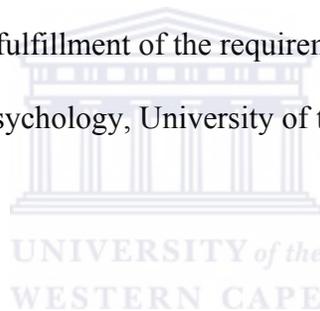


**The relationship between sex role orientation and rape victim blame among police officers
in the Cape Peninsula**

Farahdiba Stephanus

A minithesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree MPsych in the
department of Psychology, University of the Western Cape



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culture

Abstract

Despite community policing interventions, rape incidence in South Africa reflects a consistent increase over the past decade (The Crime Information Analysis Centre [CIAC], 2004). Victim blame continues to be a pervasive aspect of this trauma – where society blames the victim more than the perpetrator for the rape. In unpacking the complexities of victim blame, research has identified sex role orientation of the observer as an important variable. Given that the police service is often the first contact a rape victim has with the criminal justice system, this study investigates how sex role orientation impacts on rape victim blame in a sample of police officers. A non-experimental, survey research design was adopted. A non-probability, convenient sample of 100 members of the South African Police Service was drawn from the Cape Town Central Police Station (CTC), including its satellite stations in Bellville, Kuils River and surrounds in the Cape Peninsula. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) a measure of the degree to which an individual is masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated; the Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale (ARVS), a measure of favourable and unfavourable attitudes toward rape victims; and the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS), a measure of whether participants hold liberal (positive) or traditional (negative) views toward women, were administered to the sample. The study yielded no significant results from the BSRI. However, a significant correlation was found between the AWS and the ARVS. These results indicate that police officials hold negative views about women which impacts on their perceptions on rape victims, i.e. negative attitudes toward women results in unfavourable attitudes toward rape victims. Another significant result indicates that the older and the longer the police official is in the police service, the more negative the attitudes are toward rape victims. The overall implication is that police officials may not be handling rape victims optimally and that these attitudes that they hold may result in the underreporting of rape to the police.

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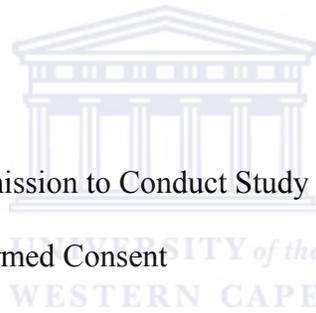
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Foreword

Definitions

A clarification of certain terms and ideas is not within the scope of this thesis. However, there are certain terms, ideas and definitions that need to be clarified before launching a full discussion into the topic at hand. Therefore, the researcher has allocated this section for purposes of clarity for the reader:

➤ **Rape Myth:**

- According to Burt (1980) a rape myth is an attitude that permits the use of sexual violence against women, men or children

➤ **Sex Role Orientation:**

- Is an individual's preference to adopt behaviours or attitudes that are culturally consistent with their biological sex

➤ **Masculinity:**

- Are those traits or behaviours of an individual that has been coupled with an instrumental orientation, a cognitive focus on getting things done or solving problems with a concern for oneself as an individual

➤ **Femininity:**

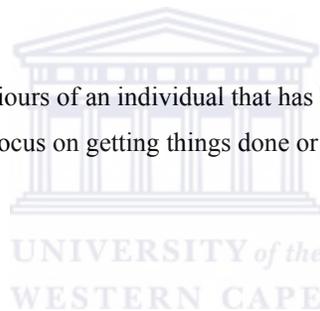
- Are those traits or behaviours of an individual that has been associated with an expressive orientation, an affective concern for the welfare of others and the harmony of the group with a communal orientation.

➤ **Androgynous**

- Is an individual who possesses both masculine and feminine traits and one who rates high on both dimensions or above the midpoint once their scores have been calculated on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI)

➤ **Undifferentiated**

- Is an individual who scores below the midpoint after their scores have been calculated on the BSRI, on both masculine and feminine traits



➤ **Sex-typed:**

- An individual whose psychological gender corresponds to their physical sex

➤ **Reverse Sex-typed:**

- An individual whose psychological gender is the opposite of their physical sex

➤ **Gender Schematic:**

- Individuals who are categorized as either sex-typed or reverse sex-typed

➤ **Gender Aschematic:**

- An individual who is categorized as androgynous or undifferentiated.

➤ **Secondary Victimization:**

Many rape victims experience secondary traumatisation when caregivers, police and others to whom the trauma victim turns to for emotional, legal, financial medical or other assistance respond in an unhelpful or insensitive manner. Many rape victims experience this secondary trauma as worse than rape since it leaves the victims feeling betrayed by those who are the designated “caregivers” in society. This insensitivity may be due to a lack of training and or awareness. In addition many police officials, medical personnel and court officials are overworked, burnt out and emotionally depleted which makes it hard for them to respond with empathy to the rape victim. These caregivers may view the victim as just another complainant/ patient (Robertson, 1998).

➤ **Rape:**

Rape in this writing will constitute any form of sexual violence resulting in trauma including the power dynamics surrounding this violation. Additionally, the researcher would like to add that the impact that rape has on victims, receives attention from various theoretical perspectives, which far exceeds the scope of this writing. However, brief reference is made to the certain feminist perspectives.

➤ **Charlene Smith:**

- Is an acclaimed journalist who was a victim of rape and was stabbed in her home in 1999. Given her journalistic skill she was able to give a detailed account of her experiences as a victim, which gave rise to an outcry against this violation toward women (Smith, 2004).

Chapter 1 Introduction

In this section brief reference is made to rape victim¹ blame, the incidence of rape in South Africa, and the perceptions of society and the law enforcement system toward rape victims. Attention is given to the scope, aims and rationale of the study, as well as the theoretical approach that is used to highlight the relationship between sex role orientation and police officials' perception.

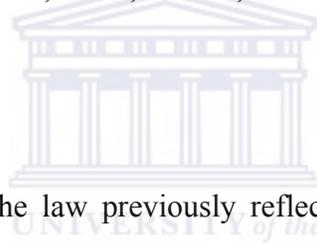
1.1 Background

In the broader context of violent crimes, rape is probably one of the most devastating traumatic experiences that could befall a citizen. Allison and Wrightsman (1993), argue that rape victims fall into a specific category because they not only suffer physical and material trauma, but also psychological and emotional trauma. This point of view is corroborated by other sources (e.g. Suffla, Seedat, & Nascimento, 2001). Furthermore, no other victim suffers from a more "personal and intimate violation of the self...a total loss of control over ones life...one's body and the course of events" (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993, p. 148).

In South Africa, the incidence of rape has been increasing at an alarming rate since 1982 with Swart, Gilchrist, Butchart, Seedat and Martin, (2000) reporting that 52 160 women were raped in 1997. These distressing statistics are confirmed by other sources (e.g. Haffajee, 1999). The Crime Information Analysis Centre [CIAC] (2004) of South Africa reports a consistent increase in rape incidence over the past 10 years, with the figure for 2004 alone at a staggering 52, 733 reported rape cases. Moreover, police reports estimate that only one in 35 women report being

¹ The term "victim" instead of survivor is preferred in this writing, to highlight the disparity in power between those in control and those who are not in control. This term is also preferred, since most sources apply it to individuals who have experienced major traumatic life events. The term is not meant to suggest weakness or helplessness in dealing with the rape, but to refer to the lack of controllability women have over rape.

raped in South Africa (Vetten, 2000a). Other organizations estimate that one out of two women will be raped in her lifetime (Haffajee, 1999). It has been estimated in South Africa that a woman is raped every twenty-six seconds (Anderson, 2000). Additionally most women refrain from reporting a rape to the police (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Suffla et al., 2001; Anderson, 2000; Vetten, 1998). As a result of their trauma, most rape victims withdraw and isolate themselves because of generalized fear, fear of being misunderstood, denial, guilt, shame, hopelessness and self-blame (Suffla et al., 2001; Smith, 2001; Anderson, 1999; Robertson, 1998; Allison & Wrightsman, 1993). Added to the material, physical and psychological trauma that victims endure research indicates that victims also fear ill treatment by police officials, court officials, and medical and mental health professionals, culminating in reluctance to report the rape (Suffla et al., 2001; Swart et al., 2000; Vetten, 2000b; Koss & Harvey, 1991; Thomas, 1991).



Both internationally and locally, the law previously reflected and constructed a very limited definition of sexual violence (i.e. rape), which played a pivotal role in denying and trivializing women's experiences of rape (Hester, Kelly, & Radford, 1996; Vetten, 1997). The legal system often attempted to establish the culpability of women in a rape case. Research points out that previously, frequent attempts were made to establish whether the women "asked for it" in some way, or even gave out messages that invited a male sexual attack (Vetten, 1997; Coward, 1984). So, despite its apparent injunction at protecting women against sexual violence, it was these very same laws that often put women on trial and interrogated them about their degree of responsibility (Vetten, 2000b; Coward, 1984). It appears, as if there was an inherent bias within the system toward rape victims, which probably results in their reluctance to speak out. Women are systematically indoctrinated into believing that their response to rape is overrated, resulting

further in their resistance to report the rape (Suffla et al., 2001; Koss & Harvey, 1991; Vogelman, 1990). In this respect the legal system is instrumental in reinforcing victim blame, and secondary victimization. As a result of the aforementioned factors, rape appears to be highly underreported, and one may merely speculate what more accurate rape statistics would reveal. Furthermore, Koss & Harvey, (1991) states that ‘whatever the public pronouncements of local officials may be in the aftermath of rape, ill treatment and inadequate treatment [of victims] reveal the community’s lack of awareness and concern and lend institutional legitimacy’ to rape myths and victim blame (p. 91). People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) is in agreement with this opinion (Haffajee, 1999). Organizations like POWA believe that communities are not angry and active enough against this violation of women (Haffajee, 1999). This leads one to wonder why there is a lack of community response. Could it be due, in part, to misconceptions (rape myths) that observers have toward the victims or perhaps even the perpetrators?

Rape myths appear to implicate the victims more than the perpetrators (Kopper, 1996). For example, a recent longitudinal study that was conducted among 40 000 participants in southern Johannesburg, yielded an overwhelming response that blamed the victim and not the perpetrator for the rape (Power, 2000). Furthermore, considering the fact that society blames the victim and not the perpetrator, women internalize the blame of rape, and choose to remain silent about their experiences. Thus, the widespread acceptance of rape myths contributes to the underreporting of rape, both socially and institutionally, and prevents victims from acknowledging their experiences (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Furthermore, individuals who support rape myths underrate the seriousness of the crime (Nayak, Byrne, Martin & Abraham, 2003).

Yet, in spite of the constraints that rape victims are faced with, they are becoming more empowered and seek to educate and empower each other. An example of this is Charlene Smith's account of her experience as a rape victim, speaking out against this violation of women (Smith, 2001; Haffajee, 1999). At the same time, even though speaking out is a good place to start, by and of itself it is too insubstantial an approach to eradicate the oppression and violation of women caused by rape. Conversely, "women speaking out", does not imply being heard.

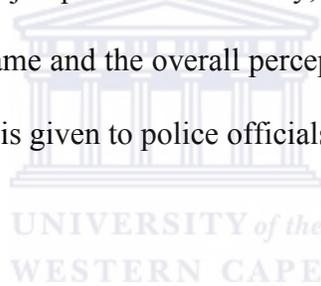
1.2 Scope, Aims and Rationale

Determining the perceptions of the community at large is a far greater task than what the scope of this study permits, therefore the researcher has chosen to focus on a portion of the community with which rape victims come into contact, i.e. the South African Police Service (SAPS). Police officials are often the first contact that rape victims have with the legal system and since victims are aware of, and fear ill treatment by police and other officials, the reasons for their reluctance to report the rape is an area that necessitates investigation. The research was aimed at determining the current status of police officers perceptions of themselves in terms of their sex role orientation, and how this perception impacts on their overall perceptions of rape victims. In this writing preference is given to Sandra Bem's Gender Schema Theory (1993) as a theoretical stance. This approach is adopted to draw a correlation between sex role orientation and how this impacts on the roles that males and females adopt in society. Attention was also given to police officers perceptions of women and how the latter impacts on their perception of rape victims. Special attention was given to demographic variables like years of service, age of the participant and ethnicity. The latter demographic variable received attention due to the significant role that culture plays in the interpersonal relationships between males and females amongst, and between, various cultural groups (Golge, Yavuz, Muderrisoglu & Yavuz, 2003; United Nations

General Assembly [UN], 2001; Anderson, 1999). The former demographic variables received attention because previous studies yielded results where years of service and age impacted negatively on women's account of rape (Jordan, 2004). It is anticipated that the results of the study will serve to inform the SAPS on the reasons for the underreporting of rape cases thereby improving service levels.

1.3 Summary

According to Bem individuals interpret and organize information regarding maleness and femaleness in terms of culturally stereotyped concepts (Larsen & Seidman, 1986). This study looks at whether police officials' handling of rape victims could be mediated by such an attitudinal set. Since rape is a major problem in society, attention is given to the dynamics intimately related to rape victim blame and the overall perception of society toward rape victims. More specifically, special attention is given to police officials' perceptions of rape victims.



Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This section provides a brief background into violence against women and the general perception of rape and rape victim blame in society. It elaborates further on the legal perception and handling of rape victims, the dynamics underlying violence against women and the dynamics of rape victim blame. Bem's Gender Schema theory is clarified, showing how it relates to patriarchy. Particular attention is given to police officials' perceptions of rape victims with specific reference to the South African context.

2.2 Background

Rape is a much-debated topic and is receiving worldwide attention from various sectors (Golge et al., 2003; Suffla et al., 2001; Swart et al., 2000; Anderson, 2000; Anderson, 1999; Simonson, 1999). Rape, has been used as a weapon by men, both at a personal and political level, to maintain the status quo: i.e. that violence against women is a justified act (UN General Assembly, 2001; Gordon & Crehan, 2000). Needless to say, acts of violence against women have been receiving increasing attention resulting in a worldwide growing awareness aimed at curbing the perpetuation of these heinous acts (UN General Assembly, 2001; Gordon & Crehan, 2000). Consequently, awareness of violence against women, i.e. rape, is receiving attention not only academically (Richter, 2003; Golge et al., 2003; Suffla et al., 2001; Swart et al., 2000; Anderson, 2000; Anderson, 1999; Simonson, 1999), but also in the media (Smith 2004; Times [UK], 2003; Australian, 2002; Toronto Star, 2001), as well as politically (Kinnes & Associates, 2005; UN General Assembly, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 1997).

Rape within the South African context has also been receiving enormous media attention and interest where reports on prominent figures like former deputy president Jacob Zuma was accused of an alleged rape (Humphrey, 2006a), and of him being exonerated (Humphrey, 2006b), are cited. In this particular instance, support was given to the alleged perpetrator, while the victim was blamed (New York Amsterdam News, 2006). Prior media reports have also implicated another prominent figure foreign minister R. F. Botha's grandsons, of being part of a group who gang raped an 18-year-old school girl (The Australian, 2003; The [UK] Times, 2003). Other sources focused on the horror of child rape (Richter, 2003; The Australian, 2002) and vigilante action taken by a police officer against a rapist (Dunn, 1998). Six years ago an outcry of rage was heard in a community in Kwa-Zulu Natal when a media report quoted Magistrate Makhaye saying: "I did not think it necessary that there be a bail application...I think there are far worse cases where people are released on warnings" (Salgado, 2000). The crime, needless to say, for which the perpetrator was released, on no less than a warning, was rape - the victims were two seven-year-old girls. In this particular instance, the consequences were minimized and pardoned, due to the fact that the magistrate knew the rapist's family. Such incidents highlight prevalent attitudes held about rape and the perpetrator, i.e. that even though rape is a severe crime, the perpetrator might be exonerated from the responsibility of the crime. It also highlights the attitudes held toward rape victims within the criminal justice system, i.e. that their trauma and plight is minimized.

In this regard, Koss and Harvey, (1991) indicate how legal institutions exacerbate the trauma of rape, and how misconceptions of rape foster ill regard and rationalize poor treatment of rape victims. Further examples of this was found in previous court cases, where jurors were *alerted* to "false accusations" from victims, and police officers and prosecuting attorneys were callously

encouraged to disregard rape victims accounts (Jordan, 2004; Vetten, 1997; Koss & Harvey, 1991; Vogelman, 1990), or where rape cases were downgraded to assault charges (Jordan, 2004; Vetten, 1997; Lees, 1996). However, the raping of women and children is not a recent phenomenon. Violence (i.e. rape) against women has largely been endorsed by society (Gordon & Crehan, 2000). Men have raped and victimized women since feudal times (White & Robinson Kurpius, 1999). The prevailing belief has been that women wanted sex and, were thus not being victimized or raped (White & Robinson Kurpius, 1999; Vetten, 1997).

How is it then that women come to bear the brunt of such a violent crime? Is it the way in which women are viewed by society, or is it the way in which society constitutes rape? Additionally, who decides what constitutes rape? Sources suggest that defining rape is a politically laden undertaking that exhibits social and government tolerance of rape (Gordon & Crehan, 2000; Nix, 1998; Vetten, 1996; Vogelman, 1990). According to Muehlenhard, (2000) different definitions of rape exist and vary with regard to the type of coercion. She suggests that if physical force is used one needs to know how much physical force it was, what kind of physical force it was, whether any explicit or implicit threats of physical force was used, and whether there was verbal coercion or economic coercion (Muehlenhard, 2000)². Furthermore, definitions of rape vary with respect to what sexual behaviours are covered. Some definitions only cover penile-vaginal intercourse, others anal intercourse and fellatio (Muehlenhard, 2000)³. The difficulties in defining rape bear with it both political and power issues of any given time (Muehlenhard, 2000).

² This brief explanation highlights the inherent complexities and loaded subtleties that accompany a definition of sexual violence.

³ Anal penetration has only recently been added to the South African definition of rape.

For example, Xenarios (1988) views rape as “a violent life-threatening crime where the perpetrator’s intimidation and the victim’s fear of death become part of an integral dynamic in the act itself” (p. 95). Xenarios (1988) holds that rape is not a crime of passion, and neither is it provoked by the victim’s behaviour nor affect. Rape is the total expression of contempt by men (rapists) for women (Vetten, 1997). In other words, women do not ask to be raped. Rape is forced onto women. It is a violent transgression against the rights of women. This begs the question of what underlies this violent act against women?

A key element underlying sexual violence is male power and control over women (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Nix, 1998). This is seen as a gendered phenomenon that exists within a patriarchal context (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Vogelmann, 1990). From a patriarchal perspective rape is seen as both an expression of male dominance over women and a confirmation of their position over women. Millet (1970) was the first to theorize gender power as "patriarchy", and postulated that it is a societal organization where males dominate females. According to Millet (1970), patriarchy is universal and is reproduced through the socialization of "core gender identities". The latter is Social Learning as well as a Cognitive-developmental perspective (Bem, 1981b). In other words, individuals learn these core gender identities from society, or make observations (take cognizance) about how males and females relate, internalize these values or adopt them, and continue to use these identities throughout their lives without question. Furthermore these identities are based on the needs and values of males who value aggression, intelligence, force, and efficacy, and trivialize in females, passivity, ignorance, docility, virtue, and ineffectuality (Millet, 1970). Millet (1970) stressed that males and females are taught under patriarchy to accept a social system that is stuck in unequal power relations. In other words each sex (men and women) relate to the other based on their gender (masculine or

feminine). Furthermore, men are the ones that determine the rules and women (and children) abide by these rules. The idea that males are the “rulers” and females are the ones that are “ruled” is supported by Bem’s (1981*b*) principle of *Gender Polarization, Androcentrism and Biological Essentialism*. From these perspectives, males relate to females in a masculine or dominating manner and females relate to males in a distinctly feminine or submissive manner. However, Bem (1981*b*) differed somewhat from Millet’s (1970) ideas by adding the concept of gender-based schematic processing.

2.3 Sandra Bem’s Gender Schema Theory

Sandra Bem (1985) took Millet’s (1970) idea of patriarchy a step further by developing a Gender Schema theory that highlights the roles that males and females adopt in society. Bem maintains that individuals have a tendency, as they develop into adults, to categorize stimuli (i.e. gender) from their environment, to help classify and organize information in order to simplify their world (Martin, Ruble, & Szkrybalo, 2002.) In terms of using gender as an *organizing principle* (or schema) to interpret reality, individuals differ in how they understand incoming information (Frable & Bem, 1985). This is where Bem differs from Millet (1970). If for example, an individual is sex-typed (or gender schematic) s/he is more likely to interpret information based on their gender despite other possible points of view (Frable & Bem, 1985).

On the other hand, if an individual is reverse sex-typed or gender aschematic (androgynous/undifferentiated), s/he will make use of a varied amount of perspectives to interpret information (Bem, 1981*b*). So, considering the idea of patriarchy, a masculine man is likely to want to dominate females and a feminine female is likely to accept being dominated by a masculine male in spite of other possible ways of relating to each other. Furthermore, sex-typed individuals are

different from reverse sex-typed and gender aschematic individuals in that they are more inclined to process information on the basis of sex-related messages (Payne, Connor & Colletti, 1987; Bem, Martyna & Watson, 1976).

Yet, these facts are not determined by how masculine or feminine these individuals are, but are based on whether or not their self-concept and behaviour is organized by their gender (Payne et al., 1987; Bem & Martyna, 1976). This means that sex-typed individuals have a tendency to perceive the environment from a distinctly gendered or patriarchal perspective. Taking this a step further, Bem (Martin et al., 2002; Bem, 1993), observes that the culture of any given society is constituted by a set of hidden assumptions about how its members should think, look, act and feel. These assumptions are deeply rooted within cultural discourses, social institutions, and individual psyches, resulting in specific patterns of thought, and behaviour, being systematically and invisibly reproduced generation after generation (Martin et al., 2002; Renzetti & Curan, 1995; Bem, 1985; Bem, 1975). Bem calls these assumptions, “lenses” (Renzetti & Curan, 1995; Bem, 1985). Bear in mind that the former point is in keeping with Millet’s (1970) idea of patriarchy.

As mentioned earlier, Bem (Renzetti & Curan, 1995; Bem, 1985) states that most cultures have three gender culture lenses, which manifests in gender polarization, androcentrism, and biological essentialism. In *gender polarization* males and females are considered fundamentally different and these differences govern the “central organizing principal for the social life of the society” (Renzetti & Curan, 1995, p.88). *Androcentrism* refers to the prevailing idea that males are superior to females and that the male experience is the norm by which female experiences should be judged. The final gender lens, *biological essentialism*, acts as a rationalization and

legitimization for the other two lenses, portraying them as a natural and inevitable result of the inherent biological differences between the two sexes (Martin et al., 2002; Renzetti & Curan, 1995; Bem 1985).

Bem's overall concern centers on how these lenses function to cast men and women into sex stereotypes that are preserved within cultures (Renzetti & Curan, 1995). In other words, as stated earlier, males relate to females in a distinctly masculine manner (sex-typed) and females adopt a feminine demeanor (sex-typed) when relating to males (Bem, 1981*b*). She also states that sex-typed individuals are more inflexible in their interpretation of the environment (Frable & Bem, 1985). Bem suggests that the process of gender acquisition is merely a process of socialization, or enculturation (Renzetti & Curan, 1995). She differentiates between two processes of socialization that are imperative for successful enculturation to ensue (Renzetti & Curan, 1995; Bem, 1975). In the first instance, Bem emphasizes how institutionalized social practices are preprogrammed into each individual's daily experience, so that each individual conforms to the "default option" of that particular society (Koesterer, 2006; Martin et al., 2002; Renzetti & Curan, 1995, Bem, 1975). So, if the "default option" of a given society is one of patriarchy, then individuals will accept that males are meant to dominate females.

Secondly, individuals are consistently exposed to *implicit lessons* or *metamessages* regarding what is valued and important or significantly different between individuals within a particular culture (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti & Curan, 1995). Through these processes, the lenses of a culture is so thoroughly imparted onto the consciousness of individuals, that individuals become "cultural native[s]", unable to distinguish between his/her reality and that of the culture (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti & Curan, 1995). Bem highlights an important point, that society is so

entrenched with androcentrism, that even policies and practices that appear gender impartial are inherently androcentric under scrutiny (Renzetti & Curan, 1995). On the other hand, consistent with Bem's Gender Schema Theory, eradicating gender polarization and androcentrism is only possible if society undergoes a total transformation of cultural consciousness (Renzetti & Curan, 1995).

Renzetti and Curan (1995) suggest that Bem's Gender Schema Theory could effect the eradication of both gender polarization and androcentrism. In an attempt to unpack the dynamics of rape and rape victim blame, Bem's (1985) theory on gender acquisition forms a useful theoretical foundation for understanding the relationship of gender socialization, sex role orientation and attitudes to rape victims. Furthermore, gender polarization, androcentrism and biological essentialism lends itself to the entrenchment of blaming the victim. For example, within the construct of androcentrism, those in power could minimize the experiences of a rape victim as has been previously illustrated (Muehlenhard, 2000; Salgado, 2000). In addition to this, rape could be viewed as a statement of power and aggression in an attempt to confirm the rapist's masculinity (Tau, 2003; Robertson, 1998). Moreover, biological polarization, androcentrism and biological essentialism entrenches the idea of patriarchy.

Recalling the idea on patriarchy once more, feminist reviews have indicated that victims and not perpetrators are held responsible for rape within a patriarchal society (Koss & Harvey, 1991). As recent as 1975 for instance, rape legislation in the United States still encouraged jurors to reject the victim's, and accept the defendant's account of events surrounding an alleged rape (Koss & Harvey, 1991). It was only in cases where the women could prove initial and ongoing resistance, that she was not held culpable for the rape (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Feminists oppose

these hierarchical structures of traditional (i.e. patriarchal) public service agencies, and stress the point, that within a patriarchal society, it is women, not the perpetrators, who are held responsible for rape (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Koss & Harvey, 1991). Another factor that feminist analysis emphasizes is that, both rape and the fear of being raped, reinforces male power and perpetuates social control of women (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Thus, women are expected to lead restricted lifestyles, limit their ventures into the outside world, seek male protection, and suppress inclinations toward autonomy and independence, lest they be raped (Vetten, 1997; Koss & Harvey, 1991; Vogelmann, 1990).

Expression of the influence of patriarchy is evident in the legal definition of rape. Thomas (1991) gives an example from Brazilian law where rape is defined as a criminal act against women who are constrained into “carnal conjunction” (vaginal intercourse) by using violence (i.e. bodily injury), or serious threat (i.e. material or moral damage). She argues that from this definition, rape is viewed as a crime against custom, and not as a crime against women (Thomas, 1991). Brazilian feminists argue that by calling it a crime against custom, what is being protected is in fact the female’s reproductive function within society (Thomas, 1991). Accordingly, it is not women who are being violated against by rape – and neither are they protected against it. Rather, it is society that indirectly protects its capacity to reproduce itself through women that is being protected (Thomas, 1991). By these measures women are probably also open to judgment and blame from observers within society.

Yet, the barrier in legal definitions by itself is too simplistic to understand why women are being blamed for rape. In an attempt to better understand those elements that contribute to rape in contemporary society, researchers have turned their attention toward perceptions of rape victims

and attitudes about rape (Caron & Carter, 1998; Kormos & Brookes, 1994).

2.4 Previous Research on Rape Victim Blame

One area of investigation has focused on observer characteristics, that is, those who have to deal with victims of rape. As mentioned earlier, these may include individuals from family members to legal professionals. According to Bell, Kuriloff and Lottes (1994) varying attributions of responsibility and blame may result, depending on the extent to which observers identify with the rape victim. These authors propose that observers, who have previously been raped, might be more sympathetic toward rape victims than observers who have not experienced rape at all. Experience of rape therefore, is likely to influence an observer's perception toward rape victims.

Another area of investigation is perceptions of rape perpetrated by acquaintances versus strangers. Bell et al. (1994) noted that in both instances different reactions are elicited from victims and observers alike. On the one hand, women who have been raped by an acquaintance are less likely to define the event as rape, while observers attribute greater responsibility for the rape to victims of stranger rape than to victims who are acquainted with their attacker (Golge et al., 2003; Bell et al., 1994). Conversely, more responsibility and blame could also be attributed to victims of date rape. Using four vignettes on 132 male and 168 female college students, Bell et al. (1994) tested students' level of "Victim Blame". In the events of a rapist and victim being acquainted with each other, it was found that college students were more likely to blame the female victim for the rape (Bell et al., 1994).

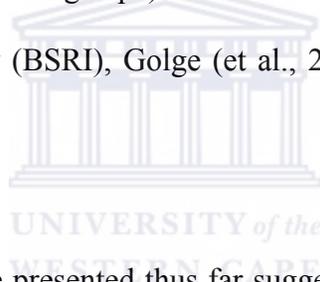
Various studies have noted that, men were generally more likely to blame the victim, had more negative attitudes toward rape victims and endorsed rape myths more than women did (Golge et

al., 2003 White & Robinson Kurpius, 1999; Heaven, Connors & Pretorius, 1998; Caron & Carter, 1997; Bell et al., 1994; Brems & Wagner, 1994; Kormos & Brookes, 1994). In examining the effects of gender and professional status, White and Kurpius, (1999) hypothesized that undergraduate men believed the rape victim was responsible for her victimization, that her relationship with the perpetrator provoked the assault, and that her behaviour invited the rape. They further inferred that many male undergraduates hold to rape myths that blame the victim, which in turn might actually foster rape by absolving men from responsibility in the assault (White and Kurpius, 1999).

In their study they recruited 197 participants and tested their attitudes on the "Attitudes Toward Rape Victims" using a 5 - point Likert type scale (White and Kurpius, 1999). Consistent with their hypothesis, their findings yielded strong beliefs among men attributing more blame to women for the rape (White and Kurpius, 1999). Their findings generally showed a more negative attitude from men than women toward rape victims (White and Kurpius, 1999). The overall finding by White and Kurpius (1999) was that men still sanctioned rape myths, believing that women are responsible for the assault because of how she dresses, behaves, where she works, or because she is already sexually experienced and really wants sex. These researchers argued on the basis of their findings, that these beliefs are probably held to justify sexual aggression (White and Kurpius, 1999). In other words, by blaming the victim, the perpetrator's responsibility for rape is indirectly absolved (White and Kurpius, 1999).

As mentioned earlier, observer characteristics are a strong predictor of rape victim blame. In addition to those factors mentioned above, another important characteristic that influences victim blame and attitudes toward rape victims is the sex of the individual observer (Golge et al., 2003;

Caron & Carter, 1997). Acceptance of traditional sex role norms among males and females influences tolerance to rape, which is a strong predictor of rape victim blame (Golge et al., 2003; Caron & Carter, 1997). Males with traditional sex role identities expressed the likelihood of committing a rape if it were assured that the crime would be overlooked, and also exhibited sexual arousal patterns equivalent to those identified in populations of rapists (Caron & Carter, 1997). Sexually conservative individuals, on the other hand, displayed the opposite and tended to normalize the rapists' behaviour to one of acting on innate, natural sexual urges (Caron & Carter, 1997). Another factor that influences one's attitude toward rape and rape victims is one's sex role orientation (i.e. masculinity/femininity). In this regard, Koss and Dinero (cited in Caron & Carter, 1997) indicated that masculinity and androgyny reliably distinguish between men with histories of sexual aggression (including rape) and those without. However, in a later study using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), Golge (et al., 2003) were unable to replicate these findings.



The evidence on rape victim blame presented thus far suggests that, within the societal context, the victims' behaviour has always been scrutinized for the justification of the rape (Anderson, 1999; Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, Kerschbaum & Efler, 1998; Heaven, et al., 1998; Bell, et al., 1994; Brems & Wagner, 1994), while the general population appears unaware of internalized belief patterns reinforcing the attribution of blame to the victim.

In a cross-cultural study conducted by Heaven (et al., 1998) between South Africa and Australia, speculations regarding attributions of rape blame depended to a large extent on the characteristics of the (female) victim. The overall results indicated that victim blame was not a result of victim characteristics, but was rather a result of the cultural background of the

respondents (Heaven et al., 1998). White South Africans were more likely to blame rape victims for their plight, than their Australian counterparts (Heaven et al., 1998). The above study clearly suggests that apart from all the preceding factors referred to; one's cultural background also influences one's attitudes and perceptions toward rape victims. Cultural values inform societal norms and values.

According to Anderson (1999) researchers are in agreement that cultural rather than individual factors are also instrumental in rape victim blame, in which self-blame is reflective of the societal blame allocated to the victim. From a cultural perspective, rape can be viewed as a manifestation of the general acceptance of violence, sexist attitudes and values, as well as gender inequality, which serves as a mechanism to subordinate women (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Evidence for the latter statement was found among teenagers in the USA. These teenagers accepted sexual scripts that dictate which strategies men should use to seduce dates to have sex, and that women should either passively agree or use any strategy to avoid sex (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Furthermore, many young women and men are taught that women should pretend she means "no", even when she means, "yes" (Koss & Harvey, 1991).

In conjunction with this, family attitudes toward sexuality and male-female roles also suggest that parents socialize sons to initiate sexual activity and daughters to resist sexual advances (Koss & Harvey, 1991). This means that, males are socialized to be sexually aggressive while females are encouraged to be both sexually avoidant and submissive. Clearly these are double standards which women are expected to live by, and in instances of rape would probably lead to confusion and doubt as to the legitimacy of the victims' claim to violation, both by the victim and observers. For instance, within the criminal justice system of Brazil, a rape case is only

investigated if the victim is a "virgin" or an "honest", i.e. not a prostitute, women (Thomas, 1991). In cases where the woman is no longer a "virgin" and she is unmarried, her sexual history results in her allegation being doubted (Vetten, 1997; Thomas, 1991). This reinforces women's apprehension to officially report a rape.

As mentioned earlier, it is the community's lack of awareness and concern, and the institutional legitimacy of rape myths, that result in the underreporting of rape, thus preventing victims from acknowledging their experiences (Vetten, 1997; Koss & Harvey, 1991). Furthermore, in the mechanism of patriarchy, where unequal power relations become entrenched, it has been asserted that victims are held responsible for the rape (Messerschmidt, 1995; Koss & Harvey, 1991).

A survey, conducted among 2000 British women, found that 90 percent of the victims of sexual crimes (rape or assault) refrained from reporting it to the police for fear of unsympathetic police responses, and because of the dysfunctional judicial system (Lees, 1996). Within the British legal system Lees (1996) investigated the procedures surrounding the management of sexual violence. The overwhelming evidence was that, police officers used harsh interrogation methods with rape victims, that rape charges were decriminalized, and that rape victims were forbidden to defend themselves in court hearings (Lees, 1996). Moreover, inadequate police recording practices resulted in many rape cases being downgraded or identified as "no crime" at all (Jordan, 2004; Lees, 1996). Furthermore, the criminal justice system failed to protect victims of sexual violence, while legitimizing male violence (Vetten, 2000b; Lees, 1996). Sexual behaviour is socially constructed and supported by group norms, and Lees (1996) believes that the public airing of stereotypical views of women reinforces male dominance, undermines their experiences, and restricts their autonomy. However, these social norms of "sexual behaviour"

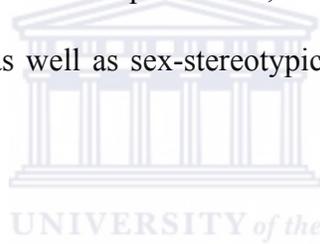
are not only condoned at a societal level, but operate at an institutional level among police and court officials as well (Jordan, 2004; Vetten, 2000*b*; Lees, 1996).

2.5 Rape and Police - Background

Research in Brazil has indicated that prior to the establishment of "Women's Rights" (a feminist activist movement), the police exclusively handled rape cases (Thomas, 1991). The treatment of sexual crime victims among the Brazilian Police force, was openly prejudicial, mocking and conveyed distrust in the victims (Thomas, 1991). The "Center for the Defense of Women's Rights" found that, police officers processed rape cases with a built-in prejudice against victims, that a quarter of the reported rape cases received investigative attention, and that in those cases that were processed, the charge of rape was reduced to a charge of sexual threat (Thomas, 1991). A more recent study in New Zealand yielded similar findings (Jordan, 2004). In most instances, rape victims were intimidated by the blame that was placed onto them by the police, eventuating in the reversal of the charges (Jordan, 2004; Thomas, 1991).

A study conducted in the USA investigated police officials' responses to sexually violent crimes and the role that intoxication played for both the victim and perpetrator in prosecuting the crime (Schuller & Stewart, 2000). Their study revealed that male officers viewed the victim's claim as less credible compared to female officers (Schuller & Stewart, 2000). Overall, police officers viewed the victim's intoxication level as a contributing factor in the rape, i.e. the more intoxicated they perceived the victim to be, the less likely they were to blame the perpetrator irrespective of the perpetrator's level of intoxication (Schuller & Stewart, 2000). This suggests that police officials were more likely to blame the victim due to her level of intoxication and overlooked the actual crime of rape that needed to be processed.

When Jordan (2004) investigated New Zealand police officials' perceptions of women's credibility in rape cases, she found that the traditionally widespread attitude of mistrust concerning women's testimony continues to be obvious in the processing of rape cases. Women were categorized into 'good' (i.e. virgins) victims and 'bad' (i.e. prostitutes) victims and received acknowledgement, or not, for their trauma based on these categories (Jordan, 2004; Vetten, 1997). However, Jordan (2004) reflected on how difficult it must be for police officials faced with the challenge of change in a system that acts as a filtering mechanism. Furthermore, Jordan (2004) indicated that police officials who are generally trained to be wary and suspicious are now being challenged, both externally (socially) and internally (police system) to adopt a more sensitive approach to victims of sexual violence. Additionally, although law reformers are seeking to improve service levels toward rape victims, change is prolonged due to dominant traditional perceptions of women as well as sex-stereotypical perceptions (rape myths) of rape victims (Jordan, 2004).

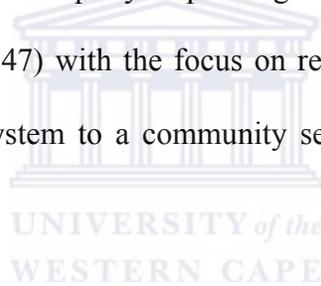


2.6 Rape, Police and Sexual Offences in the South African Context

According to Robertson (1998) a "culture of violence" has held the South African society in a regime of unequal power relations for years. The level of criminal and political violence has its roots in the apartheid and political struggle that dominated the country for decades. Robertson (1998) suggests that the ongoing struggle and change has left many men with a sense of weakness and perceived emasculation. It is evidenced that the greater part of perpetrators of violence are male and the victims are frequently women and children (Tau, 2003; Suffla et al., 2001; Robertson, 1998). This may represent a displacement of aggression in which men of all races feel able to reassert their power and dominance against the perceived "weaker" (i.e. women and children) individuals in society (Tau, 2003; Robertson, 1998). Additionally, an individual

who has been socialized into an attitude that condones violence against women, are more likely to have a rigid sex role belief system (sex-typed), which has at its core a need for power and control (Nix, 1998). According to Nix (1998) traditional attitudes toward women amongst police officials combined with a hostile attitude toward women could result in poor police services for women in general.

Given the extent of violence against women, South African feminists have turned their focus toward gender oppression, in an effort to determine the extent to which women are prejudiced against at different levels of the legal system (Hanson, 1995). Needless to say, an area that has generated much interest is the South African Police Service (SAPS). According to Hanson (1995,) 'policing has been the most rapidly expanding research field in progressive-realist criminology in the past decade' (p.47) with the focus on restructuring the SAPS from a white, Afrikaner-dominated, repressive system to a community service, representative of the general population.



The SAPS has a history of cultural oppression that governed its internal structures (Fernandez & Scharf, 1992). The apartheid system existed within a wide range of racially oppressive measures (Du Plessis & Louw, 2005). The SAPS, with its militaristic legacy and the racially condescending approach of its members, oppressed the black population into subordination (Fernandez & Scharf, 1992; Vogelmann, 1990). Successive governments, in their self-serving drive to entrench the privileges of apartheid's minority constituency, tolerated unprovoked police ruthlessness against blacks (Fernandez & Scharf, 1992; Vogelmann, 1990). The SAPS emerged from within this oppressive, superior, male dominated cultural milieu. Ironically, these are the very same characteristics that are inherent within the subculture of the police force the world

over (Coombs, 1987). Coombs (1987) further suggests that rape victims receive little, if any, sympathy within a system that is entrenched with notions of male dominance and superiority that could ultimately support widespread misconceptions of rape.

Thus, South African researchers have sought to investigate to what extent the status quo is still being maintained (Rauch & Simpson, 1993; Fernandez & Scharf, 1992). A survey conducted into the police service in Grahamstown area in South Africa yielded a general mistrust of police officials (Rauch & Simpson, 1993). Residents criticized officials for their racist, sexist and arrogant attitudes and felt that these attitudes were more evident within the older age group of police officials (Rauch & Simpson, 1993). The mechanisms by which victims of rape are blamed, both socially and institutionally, are intricately woven into the socialization process of each individual. The question now remains whether the socialization of individuals that form part of the police service in South Africa endorse rape myths that encourage rape victim blame? Perhaps a closer look at the results will shed some light on the question.

Taking all the above-mentioned arguments into consideration one should also be cognizant of the fact that the government has initiated major modifications to the overall legal system, which was aimed at changing the SAPS from a force to a community service. Some of the initial changes were aimed at the training needs of police officials (Rauch, 1994) while others addressed factors that would affect changing attitudes toward rape victims (Kinnes & Associates, 2005). The new regime has made an overall effort to improve the state response to violence against women. Included in these efforts are the “establishment of an Office for the Status of Women, a Commission on Gender Equality, a National Crime Prevention Strategy inclusive of a focus on victim empowerment initiatives, the declaration of rape as a priority crime by the Department of

Justice, and the introduction of specialized units within the South African Police Services (SAPS) to deal with crimes related to family violence, child abuse and sexual assault (FCS)” (Suffla et al., 2000, p. 3-4). However, there is to date, no research on the efficacy of these developments and the impact on the management of sexual offences and rape victims.

2.7 Summary

This study examines the evidence as to whether South African police officials hold particular attitudinal sets and how this influences their perceptions of rape victim blame. It may well be that such attitudinal sets mediate both their perceptions of rape victims or their handling in the overall case management.



Chapter 3.

3 Methodology

In this section the motivation for the study, as well as the aims and hypotheses are highlighted. An explanation of the research design, participants and ethical considerations is given. Specific attention is given to the research instruments that are used in this study.

3.1 Motivation:

The motivation for the study stems from both the prevalence of rape in the South African (SA) society, and the level of secondary victimization evident in SA law enforcement and judiciary systems (Vetten, 2005; Suffla et al., 2003; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2003, Vetten, 2000a; Haffejee, 1999; Robertson, 1998; Vetten 1997). As previously indicated, the incidence of rape in South Africa has been increasing over the past 12 years. The police service is often the first contact that a rape victim has with the criminal justice system. It plays a pivotal role in how the victim processes this trauma, including a decision to institute legal proceedings against the perpetrator. Given the incidence of rape in South Africa, a clearer understanding of the dynamics of victim blame is crucial. More specifically, understanding these dynamics has to do with getting a clearer picture and changing the dynamic where blame and responsibility is loaded onto women.

3.2 Aim:

The aims of the current study are as follows:

1. To explore sex role orientation amongst police officers and to identify levels of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny.
2. To explore the relationship between sex role orientation and rape victim blame
3. To explore how attitudes to women in general impacts on rape victim blame.

3.3 Hypotheses:

The aims lend themselves to the formulation of the following hypotheses:

1. A significant proportion of police officers will obtain scores indicating high masculinity as measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI).
2. The BSRI subscales will produce significant mean score differences on the attitudes toward rape victims (ARVS) and general attitudes toward women (AWS).
3. Negative attitudes toward women correlates with rape victim blame.

3.4 Research Design:

A non-experimental, survey research design was adopted for this study. The design was cross-sectional in that the relationship between sex role orientation, attitudes toward women, and rape victim blame was investigated at the same time. This design has inherent weaknesses, such as the inability to manipulate the independent variables, the lack of power to ensure random sampling, and the risk of inaccurate interpretation (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995). The present design therefore has a limited ability to reveal causal processes (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995). Despite these limitations, the design is adequate to investigate the stated hypotheses, which aim to identify statistically significant relationships amongst variables, as opposed to causal relationships (Anastasi, 1982).

3.5 Participants:

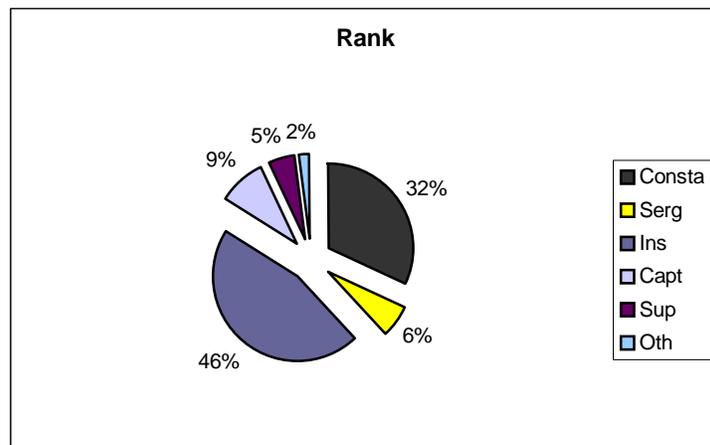
A non-probability, opportunity sample of 100 members of the South African Police Service was drawn from the Cape Town Central Police Station (CTC), including its satellite stations Bellville Police Station (including both the Uniform & Detective Branch) Kuils River Station (Uniform & Detective Branch) and surrounds. The researcher gained access to members of the police service

firstly, by obtaining permission from the police service both nationally and locally and secondly, by visiting the designated police stations and obtaining permission from the station commissioners. This sample included 21 females and 79 males. They ranged in ages from 21 to 54 with the average age being 35.6 years. Service years for participants ranged from 1 to 36 years with an average of 14.2 years experience. Of the historically racial categories 11% represented “black”, 43% the “white” and 46% the “coloured” population. Despite the convenience of an opportunity sample, there are various methodological disadvantages in this method of sampling. These include the weak generalisability of results, the possibility that uncontrolled extraneous variables may explain significant relationships between variables, and the possibility of response bias (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995). These limitations are revisited in the discussion chapter with reference to the obtained results.

3.5.1 Rank (Appendix 3)

Most of the participants held the rank of either inspector or constable. The rank distribution for the sample appears in figure 3.1.

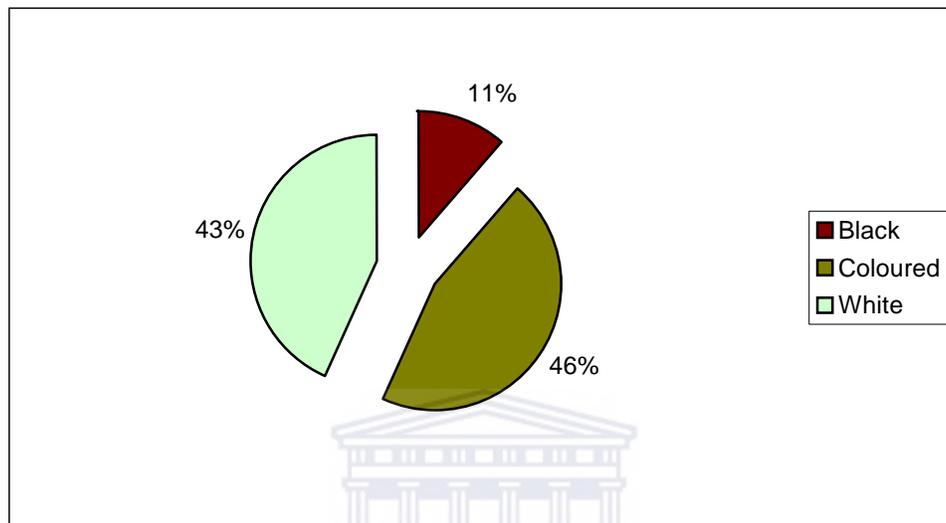
Figure 3.1



3.5.2 Historical Racial Categories (appendix 3)

Participants were predominantly of “Coloured” and “White” decent. The racial distribution of the sample appears in figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2



3.6 Research Instruments

3.6.1 Rape Scenarios as Stimulus – Simonson (1999) [Appendix 4]

Prior to completing the questionnaires all participants were requested to read four rape scenarios depicting stranger rape, acquaintance rape, date rape and marital rape of a female. These four rape scenarios were used as a stimulus to sensitize participants to the various forms of rape. Previous studies have employed rape scenarios as part of their study, which was not the case in this study given the time constraints of police officials (Simonson, 1999; Szymanski, 1993). However, this proved to be a limitation of this study, which is revisited in the discussion chapter below.

3.6.2 Measuring Sex Role Orientation – Bem (1981a) [Appendix 5]

In 1971 Sandra Lipsitz Bem created a new psychological instrument that measured psychological gender constructs (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti et al., 1995; Bem, 1974). Bem operationalized these constructs, which consists of 60 personality characteristics, and developed the Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), to measure the degree to which an individual is masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti et al., 1995; Bem, 1981a; Bem, 1974).

As discussed earlier, Bem argues that within any given society there are hidden assumptions or lenses about how members of a society should behave (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti et al., 1995; Bem, 1974). She further states that these lenses are internalized and are implicit in the dialogue of individuals, and impact on how individuals perceive themselves or others. An example of these lenses is found in the sex roles that males and females *should* adopt. Males are expected to relate to females in a characteristically *masculine* manner and females in a *feminine* manner (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti et al., 1995; Bem, 1974). In other words, they are both descriptive and prescriptive.

Masculinity and *Femininity* scores indicate the extent to which a person endorses masculine and feminine personality characteristics as self-descriptive. High positive scores indicate *femininity* and high negative scores indicate *masculinity*. A *masculine* sex role suggests an acceptance of masculine attributions and a rejection of feminine attributions, and vice versa (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti et al., 1995; Bem, 1981a).

A distinct characteristic of the BSRI is that it treats femininity and masculinity as two independent dimensions rather than one dimension on two opposite ends of a continuum (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti et al.; 1995; Bem, 1981*a*; Bem, 1974). This feature enables the individual to indicate to what extent s/he is “high” on both dimensions (androgynous), “low” on both dimensions (undifferentiated), and high on one dimension while being low on another (feminine or masculine) (Koesterer, 2006; Renzetti et al., 1995; Bem, 1981*a*; Bem, 1974).

In constructing her scale, Bem engaged 100 judges (undergraduate Stanford University students), consisting of an equal number of males and females. These judges rated and selected 20 personality characteristics for masculinity and 20 characteristics for femininity, from a pool of 200 characteristics (Bem, 1981*a*; Bem, 1974). A characteristic qualified for femininity if it was independently considered by both male and female judges to be more desirable for a male than for a female, but not for both (Bem, 1981*a*; Bem, 1974). The opposite applied for a feminine characteristic. The items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale where 1 is valued at “Never or almost never true”, 2 is “Usually not true”, 3 is “Sometimes but infrequently true”, 4 is “Occasionally true”, 5 is “Often true”, 6 is “Usually true” and 7 is “Always or almost always true”(Bem, 1981*a*; Bem, 1974).

Psychometric validation for the scale was derived from a study that was conducted amongst two groups of students (Bem, 1981*a*; Bem, 1974). Bem (1981*a*; 1974) obtained high internal reliability for all three subscales, with alpha’s ranging from .86 for the masculinity subscale, .80 for the femininity subscale and .75 for the undifferentiated subscale. The internal reliability for the androgyny difference score was .85 (Bem, 1981*a*; Bem, 1974). An inverse relationship between masculinity and femininity scales further revealed that they function as independent

constructs, with males in the sample obtaining $r = .11$ and the females $r = -.14$ (Bem, 1981a; Bem, 1974). The scale further proved to have high test – re-test reliability. The results indicated test – retest reliability for masculinity $r = .90$; femininity $r = .90$; androgyny $r = .93$ and undifferentiated scale $r = .89$ (Bem, 1981a; Bem, 1974). An additional list of 20 characteristics was compiled to compromise a social desirability scale, also referred to as the *undifferentiated* scale. The traits on this scale was neutral with respect to sex, and were selected because they were independently considered as neither more desirable for one sex nor the other (Bem, 1981a; Bem, 1974).

In a subsequent study conducted by Gaudreau (1977), the BSRI was administered to a large group of managers (120), executives (16), clerical workers (100), male police officers (36) and housewives (36), to investigate the factor structure of the BSRI. The factor correlations were based on intercorrelations of 60 items; the sex of the subject, the femininity score, the masculinity score and the androgyny score. Principal factor analysis and varimax rotation resulted in 4 interpretable factors. The first factor included 17 of the original items on the masculine scale and was interpreted as the masculinity factor. The second factor included 13 of the original items from the femininity score and was interpreted as the femininity factor. The third factor referred to the actual sex of the participant, and the fourth factor was defined as a neutral *maturity* factor. Gaudreau (1977) concluded that the BSRI has an advantage above numerous other sex role inventories, in that the factor analysis reveal the masculinity and femininity subscales as orthogonal or independent.

Campbell, Gillaspay and Thompson (1997) employed confirmatory factor analytic (CFA) methods to investigate the construct validity for both the long and short form of the BSRI.

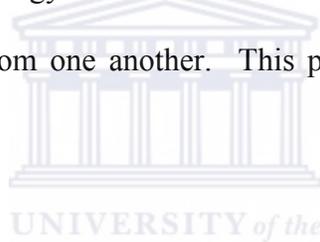
Campbell et al., (1997) tested several models, including *no factors* and a *single bipolar factor* model to fit the data. Campbell et al. (1997) concluded that the evidence seemed to support Constantinople's (in Campbell et al., 1997) view, that stereotypically masculine and stereotypically feminine traits are distinct dimensions. This finding lends further support to the structure of the BSRI. The *fit* statistics further suggested superiority of the scores for the short form, than for the longer version (Campbell, et al., 1997).

Holt (1998) further questioned the current validity of the BSRI. Holt (1998) hypothesized that since the BSRI was constructed over 20 years ago, the representations of masculinity and femininity might have become outdated. She examined whether college students' sex role perceptions might have changed since the 1970's (Holt, 1998). She administered the scale to 68 men and 70 women between the ages of 18-52. The results indicated that the BSRI was still a valid measure of sex role perceptions. However, the findings in Holt's sample suggested that sex role stereotyping was weaker than the original sample to which Bem had administered the scale (Holt, 1998). It also suggests that students' have less traditional perceptions of what constitutes masculinity and femininity. Holt (1998) concludes that although sex-role perceptions have changed over the years, the transformation is not enough to invalidate the BSRI.

However, a more recent study (Hoffman & Borders, 2001) indicated that the BSRI is a complicated scale with many ambiguities. The latter is due to Bem's indecisiveness with regard to how she classifies the four distinct subgroups of masculinity, femininity, androgyny and undifferentiated, as well as the differing results that are yielded when employing the two scoring methods (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). In this regard, some researchers are suggesting that one needs to exercise caution when employing scales that categorize individuals into groups of, for

example, masculine or feminine (Hoffman & Borders, 2001; Muehlenhard, 2000; Gross, Batlis, Small & Erdwins, 1976).

One can score the BSRI by making use of the Hybrid method or the Median split method. For the current study, the median split method was employed. This is a standard research technique to create a typology from participants' scores (Bem, 1981*a*; Bem, 1974). Participants were divided at the median on both the Femininity and Masculinity scales and from this they were designated into four categories of feminine, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated. According to Bem (1981*a*; 1974) the inherent shortcoming of this method is that it categorizes participants as feminine or masculine even though their Masculinity and Femininity scores are approximately equal, and or androgynous or undifferentiated while their Femininity and Masculinity scores are different from one another. This point is elaborated on further in the discussion.



3.6.3 Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale – Ward (1988) [ARVS]

Ward (1988) constructed a 25 – item scale that quantifies favourable and unfavourable attitudes toward rape victims. The scale consists of 8 positive and 17 negative statements about rape victims. The scale emphasizes victim blame with specific reference to victim denigration, deservingness, blame, credibility and trivialization of the victims' experience (Ward, 1988). The 25-item questionnaire permits responses on a 5-point Likert scale, which ranges from “Disagree strongly” to “Agree Strongly” with a neutral midpoint (Ward, 1988). Items are scored from 0-4 or 1-5 with a totaling from 0-100 or 25-125, respectively, where higher scores reveal more favourable attitudes toward victims and vice versa (Ward, 1988).

Ward (1988) conducted four independent studies with 459 Singapore University students, 510 doctors, lawyers, social workers, psychologists, police and other adults in Singapore, and 572 American students. Analysis confirms the reliability, validity and cross-cultural suitability for this scale (Ward, 1988).

The first study was conducted on 411 undergraduate students, 212 of which were females and 199 of which were males (Ward, 1988). Psychometric validation for the scale was derived from this study yielding internal reliability = .83 (Ward, 1988). Construct validity was achieved in this study indicating that men were more “victim-blaming” than women (Ward, 1988).

In the second study Ward (1988) investigated 48 undergraduate students from the National University of Singapore. This study yielded a Pearson product-moment correlation = +.80 and findings indicated a high “test-retest” reliability (Ward, 1988). The third and fourth studies substantiated the construct validity as well as the reliability and validity, respectively, of the two previous studies (Ward, 1988).

Lee and Cheung (1991) investigated cross-cultural applicability of the ARVS in two studies within a Chinese setting. In the first study, 202 Chinese college students took the ARVS, the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, and the Traditionality-Modernity Factor Scale (Lee & Cheung, 1991). Reliability and convergent validity were established for the ARVS (Lee & Cheung, 1991). In the second study construct validity of the ARVS was further examined, using the known-group method (Lee & Cheung, 1991). The scores of four professional groups were compared. Consistent with previous studies, women showed significantly more favourable attitudes toward the rape victims than men. The findings generally suggest that the ARVS shows

potential for further cross-cultural research and application (Lee & Cheung, 1991). Similar findings are cited in a more recent study (e.g. Mori, Bernat, Glenn, Selle & Zarate, 1995). The ARVS has been applied cross-culturally in the U.S., Singapore, and Australia, demonstrating convincing ecological validity (Xenos & Smith, 2001).

3.6.4 Attitudes Toward Women Scale – Spence & Helmreich (1978) [AWS]

The Spence and Helmreich (1978) Attitudes Toward Women Scale – Short Form was used in this study to determine whether participants have positive or negative views about women.

Spence and Helmreich and Stapp (1973) designed this scale to investigate attitudes toward the rights, roles and privileges that women should have and was not intended to serve as a measure of global attitudes toward women. On the other hand, the AWS also measures sexist views about women. There are two forms of sexism. In the first instance, which is considered to be overt, women are related to from a negative stereotypical mind-set with hostile attitudes (Chung, 2001). In the second instance, considered to be covert, women are perceived in the traditional role of homemaker and care giver. The AWS more closely investigates the overt, rather than the covert sexist beliefs of society (Chung, 2001).

The original scale consisted of 55 items (Spence et al., 1973) and was later adjusted to a 25-item scale (Spence et al., 1973). The scale was further adjusted to a 15-item scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Daugherty and Dambrot (1986) found the 25-item scale to have acceptable alpha (.89) and split-half reliabilities (.86). The short version of the AWS is highly correlated with the original version (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), but it has been noted that the 15-item scale has a tendency to exhibit ceiling effects (Chung, 2001). Examples of the 4-point Likert-

scale statements include “swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man” and “a woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage” (Spence et al., 1973). Due to time constraints of police officials the researcher selected the 15-item scale. The 15-item questionnaire permits responses on a 4-point Likert scale, which ranges from “Agree strongly” to “Disagree Strongly” (Spence et al., 1973). Some items are reverse-scored so that a high composite score (up to 60) indicated positive attitudes toward women, and a low composite score (down to 15) indicated negative attitudes.

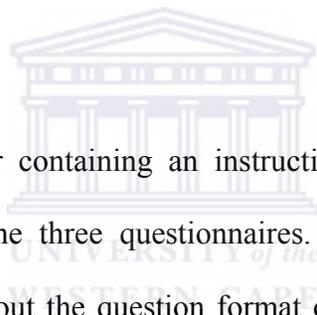
Although these instruments have been used extensively in international studies, a comprehensive literature search has uncovered no South African study using these scales. Thus, according to the knowledge of the researcher, a study using these scales will be the first of its kind in the South African Context.



3.7 Procedure:

Permission to conduct research was obtained from the Provincial Commissioner for the Western Cape, Commissioner M. Petros for the Cape Metropolitan Police Station, East and West. Each station’s Commissioner briefed personnel about the study and appointments were set up at the convenience of participants, i.e. work and time permitting. At each appointed setting participants were once again briefed about the study and informed consent was obtained from each participant after s/he was informed in a transparent manner about the aims of the research. Each participant confirmed his or her voluntary participation. An explanation of the procedures to be undertaken to ensure the confidentiality of each participant was provided to each participant. The concept of protecting the identity of the police official was conveyed to each participant.

The issue of confidentiality is particularly important in the case of police officials since they have to deal with the general public. Given these set of circumstances any information that is misconstrued by the public or that could minutely implicate police officials negatively would place most police officials at serious risk of threat and or danger. The latter reasons were provided to police officials when they were requested to sign the “Informed Consent” form. In spite of the explanations given before embarking on the practical filling in of the questionnaires, some of the officials appeared slightly apprehensive about signing the Informed Consent form. Therefore, the reason for protecting their identity in the case of this particular study was further highlighted. At all three stations a designated area was provided in which participants could complete questionnaires. The latter ensured that ethical considerations like confidentiality and anonymity could be maintained.



Each participant received a folder containing an instruction page, a consent form, a single version of a rape scenario and the three questionnaires. The researcher gave participants instructions and informed them about the question format of the BSRI, ARVS, and the AWS. The BSRI was placed before the other two questionnaires to avoid influence from the other instruments on gender role classification. The participants were reminded to sign the voluntary consent form in the researchers’ presence. The researcher counter signed the voluntary consent form and handed each participant’s copy back to her/him. The questionnaires were handed back to the researcher in person to ensure confidentiality.

3.8 Statistical Analysis:

All the statistical analysis for this study was completed using the SPSS statistical package (Norusis/SPSS Inc., 2006). With the RELIABILITY sub-program of SPSS, an analysis was

done on the psychometric properties of all the measures employed in this study. This subprogram yielded alpha coefficients, which indicated the reliability of each measure. The descriptive statistics on measures was obtained with the DESCRIBPTIVE sub-program of SPSS. This sub-program yielded means and standard deviations for all measures used in this study. Particularly relevant to the hypothesis of this study were the means obtained for the ARVS. The ANOVA sub-program was employed to test for significant differences in mean scores on the ARVS and AWS. The CORRELATION sub-program was used to determine significant correlations between the ARVS and AWS.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

In accordance with the ethical directives that inform research in general, recognition of participants' ethical interests was maintained through the following measures:

- The station commissioner of each station informed participants about the research before contact was established between the researcher and participant. Participants were given the freedom of choice to participate in the research or not. Once contact was established, participants were informed about the research in a transparent manner, before consent was obtained from them.
- The researcher informed all participants about the procedures that would be undertaken to ensure confidentiality of all information derived from him/her, ensuring the protection of his/her identity. It was important that participants understood that the information that they disclosed would in no way place them in harms way when dealing with the public.
- Participants were informed that the results of the research would be shared with the police service as well as with the general public in view of the publics right to review this information.

3.10 Summary

The impetus to conduct a study of this nature amongst police officials was based on the high incidence of rape in South Africa. Furthermore, the relationship between sex role orientation, attitudes toward women and rape victim blame amongst members of the SAPS, has received little research attention. The BSRI, AWS, and ARVS were the research instruments that were used to highlight attitudinal sets amongst a sample of police officials within the SAPS. It is anticipated that the research will yield prevalent attitudinal sets within this sample,



Chapter 4

4 Results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter represents the findings of the current study. The psychometric properties of the scales used are presented, as well as the results of the descriptive, correlational and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA's) for the various variables.

4.2 Psychometric Properties

4.2.1 Internal Consistency

In keeping with standard procedure (Anastasi, 1979) the results of the internal reliability for the scales employed are presented in table 4.1.

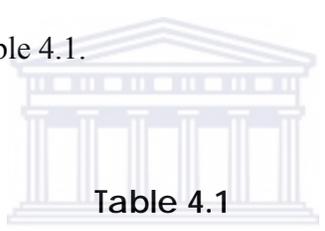


Table 4.1

Internal reliability coefficients: Masculinity/Femininity, AWS and ARVS scales.

SCALES	NUMBER	ALPHA
Masculinity Subscale	20	.77
Femininity Subscale	20	.81
AWS	15	.70
ARVS	25	.72

According to Huysamen (1996) reliability coefficients for measures used when making decisions about individuals could be $\alpha = 0.85$ or higher. On the other hand, measures used for making decisions about groups could be $\alpha = 0.65$ or higher (Huysamen, 1996). The above alphas seem to compare well with this line of reasoning.

4.2.2 The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) – (1981a)

The BSRI (Bem, 1981a) is a standardized instrument that measures the sex role orientation for both males and females. The following reliability coefficients for the femininity scale $\alpha = .81$ and for the masculinity scale $\alpha = .77$, was found. This is in keeping with previous studies that have yielded internal reliability coefficients for Femininity (f) $\alpha = .77$, (f) $\alpha = .76$, (f) $\alpha = .84$, (f) $\alpha = .80$; and Masculinity (m) $\alpha = .71$, (m) $\alpha = .79$, (m) $\alpha = .75$, (m) $\alpha = .86$, respectively (Golge, et al., 2003; Katsurada, & Sugihara, 1999; Campbell, et al., and Johnson, Jones & Bremms, 1996).

4.2.3 The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) – (1978)

The alpha coefficients obtained for the AWS was $\alpha = .70$. Other studies have yielded alphas higher than the current study. Alphas of $\alpha = .78$ by White and Robinson Kurpius, (2002), and $\alpha = .84$ by Ong and Ward (1999) was found. Elklit (2003) in a recent Danish study found a three-factor solution for this scale, and report alphas: Victim Deservingness $\alpha = .70$, Victim Credibility $\alpha = .71$, and Victim Blame $\alpha = .62$.

4.2.4 The Attitudes Rape Victims Scale (ARVS) – (1988)

The ARVS yielded an alpha coefficient of $\alpha = .72$. The alpha obtained in the current study is significantly lower than that obtained by Ward (1988) who found $\alpha = .83$ and $\alpha = .86$ respectively. In a study conducted by Lee and Cheung (1991) $\alpha = .75$ was yielded, which is also much higher than the alpha yielded in the current study.

4.3 Descriptive Statistics for Instruments

The means and standard deviations (SD) for all subscales of the measures used are presented in table 4.2.

Table 4.2
Descriptives: Masculine/Feminine, AWS, ARVS
M=mean; SD=standard deviation;

Scales	M	SD	Min	Max
Feminine	4.95	.70	1.75	6.55
Masculine	5.14	.63	2.75	6.25
AWS	30.48	6.51	13.0	42.0
ARVS	60.24	11.21	1.24	3.74

4.3.1 The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) Subscales – (1981a)

The distributions of the gender roles for the BSRI were: *Feminine* (F) 18%, and *Masculine* (M) 19% *Androgynous* 32% (N = 32); and *Undifferentiated* 31% (N = 31). The mean ratings for the gender role subscales were $F = 4.95$; and $M = 5.14$ and the standard deviation was $F = .70$; and $M = .63$ respectively. The means for the current study compare well to that of Gaudreau's (1977) study that yielded means for $F = 5.63$ and for $M = 4.85$. It appears as if the current study yielded slightly lower scores for the standard deviation than those from Gaudreau's (1977) study where standard deviations for $F = 0.78$ and for $M = 0.93$ were found.

4.3.2 The Attitudes Toward Women Scale – Short Form (AWS) – (1978)

Out of a possible score of 60 the mean (SD) for the AWS was 30.4 (6.51). The minimum was 1.87 and the maximum was 3.80. Similar to the BSRI, the median split method was also employed for the AWS to categorize participants. Those individuals that scored above the median were categorized as liberal toward women, while those below the median held traditional views toward women. The results indicated that 55% (N= 55) of the participants held traditional views toward women, while 45% (N= 45) held liberal views toward women. The current study

was unable to replicate main effects for gender and ethnicity, respectively, previously found in other studies (Mori et al., 1995; White & Robinson Kurpius, 2002).

Table 4.3
Distribution of Traditional and Liberal views: Number and Percentage

AWS		Females				Males				Total			
		N	R %	C %	L %	N	R %	C %	L %	N	R %	C %	L %
	Traditional	11	20.0	52.4	11.0	44	80.	55.7	44.0	55	100.0	55.0	55.0
	Liberal	10	22.2	47.6	10.0	35	77.8	44.3	35.0	45	100.0	45.0	45.0
Total		21	21.	100.	21.0	79	79.0	10.	79.0	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=Number; R=Row; C=Column; L=Layer

However, a closer investigation for the gender distribution of the views held by the current sample for the AWS was done by tabulating and comparing those with traditional (negative) views versus those with liberal (positive) views (table 4.3). In the current study the distribution of scores for traditional versus liberal views toward women as indicated in the table above, suggests that both males and females (55%) held negative views toward women. Of the 21 females 52% (N=11) held negative views, while 55.7% (N=44) of the males had negative attitudes toward women. The significance of this finding indicates that a greater proportion of both males and females from this sample of police officials had negative attitudes toward women, compared to 45% (N=45) who held positive views toward women. Within the group that held liberal views toward women 47% (N=10) were females, while 44.3% (N=35) were male. Perhaps this suggests that women in this sample operate from a “default option” or even perhaps as “cultural natives” within the police service (Renzetti & Curan, 1995; Bem, 1993). Overall, females are more liberal in their perception toward women compared to the more negative views that men hold toward women. This corresponds well with findings from previous studies (Mori et al., 1995; White & Robinson Kurpius, 2002).

4.3.3 The Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale (ARVS) – (1988)

Out of a possible score of 125, statistical analyses yielded a mean (SD) of 60.2 (11.2) for the ARVS. The minimum was 1.2 and the maximum was 3.7. These results indicate that the overall sample in this current study held negative views toward rape victims. These findings are consistent with results generated in Feild's (1978) study, who found that police officials held more negative attitudes toward rape victims than counsellors and that these attitudes were similar to those held by citizens and rapists.

4.4 Demographics Variables

A series of one-way ANOVA's were performed to test for significant differences between participants on demographic variables, and performance on the BSRI, AWS and ARVS. Unlike previous studies (Mori et al., 1995; Feild, 1978) that found training, ethnicity and gender to reveal significant main effects, no significant results were yielded in the current study for the demographic variables of Rank, Ethnicity, Gender or Training. Therefore, police officials did not differ in terms of their rank and gender. They did not differ in terms of whether or not they received training, either. One significant factor was that neither Black, Coloured or White police officials differed in terms of their sex role orientation or their attitudes toward women. Prior to performing the ANOVA's, ordinal scales were constructed for the two continuous variables included in the demographic questionnaire, i.e. 'Years of Service' and 'Age'. The years of service scale consists of three categories, ranging from 1-12 years for group 1; 13-24 years for group 2 and 25-36 years for group 3. A series of one-way ANOVA's offered no significant results between the participants' demographic variables and their performance on the BSRI or the AWS.

4.4.1 ONE-WAY ANOVA – Years of service

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) with the 25 items as dependent variables was performed. The study yielded significant results between the ARVS and participants' years of service and age, respectively. The significant differences between years of service and the ARVS are presented in table 4.3 (a).

Table 4.4 (a)
ONE-WAY ANOVA: ARVS and YEARS of SERVICE

Years of Service	N	Mean	S.D.	F	P-Value
Group 1 – 1-12	38	2.32	.46	4.575	.013
Group 2 – 13-24	47	2.37	.44	-	-
Group 3 – 25-36	14	2.73	.38	-	-

The ANOVA main effect for years of service yielded a significant Tukey HSD ($F = 4.57$, $p = .013$). This points out that in this sample police officials who held longer positions in the police service had negative attitudes toward rape victims compared to those officials who were in the service for a shorter period.

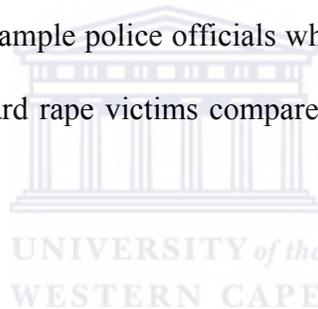


Table 4.4 (b)
ONE-WAY ANOVA: ARVS and YEARS of SERVICE

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Squares	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.82	2	.911	40575	.013
Within Groups	19.12	96	.199		
Total	20.94	98			

Table 4.3 (b) illustrates the Source of Variance Between and Within Groups.

4.4.2 Post Hoc Tests: Years of Service and ARVS

Both the Tukey HSD and the Scheffe tests were used in the Post Hoc analysis to detect the differences between and within the three groups. Analysis indicates that participants from group 3 (25-36 years of service) obtained significant mean differences at the .05 level ($\text{Sig.} = .011$ and

Sig. = .026 respectively) when compared to group 1 (1-12 years of service) and 2 (13-24 years of service), than between group 1 and 2. These results are presented in table 4.5. The results indicate that participants from group 3 hold more negative views toward rape victims than those in the younger age groups suggesting that there is a positive relationship between years of service and negative attitudes toward rape victims. In other words, the longer the tenure of service the more negative the attitudes toward rape victims.

**Table 4.5: Post Hoc Tests: Multiple Comparisons
Dependent Variable ARVS Years of Service**

	(I) Yrs	(J) Yrs	M	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
			Diff. (I-J)			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Tukey HSD	1.00	2.00	-.052	.097	.852	-.284	.179
		3.00	-.412*	.139	.011	-.744	-.080
	2.00	1.00	.052	.097	.852	-.179	.284
		3.00	-.359*	.135	.026	-.683	-.036
	3.00	1.00	.412*	.139	.011	.080	.744
		2.00	.359*	.135	.026	.036	.683

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

4.4.3 ONE-WAY ANOVA – Age and ARVS

The age scale consists of three categories ranging from 20-29 years for group 1, 30-39 years for group 2, and 40-54 years for group 3. Table 4.6 (a) presented below indicates the significant differences.

**Table 4.6 (a)
ONE-WAY ANOVA - Age and ARVS**

Age	N	Mean	SD	F	P-Value
Group 1 – 20 – 29	19	2.35	.47	4.512	.014
Group 2 – 30 – 39	43	2.27	.47	-	-
Group 3 – 40 – 54	24	2.62	.42	-	-

The ANOVA main effect for age yielded a significant Tukey HSD ($F = 4.51, p = .014$). Of significance is the fact that the older the police official was, the more negative their attitudes were toward rape victims.

Table 4.6 (b)
ONE-WAY ANOVA: ARVS and Age

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Squares	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.93	2	.967	4.512	.014
Within Groups	17.79	83	.214		
Total	19.73	85			

Table 4.6 (b) illustrates the Source of Variance Between and Within Groups.

4.4.4 Post Hoc Tests: Age and ARVS

Both the Tukey HSD and the Scheffe tests were used in the Post Hoc analysis to detect the differences between and within the four groups. Analysis indicates that participants from group 2 (30-39 years) and group 3 (40-54) obtained significant mean differences at the .05 level than those from group 1 (20-29 years) and 2 (30-39) or group 1 (20-29) and 3 (40-54 years). These results are presented in table 4.7. Participants from group 3 (40-54) seem to hold more negative views toward rape victims than those from group 2 (30-39) indicating a positive correlation between age and negative attitudes toward rape victims.

Table 4.7: Post Hoc Tests Multiple Comparisons
Dependent Variable ARVS

		Age				95% Confidence Interval	
	(I) Age	(J) Age	M Diff.	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Tukey HSD	1.00	2.00	.078	.12	.539	-.17	.33
		3.00	-.272	.14	.059	-.55	.01
	2.00	1.00	-.078	.12	.539	.33	.17
		3.00	-.351*	.11	.004	-.58	-.11
	3.00	1.00	.272	.14	.059	-.01	.55
		2.00	.351*	.11	.004	.11	.58

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

4.5 Correlations

No significant correlation was found between the BSRI, AWS and ARVS. However, a significant correlation was found between the AWS and the ARVS at a 0.01 level. These results are presented in table 4.8. Although the scales appear to be negatively correlated, a positive correlation exists since a low score on the AWS interacts with negative perceptions of rape victims on the ARVS and vice versa. The results generated from this study indicate that the majority of participants in this study have negative attitudes toward women and thus hold negative views toward rape victims.

Table 4.8
Correlations between ARVS and AWS

		AWS	ARVS
AWS	Pearson Correlation	1	-.553**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	100	100
ARVS	Pearson Correlation	-.553**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	100	100

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

4.6 Summary

Given the fact that the BSRI yielded no significant results, one could erroneously deduce that the current study yielded insignificant results. However, a closer examination of the results suggests that police officials hold attitudinal sets that blame the rape victim. Moreover, these attitudinal sets are more prevalent amongst officials that have been in service for a longer period, and all fall within the older age group. In addition, both males and females hold negative views toward rape victims.

Chapter 5

5 Discussion

5.1 Internal Reliabilities

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of sex role orientation by using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) – (1981a), in police officials and to determine how sex role orientation impacts on rape victim blame using the Attitudes Toward Women (AWS) – (1978) and Attitudes Toward Rape Victims scales (ARVS) – (1988). To investigate this objective, measures of the BSRI, ARVS and the AWS, were administered to a sample of police officials. All three scales produced satisfactory internal reliabilities.

5.2 Inter – correlations between BSRI, AWS, and ARVS

No significant correlations were observed between any of the three scales employed in the current study (BSRI, AWS, ARVS). Moreover, even though cultural applicability was found in previous studies (Katsurada & Sugihara, 1999) using the BSRI, no significant effect was found between the BSRI and ethnicity. Most of the significant results that were generated in this study were drawn from the interaction between the Attitudes toward Rape Victim Scale and the Attitude toward Women Scale, as well as from the interaction between the ARVS and the demographic variables. One could hypothesize that the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) is probably not culturally suitable within a South African context hence its failure to yield significant results. Or, one could hypothesize as Holt (1999) has, that since the origin of the BSRI in 1974, males and females no longer hold to traditional gender role perceptions.

5.3 The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) – (1981a)

Contrary to hypothesis 1, participants in the current study obtained higher scores in the *androgyny* (32%) and the *undifferentiated* (31%) scales of the BSRI, while fewer participants were classified as traditionally sex typed (*feminine* =18%; *masculine* = 19%). Several possibilities could have contributed to these results. The first possibility could have resulted from the method that was employed to obtain the four subscales for the BSRI. The median split method that was employed in the current study often results in a measure of error where some individuals are classified as masculine or feminine despite their Masculinity and Femininity scores being equal (Hoffman & Borders, 2001; Bem, 1981a; Bem, 1974).

On the other hand some individuals could also have been classified as androgynous or undifferentiated despite their Femininity and Masculinity scores being different from one another (Bem, 1978). According to Bem (1981a) individuals in this “problematic category” often score near the cutoff point for femininity or masculinity or both, thus resulting in a greater number being generated in the androgynous and undifferentiated subscales. However, Bem’s concept of masculinity and femininity overlooks the fact that humans are complex beings who participate in the social construction of gender (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Additionally, individuals often score near the cutoff point and sources (Hoffman & Borders, 2001; Johnson et al., 1996) indicate that interpretation using the median split method should be used with caution lest an erroneous classification set results. Another possibility is that when participants answered the first questionnaire an acquiescence response set could have resulted from the fact that participants’ questionnaires were completed in the presence of the researcher.

Participants could have responded in a manner that they thought would represent them as favourable to the researcher, despite the fact that they were assured of anonymity or that the researcher would have no recollection as to who answered which questionnaire. Or, as argued earlier on, one could hypothesize that members of the police service no longer hold to traditional gender role perceptions given the time that has elapsed since Bem (1974) first formulated the BSRI (Hoffman & Borders, 2001; Holt, 1998). A final possibility could be that police officers have moved away from the extreme masculine perspective that had previously dominated the police service. The plausibility of the latter point is explored further on in the discussion.

5.4 Significant results from the Attitudes Toward Women Scale

The results in the present study suggest that 55% of this sample still hold negative views toward women. In spite of the weak results yielded on the BSRI, it still appears as if a greater proportion of the sample in this study holds traditional (negative) views toward women. Similarly, previous studies have indicated that both nontraditional males and females hold negatives views toward women (Ong & Ward, 1999). This means that, in spite of the fact that the greater proportion of this sample appear to be gender aschematic (androgynous), they still hold traditional (negative) views toward women. This begs the question of whether they actually have moved beyond the traditional gender-role perspectives or whether an acquiescence response set has in fact resulted from the circumstances in which the research was conducted. In addition to the former point, a greater proportion of both males and females hold negative views toward women. This begs a second question of whether female police officials are indeed more suitable to deal with rape victims, or are males and females equally able to deal with sexual offences. Or, have females within this particular sample, adopted an attitudinal set with an “uncompromising” approach as a protective mechanism to make it easier to deal with sexual offences. Or, is it that

females from this sample need this particular attitude to deal with offences in general. If the former statement is true, it raises the question of whether male and female police officials, if trained comprehensively, will provide the same sensitivity when dealing with rape victims, or will males be more adept at it than females, or vice versa. Or, are both male and female attitudes toward women in this sample, or even police officials in general, in need of a re-assessment with regard to attitudes toward women? Perhaps the latter point is something that needs further investigation.

5.5 Significant mean differences between ARVS and demographic variables

The results indicate that the older the individual is the more negative they are toward rape victims. The latter is in tandem with the number of years of service, i.e. in this particular sample, the longer the person is in the police force the more negative their viewpoints are toward rape victims. Recall briefly the study that was conducted in Grahamstown (Rauch & Simpson, 1993). Findings from that study yielded results that suggested that those police officials' attitudes were racist, and sexist, amongst other things, and that those police officials were in the older age group (Rauch, & Simpson, 1993). The current study has yielded significantly similar results to the previous study, i.e. that the *older* the individual is and the *longer* they are in the police service, the more negative they are toward the public (rape victims). Does this mean that the major modifications that were initiated by the government to effect change have had very little impact? Or, could it mean that despite government intervention, attitudinal sets within this sample have remained in the "default option" or that, among the older and longer serving police officials, these individuals have become *cultural natives* to the police culture of the previous dispensation.

Another possibility is that either police officials become “toughened” by the environment that they work in and become desensitized toward certain cases like sexual offences. Or, police officials adopt an attitude of insensitivity to protect their own vulnerability when dealing with sexually violent crimes. The latter point could possibly be true for both males and females. Or, it may well be true that the older they get, and the longer they are in the police service, the more accustomed they become to dealing with sexual offences. Perhaps they adopt a negative attitudinal set toward all cases in general in an effort to help them cope with the harshness or violence that they are continuously faced with in the line of duty. On the other hand, Jordan (2004) points out that police officials need to adopt an attitude of wariness and suspicion when dealing with cases in general and maybe this attitude spills over when dealing with rape cases. This begs the question of whether the police service needs to continuously assess attitudinal sets amongst police officials throughout their years of service, and amongst all age groups, in response to sexual offences or even toward all cases in general in an effort to maintain high service levels. The results that are generated from these proposed assessments could probably act as an initiative to maintain high service levels within the police service.

Despite the fact that no significant results were yielded between the demographic variable training and ARVS, all police officials who comprised of the older age group and who have been in the police service for longer than 40 years, whether they received training in dealing with sexually violent crimes or not, were negative toward rape victims. Once again, is this due to the fact that the longer the tenure of service, the more likely these police officials are to opt for the “default option” that maintained the status quo during the previous dispensation? Or, is this a factor that needs further investigation?

5.6 Significant correlations between ARVS and AWS

A significant correlation exists between the AWS and the ARVS. At first glance it appears as if the correlation is negative and therefore rejects hypothesis 3. However, on closer examination it shows that the two scales are interpreted in reverse where a high score on the AWS reflects liberal views toward women, while high scores on the ARVS reflects negative views toward rape victims. The result therefore suggests that those participants, who hold traditional (negative) views toward women, also display unfavourable attitudes toward rape victims. In other words, they blame the victim for the rape. Other studies (White & Robinson Kurpius, 2002; Ong & Ward, 1999; Mori et al., 1995; Ward, 1988; Feild, 1978) have yielded similar results, where negative attitudes toward women were highly correlated with negative attitudes toward rape victims.

This is a significant finding. It suggests that the attitudinal set found amongst police officials could impact negatively on the management of these cases, or could indirectly be contributing toward the amount of reported cases, or lack of reported cases. On the other hand, if one looks at the increase of rape statistics over the past decade, it begs the question of whether rape is still an underreported crime, and whether those reported cases is still only a fraction of the actual rape statistics. If this statement is true, then perhaps the attitudinal sets that are held amongst police officials could probably be considered as a contributing factor for the underreporting of rape cases amongst police officials.

Few studies (Ward, 1988; Feild, 1978) have explored the relationship of police officials' attitudes toward women and rape victim blame. Perhaps the findings from this study could generate further research into attitudinal sets amongst police officials.

5.7 Summary

With regard to the first hypothesis, the majority of this sample proved to be gender aschematic. This begs the question of whether the BSRI was an effective measure to determine the sex role orientation of participants, or whether it was a culturally appropriate assessment measure within the South African context. Perhaps future studies that make use of the BSRI in a larger sample of police officials could shed some light on its cultural applicability within the SA context. On the other hand, one needs to take cognizance of the fact that the BSRI was constructed twenty-five years ago, which begs the question of whether it still serves as a valid measure for masculinity/femininity (Hoffman & Borders, 2001).

As to the second hypothesis, stating that there would be a strong relationship between the sex role orientation and attitudes toward rape victims, no correlation was found. At first glance this might appear as if the sex role orientation of participants in this sample has no impact on attitudes toward rape victims. However, on closer examination of the relationship between gender and the AWS, the study yielded a higher percentage of males with negative attitudes toward women, which has a direct impact on participants' unfavourable attitudes toward rape victims. This could mean that the sex role orientation as measured by the BSRI may have minimized the impact that sex role orientation (masculine/ feminine) could have had on attitudes toward women and rape victim blame, respectively.

The third hypothesis, i.e. that negative attitudes toward women would reflect unfavourable attitude toward rape victims was confirmed. From this finding one can deduce that police officials hold negative attitudes toward women, which influences their attitudes toward rape victims. This could impact negatively on how sexual offence cases are managed within the

police service which could have a direct impact on whether rape victims report this crime or not.

5.8 Limitations in this Study

A number of conceptual and methodological limitations may have restricted the results. These are:

- 5.8.1 Inability to manipulate independent variable
- 5.8.2 Lack of power to ensure random sampling
- 5.8.3 Risk of inaccurate interpretation
- 5.8.4 Limited ability to reveal causal processes
- 5.8.5 Weak generalisability of results
- 5.8.6 Possibility that uncontrolled extraneous variables may explain significant relationships between variables
- 5.8.7 Possibility of response bias
- 5.8.8 Rape scenarios – no opportunity provided for discussion after rape scenarios were read
- 5.8.9 Sample size too small.

5.9 Recommendations for Future Research

5.9.1 In the SAPS

To the knowledge of the researcher, this particular study within the South African context is the first of its kind. Future research could look at how particular cases, graded in terms of impact on police officials, results in certain attitudinal sets. For example, what effect would cases of rape; murder, domestic violence, substance abuse etc., have on police officials attitude toward managing the case effectively. Future studies could focus inter

alia on the relationship between attitudinal sets toward the general public (i.e. men women, children and the aged), and police officials. Other studies could investigate the relationship between police officials' attitudes toward cases in general. Due to the time constraints that police officials are faced with, coupled with a need for research within the police service, perhaps a link needs to be established between the SAPS and universities that would simplify research within this system.

5.9.2 Instruments

It appears as if none of the instruments have previously been used within the South African context. Perhaps future studies need to investigate the cultural applicability of all three scales. Overall, not many studies have investigated the relationship between attitudes toward women and rape victim blame among a sample of police officials. Future studies could explore this relationship further.

5.9.3 Qualitative research

Perhaps future studies could investigate the relationship between sex role orientation attitudes toward women and rape victim blame by using a combination of quantitative as well as qualitative measures.

5.9.4 Sample Size

Should a future study of a similar nature be undertaken, perhaps a bigger sample size would lend itself to more significant results that could be generalized to the overall population within the police service. Perhaps the results of such a study could then lend itself to effect change at a broader scale.

5.10 Conclusion

This study yielded significant results, inter alia, despite government initiatives to effect change within the police service, the majority of police officials from this sample, still hold negative attitudes toward women; and still have negative attitudes toward rape victims. This is cause for concern. Since democracy has been instituted for the past twelve years, it comes as a surprise that police officials within this sample still hold to views that blame the rape victim. Indirectly, this means that the majority of this sample believes that the rapist should be exonerated of this crime. So, despite SA having moved twelve years into democracy, and despite government interventions, not much has changed in terms of the plight of the rape victim.

However, this is a sample of police officials and the overall police service. Hence these results should be interpreted with caution and further research is necessary to either confirm or disconfirm the findings that were yielded in this study. As Jung (1955) so eloquently phrased it: "...the fallacy of the statistical picture... is [that it] is one sided, inasmuch as it represents only the average aspect of reality and excludes the total picture. The statistical view of the world is a mere abstraction and therefore incomplete and even fallacious, particularly so when it deals with man's psychology" (p68-72). Hence, the results in this study needs further investigation, lest erroneous conclusions are drawn.

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UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Private Bag X 17, Bellville 7535, South Africa, Telephone: (021) 959-2283/2453

Fax: (021) 959-3515 Telex: 52 6661

Appendix 1

Dear Prospective Research participant:

Re: Research investigating male and female police officers perceptions or views on sexual violent crimes

I am a Masters degree student in clinical psychology at the University of the Western Cape. I plan to carry out a research study on the above subject in fulfillment of the Masters degree in clinical psychology. The research proposal has been submitted to the Senate Research Committee at the University of the Western Cape. The study is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Charles Malcolm, Department of Psychology, at the University of the Western Cape.

The purpose of the study is to explore police officers perceptions of sexual violent crimes.

I hope that the results will inform police service managers, policy makers and police officers, which will hopefully improve service levels.

I sincerely hope you will consider participating in this study as a research interviewee. Attached please find an informed consent form that specifies the ethical conditions under which your interview and the overall study will be conducted.

Yours Sincerely

Farahdiba Stephanus
M Psych student
Researcher

Charles Malcolm PhD
Professor
Supervisor

Appendix 2

INFORMED CONSENT

Research investigating male and female police officers perceptions of sexual violent crimes

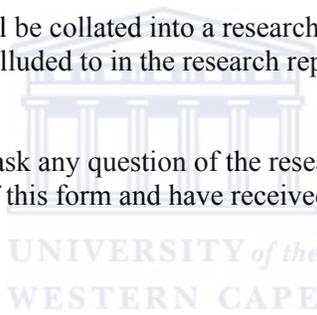
I,.....freely and voluntarily consent to participate in a research project conducted by Ms. Farahdiba Stephanus under the supervision of Prof. Charles Malcolm of the University of the Western Cape.

I understand that the purpose of the study is to conduct interviews to explore police officers perceptions of sexual violent crimes.

I understand that the researcher will request me to participate in a set of interviews and that this interview will be conducted in private, where my confidentiality and privacy of response will be safeguarded. I also understand that my participation is free and voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any point in time without penalty.

I understand that the interview data will be collated into a research report for thesis purposes and that my identity will in no way be revealed or alluded to in the research report. Nor will reference be made to any rape case/s that I have dealt with.

I also understand that I have a right to ask any question of the researcher and expect answers to my satisfaction. I have read the contents of this form and have received a copy.



Participant

Date

I HAVE EXPLAINED THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE TO WHICH THE PARTICIPANT HAS
CONSENTED TO PARTICIPATE

Researcher
(072) 548 0804

.....
Date

Appendix 3

1 Demographic Outline/Historical Information

Instruction - 1

For Official use	
Number	0-100

Gender	
Female	
Male	
Age	
Specify	
Language	
English	
Afrikaans	
Xhosa	
Tswana	
Other	
Rank	
Constable	
Sergeant	
Inspector	
Captain	
Superintendent	
Senior Superintendent	
Other	
Years of Service	
Specify	
Ethnic Grouping	
Black	
Indian	
Coloured	
White	
Other	
Have you received any training in Sex Violent Offences	
Yes	
No	

Appendix 4

Scenarios: The rape scenarios used in this study are heterosexual rape scenes that were adapted from those used by Simonson (1999).

Please read the following scenarios and then answer the questions that follow.

Scenario 1

One night Brenda, a senior officer in the police, went to the movies with several friends. Following the movie, she said good-bye to her friends and crossed the lighted parking lot to get to her apartment, which was nearby. While she walked across the lot, Thomas, a fellow officer whom Brenda had never seen before, came up to her. After attempting unsuccessfully to make conversation with Brenda, he asked her if she were interested in having sex. Brenda said “no” very forcefully, but Thomas did not pay attention to her answer. He grabbed her, began to kiss her, and then lifted her skirt. Her repeated protests were ignored as he forcefully had intercourse with her.

Scenario 2

One night Belinda a senior officer in the police returned to her flat after seeing a movie with friends at the cinema. When she walked into the foyer of her flat, she saw Tex another senior officer, who lived in the same apartment building with her, but whom she did not know well. Tex asked if he could use Belinda’s phone because his phone was not working. After he finished his call, he asked her if she were interested in having sex. Belinda said “no” very forcefully, but Tex did not pay attention to her answer. He grabbed her, began to kiss her, and then lifted her skirt. Her repeated protests were ignored as he forcefully had intercourse with her.

Scenario 3

One night Bernadine, a senior officer in the police, went to the movies with Tyrone. Although Bernadine and Tyrone worked together on a few shifts, this was their first date. Following the movie, Bernadine and Tyrone went back to Bernadine’s flat to watch the late night movie on TV. While watching TV, Tyrone put his arm around Bernadine’s shoulder. A few minutes later he asked her if she was interested in sex. Bernadine said “no” very forcefully, but Tyrone did not pay attention to her answer. He grabbed her, began to kiss her, and then lifted her skirt. Her repeated protests were ignored as he forcefully had intercourse with her.

Scenario 4

One night Brigitte, senior officer in the police, went to the movies with Tom. Tom was also in the police force and Brigitte’s husband for one year. Following the movie, Brigitte and Tom went back to Brigitte’s flat to watch the late night movie on TV. While watching TV, Tom put his arm around Brigitte’s shoulder. A few minutes later he asked her if she was interested in sex. Brigitte said “no” very forcefully, but Tom did not pay attention to her answer. He grabbed her, began to kiss her, and then lifted her skirt. Her repeated protests were ignored as he forcefully had intercourse with her.

Appendix 5

Bem Sex Role Inventory (1981)

Instruction-2

Please rate the extent to which the following personality characteristics describe you on the 7-point scale. The scale is anchored with 1 = never or almost never true, 2 = Usually not true; 3 = Sometimes but infrequently true; 4 = Occasionally true; 5 = Often true; 6 = Usually true; and 7 = always or almost always true. However you can rate yourself from 1 to 7 depending on where you think you fall. Please rate yourself on all items. Indicate your response with an X.

Please tick the appropriate response.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Self-reliant							
2	Yielding							
3	Helpful							
4	Defends own beliefs							
5	Cheerful							
6	Moody							
7	Independent							
8	Shy							
9	Conscientious							
10	Athletic							
11	Affectionate							
12	Theatrical							
13	Assertive							
14	Flatterable							
15	Happy							
16	Strong personality							
17	Loyal							
18	Unpredictable							
19	Forceful							
20	Feminine							
21	Reliable							
22	Analytical							
23	Sympathetic							
24	Jealous							
25	Has leadership abilities							
26	Sensitive to the needs of others							
27	Truthful							
28	Willing to take risks							
29	Understanding							

30	Secretive							
31	Makes decisions easily							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	Compassionate							
33	Sincere							
34	Self-sufficient							
35	Eager to soothe hurt feelings							
36	Conceited							
37	Dominant							
38	Soft spoken							
39	Likable							
40	Masculine							
41	Warm							
42	Solemn							
43	Willing to take a stand							
44	Tender							
45	Friendly							
46	Aggressive							
47	Gullible							
48	Inefficient							
49	Acts as a leader							
50	Childlike							
51	Adaptable							
52	Individualistic							
53	Does not use harsh language							
54	Unsystematic							
55	Competitive							
56	Loves children							
57	Tactful							
58	Ambitious							
59	Gentle							
60	Conventional							

Thank you for your co-operation. Please check that you have made an X for each item.

Appendix 6

Attitudes Toward Women Scale – Short Form (Spence & Helmreich, 1978)

Instruction - 3

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you: (A) Agree strongly, (B) Agree mildly, (C) Disagree mildly, or (D) Disagree strongly. Please rate yourself on all items. Indicate with an X.

		A	B	C	D
1	Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.				
2*	Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry.				
3*	It is insulting to women to have the “obey” clause remain in the marriage service.				
4*	A woman should be free as a man to propose marriage.				
5	Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.				
6*	Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.				
7	A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.				
8	It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.				
9	The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.				
10*	Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.				
11*	Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.				
12	Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.				
13	In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of the children.				
14*	Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity, which has been set up by men.				
15	There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.				

Thank you for your co-operation. Please check that you have made a cross for each item.

* Items are reverse scored.

Appendix 7

Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale (Ward, 1988)

Instruction - 4

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward rape in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you: (A) Disagree strongly, (B) Disagree mildly, (C) Neutral (neither agree nor disagree) (D) Agree mildly, or (E) Agree strongly. Please rate yourself on all items. Indicate with an X.

		A	B	C	D	E
1	A raped woman is less desirable.					
2	The extent of the women's resistance should be the major factor in determining if a rape has occurred.					
3*	A raped woman is usually an innocent victim.					
4	Women often claim rape to protect their reputations					
5*	"Good" girls are as likely to be raped as "bad" girls.					
6	Women who have had prior sexual relationships should not complain about rape.					
7*	Women do not provoke rape by their appearance or behaviour					
8	Intoxicated women are usually willing to have sex.					
9	It would do some women good to be raped.					
10*	Even women who feel guilty about engaging in premarital sex are not likely to claim rape falsely.					
11	Most women secretly desire to be raped.					
12*	Any female may be raped.					
13	Women who are raped while accepting rides from strangers get what they deserve.					
14	Many women invent rape stories if they learn they are pregnant.					
15*	Men, not women, are responsible for rape.					
16	A woman who goes out alone at night puts herself in a position to be raped.					
17	Many women claim rape if they have consented to sexual relations but have changed their minds afterwards.					
18	Accusations of rape by bar girls, hostesses and prostitutes should be viewed with suspicion.					
19*	A woman should not blame herself for rape.					
20	A healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she really tries.					
21	Many women who report rape are lying because they are angry or want revenge on the accused.					
22*	Women who wear short skirts or tight blouses are not inviting rape.					
23	Women put themselves in situations in which they are likely to be sexually assaulted because they have an unconscious wish to be raped.					
24	Sexually experienced women are not really damaged by rape.					
25	In most cases when a woman was raped she deserved it.					

Thank you for your co-operation. Please check that you have made a cross for each item.

* Items are reverse scored.