrators of stranger rape were blamed more than perpetrators of acquaintance rape. This finding is in line with previous findings by Golge et al. (2003) and Viki et al. (2004). However, male police officers were found to blame the perpetrator at a higher level than female police officers. This is counter to the limited research that has previously examined gender effects in perpetrator blaming (e.g., Alicke & Yurak, 1995; Gerber et al., 2004) but is in line with the second gender effect found in victim blaming reported above.

The most important findings of this study relate to the effect (or lack thereof) in relation to police specialist training. For example, no significant effect was found for specialist rape victim training regarding levels of victim blaming. This echoes the previous findings by Lonsway et al. (2001), who found no difference in rape myth acceptance pre- and posttraining of police officers. This lack of effects is troubling, since it would be expected that specialist training to deal with sexual offenses would contain aspects that would address misperceptions about rape victims. This is especially true considering the fact that these myths can be quite prevalent, as described above. This is particularly important given the impact that negative social reactions can have on victims and their mental health (Filipas & Ullman, 2001; Kaukinen & DeMaris, 2009). With their increased contact with rape victims, it is these specially trained police officers who can have much more of an impact on victims, which argues strongly for further enhancements of current police training programs. This is particularly important when assessed with the relationship discussed above between rape myth acceptance and victim blaming. As police cultures seem to consistently demonstrate skepticism about rape cases, further research needs to establish to what extent the lack of effects of training may reflect the reality of the investigation of rape cases. In particular, it would be important to establish whether training does actually have no impact on the actual treatment of rape victims. It may be that there are effects that are not being captured by using measures of victim blaming and rape myth acceptance.

In relation to perpetrator blaming, female trained police officers blamed the perpetrator less than did male trained police officers. This important finding is in need of replication. That the police officers who were not specially trained blamed the stranger rape perpetrator more than the acquaintance rape perpetrator is in line with the previous literature that perpetrators of stranger rape are attributed greater blame (Viki et al., 2004).

No relationship was found between how long the police officer had served within a police force or months working in a specialist role and victim blaming or perpetrator blaming. No previous research has directly studied this relationship. However, Page (2007) did find that experienced police officers accepted rape myths at a lower level than less experienced police officers. In reflecting on these nonsignificant findings, it may be beneficial to further consider the point as to whether police officers do actually come into contact with a broad range of examples of rape victim (e.g., acquaintance vs. stranger, violent vs. non-violent, injury vs. no injury). Du Mont et al. (2003) found that certain types of rape victims are more likely to report to the police, for example, victims who suffered physical injury or experienced physical force. Similarly, Campbell et al. (2001) found that stranger rape victims were much more likely to report their rape to the police than were acquaintance rape victims. These findings suggest that police encounter more stereotypical examples of rape (i.e., those in which victims are more likely to have been raped by a stranger, been physically injured, and encountered a more serious level of violence). This may partly explain why experience does not influence victim or perpetrator blaming. Police officers may not

be gaining experience of the full range of the reality of rape, and so their experience may only serve to confirm their stereotypical perceptions of rape.

The study has limitations. Because responses were gathered through a gatekeeper, this may have affected the responses given by police officers. However, this was guarded against by the questionnaires being returned to gatekeepers in sealed envelopes. It must also be noted that the reliability level of the Perpetrator Blaming scale was lower than a level that is usually considered acceptable. Furthermore, because of the limited sample size, some cell sizes within the analysis were small. This is unfortunately reflective of how difficult it is to recruit meaningful sample sizes of police officers, especially on such "sensitive" topics as rape (Page, 2008). However, the findings within this study largely reflect those previously demonstrated. For example, Lonsway et al. (2001) found no difference regarding rape myth acceptance pre- and posttraining, suggesting that the lack of effect in training on levels of victim blaming is in fact reliable.

Overall, this study has demonstrated some novel effects. For example, it seems that specialist rape training does not affect victim blaming but may affect perpetrator blaming. Also, the processes of victim blaming and perpetrator blaming seem to be different, as demonstrated by differing relationships between rape myth acceptance, belief in a just world, and gender role. Some of the current findings are most problematic in their application to the reality of rape investigations. In particular, victim blaming and rape myth acceptance need to be addressed in police officer groups that have the most contact with rape victims. Dealing with these beliefs will be one step in addressing the culture of skepticism that is currently present in aspects of the criminal justice system in several countries.

APPENDIX

EXAMPLES OF TWO SCENARIOS USED IN STUDY

STRANGER RAPE WITH A HIGH LEVEL OF RAPE MYTHS

Sarah is a university student. She had been drinking alcohol with her friends in a bar. Late that night, she was walking home alone, half a mile from where she lived. She was wearing a short skirt, high heels, and a low-cut top. Her path home went through a small park. A man called out to Sarah. Sarah continued walking. The man grabbed hold of her. He began to undress Sarah. Sarah asked the man to let her go. The man began to push her down to the ground. Sarah tried to push the man away. The man then physically forced her into sexual intercourse.

ACQUAINTANCE RAPE WITH A LOW LEVEL OF RAPE MYTHS

Mark and Sarah are both university students who met at a party at a mutual friend's house, half a mile from where Sarah lived. They got on well that evening. Sarah was wearing a coat, long skirt and flat shoes. Late that night, Mark and Sarah walked back to Sarah's room. Their path went through a small park. When they got to the room, they hugged and Mark kissed Sarah on the mouth. Mark began to undress her. Sarah asked Mark to stop. Mark began to push her back onto the bed. Sarah tried to push him away. Mark then physically forced her into sexual intercourse.

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