

Turkish University Students' Attitudes Toward Rape

Z. Belma Gölge,^{1,4} M. Fatih Yavuz,¹ Selin Müderrisoglu,² and M. Sunay Yavuz³

In this study we investigated the effects of gender and gender roles upon attitudes toward rape among 432 female and 368 male college students in Turkey whose mean age was 22.08 ($SD = 2.09$). The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and measures of attributions toward date rape and stranger rape, and myths scenarios were used. All 3 scenarios were given to each participant. It was hypothesized that women would attribute less responsibility than men would to the rape victim, more responsibility to the assailant, and describe the assault as a serious crime. Women and men who have masculine gender roles were expected to attribute more responsibility to the rape victim and less responsibility to the assailant and show higher tolerance of the assault than would those in the other classified gender roles. Both men and women were expected to attribute more responsibility to the victim of a date rape and less responsibility to the date rape assailant and show higher tolerance of date rape than stranger rape. Results indicated that gender, but not gender role, was an important factor in Turkish college students' attitudes toward date rape. Women and men shared a similar point of view on stranger rape, but date rape was considered less serious than stranger rape. Gender role was not a significant factor in attitudes toward rape.

KEY WORDS: rape; gender; gender role.

Rape is a serious and growing problem in societies all over the world. Frequently occurring consequences of rape such as psychological, physical, and social disorders faced by the victims indicate the significance of this problem and show that rape has become an important psychological problem for both individuals and societies. The importance of the subject has led to a significant increase in the number of studies of attitudes toward rape over the past 30 years.

Rape is not a rare phenomenon (Burgess, Fawcett, Hazelwood, & Grant, 1995). Of all the violent crimes, rape can be characterized as the most

widespread, rapidly increasing, and yet a hidden crime, with very few actually reported (Dunn & Gilchrist, 1993; Gise & Paddison, 1988). This appears to be a cross-cultural pattern. According to statistics provided by the Turkish Ministry of Justice (1999), in 1999 a total of 15,948 investigations were opened for rape and attempted rape of children, men, and women in Turkey; this constitutes 3.3% of all types of crimes. The actual incidence is estimated to be much higher. Lack of wide-scope surveys on this topic, especially in Turkey, has limited knowledge of rape and its consequences.

Although there are a limited number of studies on rape and sexual assault in Turkey, the results of the studies done in America emphasize the importance and prevalence of rape and sexual assault (Kilpatrick, Edmunds, & Seymour, 1992; Randall & Haskell, 1995). Research shows that rape is a real threat for women, and the probability of encountering rape or attempted rape is high (Randall & Haskell, 1995). According to recent national studies in the United States, it is estimated that 1 in 6 women and 1

¹Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences, Istanbul University, Istanbul, Turkey.

²Department of Psychology, Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey.

³Faculty of Medicine, Süleyman Demirel University, Isparta, Turkey.

⁴To whom correspondence should be addressed at Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences, Istanbul University, 34303 Cerrahpasa, Istanbul, Turkey; e-mail: zbelma@istanbul.edu.tr.

in 33 men will experience an attempted or completed rape during their lifetime (Linden, 1999).

To better understand the causes of rape, researchers have investigated the attitudes of societies toward rape and rape victims. An examination of societal attitudes regarding the causes of rape is important for several reasons. An understanding of prevalent attitudes may explain why rape remains a problem, even though there have been major attempts by rape crisis centers, police, and the media to increase reporting rates and educate people about the crime. An understanding of attitudes may also explain people's reactions to both victims and offenders (Resick & Jackson, 1981).

One of the very important aims of these studies is to dispel the rape myths that blame the rape victims for their victimization (Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981). Such myths were defined for the first time by Burt (1980) as prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists. Such myths can lead to victim-blaming attitudes (Schneider, 1992). At the same time, myths constitute an important factor in the consistency of rape in societies. Examples of such myths are "women provoke rape by their appearance or behavior," "a woman who goes out alone at night puts herself in a position to be raped," "some women deserve to be raped." These myths precipitate and support the idea that rape is the inevitable result of passion aroused by a woman's behavior, and thus it is women, not men, who are held responsible for sexual assaults (Ward, 1995).

This general phenomenon of blaming the victim has been demonstrated in various populations across a number of situations in the United States. Many researchers put emphasis on rape myth agreement in various professional groups that deal with rape and rape victims. In these studies two professional groups on extreme sides are often compared; for example, it has been found that psychologists and social workers believe in rape myths the least whereas police officers, doctors, and lawyers believe in them the most (Dye & Roth, 1990; Feldman-Summers & Palmer, 1980; Gölge, Yavuz, & Günay, 1999; Lee & Cheung, 1991; Ward et al., 1988). The findings of a study done in Turkey (Gölge et al., 1999) indicated that police officers believe in rape myths the most whereas psychologists and psychiatrists believe in them the least. In this study, of the common myths given to the participants, it was found that 33% ($M = 2.8$; $SD = 0.9$) of the police officers agreed that "some women deserve rape" and 66% of police officers, and almost 50% of other professional groups excluding psychologists

(18%) and psychiatrists (27%), agreed that "the physical appearance and behaviors of women tempt men to rape." In similar research conducted by Le Doux and Hazelwood (1985) on American police officers, it was found that acceptance of the "some women deserve rape" myth ($M = 3.4$) and "the physical appearance and behaviors of women tempt men to rape" myth ($M = 2.7$) were lower than that found in Gölge and colleagues' research in Turkey (Le Doux & Hazelwood, 1985).

In Scully's study (Scully, 1990), assailants tended to believe more in rape myths than did other criminal groups. Buchele's and Hall's studies showed that assailants were more tolerant of rape and tended to believe more in myths than did the general population, although no differences between assailants and other criminal groups were found (Buchele, 1985; Hall, 1985, cited in Ward, 1995).

Men have been shown to be more tolerant of rape, believe more in rape myths, attribute more responsibility to the victim of a rape, and view rape as less severe than do women (Akvardar & Yuksel, 1993; Blumberg & Lester, 1991; Brady, Chrisler, Hosdale, Osowiecki, & Veal, 1991; Deitz, Blackwell, Daley, & Bentley, 1982; Hall, Howard, & Bozeio, 1986; Margolin, Miller, & Moran, 1989). In a study conducted in 14 countries (United States, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, New Zealand, West Indies, Israel, Turkey, India, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Zimbabwe, Mexico, and Singapore) the Turkish data revealed that the total attitudes toward Rape Victims Scale scores were higher for men than for women. The results of the study show that in all the 14 countries men held more negative attitudes toward rape victims than did women (Akvardar & Yuksel, 1993).

This discrepancy between the attitudes of women and men is proportional to the prevalence of false beliefs regarding sexuality in the society. The relatively more positive attitude of women toward rape victims may stem from the pressure they experience because of the false beliefs about sexuality on the part of the society. Whereas women can empathize more easily with the victim, men may experience difficulties in empathizing with the members of the other sex. The social roles assigned on the basis of gender by the dominant culture and the status of women in the society determine this discrepancy. In a study conducted on American and Swedish college students' attitudes toward sexuality, it has been found that, although the attitudes of male and female American students showed the expected discrepancy, it was relatively low among Swedish students. It is believed

that this is due, in part, to several years of mandatory sex education, the relatively equal power that women and men have in Swedish society (Weinberg, Lottes, & Shaver, 1995), and the greater prevalence of sexually motivated violence in the United States. The results of a study conducted in Turkey by Costin and Kaptanoğlu (1993) showed that those who believed that women's roles and rights should be limited internalized rape myths more than did others. On the other hand, female participants had more equalitarian attitudes toward women's rights, and they internalized rape myths less than did men.

Gender role orientation is another component of one's attitudes toward rape. Gender roles are stereotypic norms and expectations, defined and continuously reinforced by society, that indicate what is appropriate behavior for men and women. Money (1987) defined gender role behavior as overall behavioral patterns people produce to gain a boy/man or girl/woman status.

Bem (1974) has added the concept of androgyny to gender role classification; she pointed out that a given individual may exhibit both masculinity and femininity. She also emphasized that masculinity and femininity should not be considered as extremes of the same dimension, and each role should be measured using different scales such that individuals may get high scores in both measures (Bem, 1974).

Masculinity is a strong predictor of rape attitudes among men (Caron & Carter, 1997). Ward and Resick (1979) found that highly feminine women tended to view rape as a unidimensional model and blame only the rapist whereas nontraditional women, whether masculine or androgynous, had a more complex, multidimensional view of the causes of rape. In Quackenbush's study (Quackenbush, 1989), masculine and undifferentiated men reported a significantly higher likelihood of committing acquaintance rape, as depicted in a scenario, than did the androgynous men.

Myths about the nature of rape such as "a typical case of rape takes place in a dark, blind alley, is committed by a stranger, and includes excessive violence" and "previous sexual intercourse with the assailant decreases the severity of the assault" result in lenient attitudes toward acquaintance rape and date rape. The most common image people have of rape is that of a stranger wielding a weapon who confronts a woman in a dark alley in a "bad" part of the city. In reality this is not the most frequent scenario, even in stranger rapes (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). Contrary to popular belief, the ma-

jority of rapes are not committed by strangers, but rather by an acquaintance, a relative, a friend, or other trusted person (Randall & Haskell, 1995). Women are four times as likely to be raped by an acquaintance than by a stranger (Heise, 1993; Syzmanski, Devlin, Chrisler, & Vyse, 1993). In a high percentage of the assaults that take place at colleges, the victim and the rapist were acquainted for at least a year (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). In the United States, a survey of 32 campuses showed that 11% of the victimized women were raped by strangers, 25% by nonromantic acquaintances (friends, coworkers, or neighbors), 21% by casual dates, 30% by steady dates, and 9% by husbands or other family members (Shotland, 1989).

Acquaintance rape is one of the most misunderstood forms of criminal violence. Many people believe that it is not "real rape." It is mistakenly viewed as less violent, less serious, less criminal, and less traumatic for the victim than is a stranger rape. People usually support and have empathy for the victim of a stranger rape, whereas the victims of acquaintance rape are more frequently blamed (Koss et al., 1987; Quackenbush, 1989).

Though limited, research on the attitudes of the society at large and different professional groups toward rape has been conducted in Turkey. However, the lack of research on date rape, which has only recently become a topic of public debate, has led to the present study. With this study, the literature on rape myths will be enriched with the inclusion of yet another culture's perspective on the subject.

In this study we investigated the effects of gender and gender roles on the perception of stranger and acquaintance rapes. The hypotheses were: (1) women would tend to attribute less responsibility to the rape victim and more responsibility to the assailant, and they view the assault as a more serious crime than men would; (2) women and men who have masculine gender roles would attribute more responsibility to the rape victim and less responsibility to the assailant, and they would show higher tolerance of the assault than would those with other classified gender roles; and (3) both genders would attribute more responsibility to the victim of a date rape, less responsibility to the date rape assailant, and show higher tolerance of date rape than stranger rape; and both genders would attribute more responsibility to the victim and less responsibility to the assailant of a stranger rape scenario with myths than to stranger rape without myths, and show greater tolerance of stranger rape with myths.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 800 college students who were randomly selected from different universities in Istanbul. The return rate was 80% of 1,000 surveys we distributed. Of the 800, 432 were women and 368 were men. Their age range was 17–43 years; mean age was 22.08 years and the standard deviation was 2.09 years.

Materials

The survey was composed of three different rape scenarios, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), and a personal data form to gather age and gender characteristics of the participants. Two scenarios of stranger rape, one with and one without rape myths, and one scenario of date rape were developed in Turkish by the authors based on previous scenarios used in similar studies. The aim of these scenarios was to assess the false beliefs that people have about rape.

Scenario 1: “Aslı (woman) and Hakan (man) were two friends from college. They have known each other for 2 years and have been dating for the last 6 months. They often went out to the movies or to bars together at night to have fun. One day they decided to go to a bar. At the bar, they had drinks all evening, they danced holding each other tightly, and left the bar around 2:00 a.m. Hakan invited Aslı to his house for a cup of coffee. At Hakan’s house they started to get closer to each other. They made love for a while with their clothes on. But Aslı did not want to go any further and said that she wanted to go home. Although Aslı wanted to go, Hakan ignored her demand and engaged in a physically forced sexual intercourse.”

Scenario 2: “Yeşim (woman), age 25, was an accountant working at a company. One day after work she was assaulted by a man. At the time of the assault, she was wearing a long coat and boots on her feet, and she had her scarf wrapped around her head. That day she had to stop by a supermarket before going home. She spent lots of time at the supermarket, so when she went out it was already dark. Walking home from the supermarket with lots of shopping bags, she suddenly felt that she was being followed by a stranger. As she was speeding up, the stranger following her was also speeding up. Yeşim started to run with all the bags in her hands. The street was dark and empty. The stranger reached up at her, grasped her arm, and pulled her to a construction site nearby. He had his

knife against Yeşim’s throat. Yeşim was very scared, and she couldn’t cry out for help. The stranger tore Yeşim’s clothes apart, raped her, and then ran away.”

Scenario 3: “Çiğdem (woman), age 21, was a university student. One night Çiğdem met her friends to go to a movie and then to a bar to have fun. By 1:00 a.m. she had to return home alone. She was wearing a miniskirt, a low-cut blouse, and high boots. She took a bus home, and she was the only woman on it. She got off at a stop close to her home, and she noticed that the person next to her also got off the bus and started to follow her. While she was walking by a park, the stranger attacked Çiğdem from the back. He covered her mouth and dragged her to the park. He raped Çiğdem and ran away quickly.”

Participants were given five questions to assess the attributed responsibility to the assailant and the victim, the comments on whether the victim should report to the police or not, whether they evaluate the incident as a crime or not, and to propose punishment for each scenarios. A 5-point Likert scale (1: *not responsible* to 5: *totally responsible*) was used to determine the attributed responsibility. Another 6-point Likert scale (1: *fine rather than imprisonment*, 2: *1–7 years of imprisonment*, 3: *8–15 years of imprisonment*, 4: *16–20 years of imprisonment*, 5: *more than 20 years of imprisonment*, 6: *castration*) was used to determine the proposed punishment for the assailant.

Bem Sex Role Inventory

The BSRI was developed by Bem in 1974. The BSRI has been a focus of evaluation for measuring individuals’ gender role orientation in terms of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. In this study only the Turkish translation of femininity and masculinity scales were used; the neutral items were not included. The Turkish translation of the BSRI’s reliability and validity testing was done by Dökmen (1991). On the basis of the median split technique, it was found that the reliability coefficient for the femininity scale was $r = .77$, $p < .01$, and $r = .71$, $p < .01$ was found for the masculinity scale. Kandiyoti’s Gender Role Stereotyping Scale was used to determine the validity of the inventory, and the coefficient of correlation was found to be $r = .51$, $p < .01$ for the femininity scale and $r = .63$, $p < .01$ for the masculinity scale (Dökmen, 1991). In the present study the femininity median 5.25 and the masculinity median

5.00 were used to classify participants. Both medians were calculated on the basis of the whole sample ($n = 800$).

Procedure

The questionnaire was administered at the universities that the participants attended. All three scenarios and the BSRI were given to each participant in order to eliminate intergroup bias. Participants completed the questionnaires in groups and were assured of confidentiality of their answers.

RESULTS

Distribution of gender role scores were as follows: Women's gender roles were distributed as 10.4% masculine, 36.3% feminine, 19.2% androgynous, and 34.1% undifferentiated. Men's gender role scores were distributed as 30.4% masculine, 9.2% feminine, 27% androgynous, and 33.4% undifferentiated.

A 2 (gender) \times 3 (scenarios) ANOVA was used to examine the main effects of gender on the answers related to responsibility attributed to the victim and the assailant and proposed legal sanction for the assailant. First, the results showed that attributed responsibility to victims was significantly affected by the gender variable, $F(1, 798) = 15.96$, $p < .001$; men tended to blame the victim more than did women. The interaction of gender and scenario also was found to be significant, $F(2, 1,596) = 10.89$, $p < .001$, and the effect of gender showed variation across the scenarios. An independent sample t test was used to test the effect of gender in each three scenarios. The effect of gender was found to be significant in date rape, $t(798) = 5.07$, $p < 0.001$, and stranger rape without

myths, $t(798) = 4.21$, $p < 0.001$, whereas no significant gender difference was found in stranger rape with myths.

Next, the effect of gender on the attributed responsibility to the assailants, $F(1, 798) = 15.43$, $p < .001$, and on the interaction of gender by scenarios, $F(2, 1596) = 13.54$, $p < .001$, were found to be significant. An independent sample t test showed that the effect of gender was significant only on date rape, $t(798) = 4.62$, $p < 0.001$, whereas no statistical significance was detected in other two scenarios. Considering the attributed responsibility, women compared to men tended to attribute less responsibility than men did to the victim and more responsibility to the assailant (see Table I).

The effects of gender on attitudes toward victim reporting the assault to the police and on tolerance of rape were analyzed by a chi-square test. The results indicated a significant effect of gender on attitudes toward victim reporting the assault to the police, $\chi^2(df = 1) = 7.24$, $p > .001$, and tolerance toward rape, $\chi^2(df = 1) = 17.28$, $p > .001$, only for the date rape scenario; no significant variation was found in the stranger rape scenarios. Compared to women, men tended to believe more that the date rape victims should not report the assault to the police, and they tended to evaluate the assault as a lesser crime (see Table II).

The effects of gender on the proposed legal sanction for the assailant was found to be significant, $F(1, 763) = 75.15$, $p < .001$, whereas the interaction of gender and scenarios was not found to be statistically significant. The results of independent sample t tests showed that the effects of gender on date rape, $t(763) = 6.14$, $p < 0.001$, stranger rape with myths, $t(763) = 7.58$, $p < .001$, and stranger rape without myths, $t(763) = 7.43$, $p < .001$, all were found to be significant. In all scenarios, women desired the

Table I. Means and Standard Deviations for Responses Related to the Responsibility Attributed to Both Parties of the Incident

Questions	Date rape		Stranger rape (without myths)		Stranger Rape (with myths)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
How responsible do you think is the woman in this incident?						
Women ($n = 432$)	2.38	1.04	1.05	0.23	2.09	1.07
Men ($n = 368$)	2.77	1.13	1.14	0.40	2.18	1.09
How responsible do you think is the man in this incident?						
Women ($n = 432$)	4.31	0.78	4.97	0.24	4.67	0.62
Men ($n = 368$)	4.03	0.93	4.98	0.14	4.58	0.68

Note. 1: not responsible; 2: partially responsible; 3: responsible; 4: quite responsible; 5: completely responsible.

Table II. Frequencies of Responses Related to Victim's Reporting to the Police and Tolerance Toward Rape as a Crime

Questions	Date rape				Stranger rape ^a (without myths)				Stranger rape (with myths)			
	Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Should the victim report to the police with the claim of being raped?												
Women (<i>n</i> = 432)	291	67	141	33	430	99.5	2	0.5	417	96.5	15	3.5
Men (<i>n</i> = 368)	214	58	154	42	367	99.7	1	0.3	349	94.8	19	5.2
Do you believe that a crime was committed in this incident?												
Women (<i>n</i> = 432)	382	88.4	50	11.6	432	100	—	—	431	99.8	1	0.2
Men (<i>n</i> = 368)	285	77.4	83	22.6	368	100	—	—	362	98.4	6	1.6

^aNo statistical evaluation was done for the second question for Scenario 2 because the answers were the same for both genders.

assailant to be punished more heavily than did men (see Table III).

A 3 (scenarios) \times 4 (gender roles) ANOVA was performed to explore the effects of gender roles on attributed responsibility both to the victim and the assailant and the attitudes toward the legal punishment to be assigned to the assailant. The results revealed no significant variation of gender roles among men. However, the interaction of scenarios by gender roles among women was found to be significant, $F(6, 756) = 2.48$, $p < .02$, for the attributed legal punishment to the assailant, whereas no significance was found for the attributed responsibility. Then the effects of the gender role variable across all scenarios were analyzed separately by one-way ANOVA. Gender role was significant only for women in the context of date rape, $F(3, 378) = 6.63$, $p < 0.05$ (see Table IV). To clarify which gender role was responsible for the observed significance, a Tukey-HSD test was conducted. With the Tukey HSD test the four gender roles were compared to each other, and the statistical significance was found to stem from the difference between masculine and undifferentiated women ($p < 0.04$).

The influence of gender role on tolerance of rape and thoughts about the victim's reporting the assault to the police was investigated by a chi-square test. The

gender role variable was not found to be significant for either gender.

Paired samples *t* tests were used to determine the differences in the participants' interpretations of the three rape scenarios, the responsibility attributed to the rape assailant, and the proposed legal sanctions for the assailants. Significant differences were found among the scenarios for both the attributions of responsibility and the proposed legal sanctions. Both genders found the date rape victim to be more responsible than the stranger rape victims. The victim in the stranger rape scenario with myths was found to be more responsible than the victim of stranger rape without myths, and the assailant in the stranger rape scenario with myths was found to be less responsible than the assailant in the stranger rape scenario without myths.

Both women and men proposed the most severe punishment for the assailant in the stranger rape scenario without myths, then the assailant in the stranger rape scenario with myths, and the least severe punishment for the date rape assailant (see Table V).

The analyses of the responses related to the victim's reporting to the police and tolerance of rape show similar results. For both genders the percentage of participants who think that the date rape victim should not report the assault to the police is quite

Table III. Means and Standard Deviation Scores by Gender for the Legal Punishment Attributions for the Assailant of Those Who Believe a Crime was Committed

	<i>n</i>	Date rape		<i>n</i>	Stranger rape (without myths)		<i>n</i>	Stranger rape (with myths)	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Women	(382)	2.62	1.34	432	4.58	1.14	431	4.12	1.23
Men	(285)	2.13	1.18	368	4.02	1.25	362	3.48	1.26

Note. 1: fine rather than imprisonment; 2: 1–7 years of imprisonment; 3: 8–15 years of imprisonment; 4: 16–20 years of imprisonment; 5: 20 years of imprisonment; 6: castration.

Table IV. Means and Standard Deviation Scores by Gender Role for the Responses Related to the Legal Punishment Attributions for the Assailant of Those who Believe a Crime Was Committed

Gender roles ^a	<i>n</i>	Date rape		<i>n</i>	Stranger rape (without myths)		<i>n</i>	Stranger rape (with myths)	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Women	382			432			431		
M	39	3.10	1.47	45	4.71	1.18	45	4.07	1.30
F	141	2.56	1.34	157	4.53	1.10	157	4.08	1.22
A	71	2.81	1.42	83	4.72	1.17	83	4.17	1.24
U	131	2.46	1.25	147	4.52	1.12	146	4.14	1.21
Men	285			368			362		
M	85	1.96	0.99	112	4.07	1.24	109	3.46	1.20
F	22	1.97	0.93	34	3.88	1.21	34	3.34	1.13
A	83	2.16	1.22	99	3.96	1.24	98	3.46	1.23
U	95	2.13	1.23	123	3.91	1.30	121	3.44	1.35

Note. 1: Fine rather than imprisonment; 2: 1–7 years of imprisonment; 3: 8–15 years of imprisonment; 4: 16–20 years of imprisonment; 5: 20 years of imprisonment; 6: Castration.

^aM: masculine; F: feminine; A: androgynous; U: undifferentiated.

high (33.0% of women, 44.0% of men). But almost all of the participants (99.5% of women, 99.7% of men) who commented on the stranger rape without myths and nearly all of the participants (96.5% of women, 94.8% of men) who commented on the stranger rape with myths think that the victim should report the assault to the police (see Table II).

Thus, it was found that the participants did not tolerate stranger rape. Both genders identified rape as

a crime in the stranger rape without myths scenario as did 99.8% of women and 98.4% of men in the stranger rape with myths scenario. Tolerance for date rape is higher; 11.6% of women and 22.6% of men did not identify date rape as a crime (see Table II).

DISCUSSION

The results of this study demonstrate the differences between women and men in their attitudes toward rape. The most important gender difference was found regarding participants' attitudes toward date rape. Women, compared to men, attributed less responsibility to the victim and more to the assailant, and they believed more strongly that the victim should report a date rape to the police. Women view date rape more as a crime, and they recommended that the assailant be punished more severely.

On the other hand, in the case of stranger rape, gender differences occurred only in assessments of the victim's responsibility and the assailant's punishment. In perceptions of stranger rape with myths, a significant gender difference was found only in assailant punishment. No significant differences were found concerning the rest of the responses of men and women, which were very similar.

There has been a great amount of research that supports the idea that gender plays a significant role in the evaluation of rape and attributions made about the victims of rape. In one of these studies men were found to believe significantly more strongly than women that sex was the motivation for rape (Szymanski et al., 1993). On the other hand, in another

Table V. *t* Values of Across-Scenario Comparisons

	Women	Men
Q: How responsible do you think is the woman in this incident?	<i>t</i> (431)	<i>t</i> (367)
Date rape and stranger rape without myths	27.12 ^a	28.71 ^a
Date rape and stranger rape with myths	5.50 ^a	10.47 ^a
Stranger rape with myths and stranger rape without myths	21.12 ^a	19.90 ^a
Q: How responsible do you think is the man in this incident?	<i>t</i> (431)	<i>t</i> (367)
Date rape and stranger rape without myths	18.04 ^a	19.42 ^a
Date rape and stranger rape with myths	9.32 ^a	11.24 ^a
Stranger rape with myths and stranger rape without myths	10.64 ^a	11.31 ^a
Q: How do you think the assailant should be punished?	<i>t</i> (392)	<i>t</i> (371)
Date rape and stranger rape without myths	28.37 ^a	28.67 ^a
Date rape and stranger rape with myths	21.36 ^a	20.75 ^a
Stranger rape with myths and stranger rape without myths	10.80 ^a	10.93 ^a

Note. Mean vs. *SD* scores are given in Tables I and II.

^a*p* < 0.001.

study men were found to be more tolerant of rape if the date was proposed by the woman, if the man paid for the date, and if the woman went to the man's apartment (Muehlenhard, Friedman, & Thomas, 1985).

Gender Role Differences

Contrary to our hypothesis, no gender role differences were found in the evaluation of rape scenarios. On the other hand, no differences were found in beliefs between women who were classified as masculine and men who were classified as masculine, and no difference was found in beliefs between those classified as undifferentiated or androgynous and those classified as feminine. Szymanski et al.'s study also showed in a similar way that there were no differences between people with different gender roles in their attitudes toward rape (Szymanski et al., 1993). Caron and Carter's study, on the other hand, showed that those who were classified as undifferentiated, compared to those who are classified as feminine, masculine, or androgynous, tended to be more tolerant of rape and attribute more responsibility on the victim of the assault (Caron & Carter, 1997). According to Rando, Rogers, and Brittan-Powell (1998), people who hold traditional masculine gender role beliefs tend to be more tolerant of rape (Rando et al., 1998).

A significant difference in recommendations for the punishment of the assailant was found between women who were classified as undifferentiated and those who were classified as masculine. Those women who were classified as masculine stated that the assailant should severely be punished. On the other hand, Ward and Resick (1979) found that those women who had a feminine gender role tended to evaluate rape in a unidimensional way by putting the blame on the assailant only, whereas those women who had masculine or androgynous roles tended to evaluate rape in a multidimensional way by trying to find the reasons of the assailant, believing that it is not only the assailant or the victim who caused the assault, and insisting that other factors play a role in this type of assault and should not be disregarded (Resick & Jackson, 1981).

Scenario Differences

Significant differences were found when three different rape scenarios were compared to each other, which supports our third hypothesis. Both men and

women evaluated stranger rape as more serious than date rape, and they attributed more responsibility to the victim of a date rape. The presence of myths in the scenario increased the victims' responsibility and decreased the assailants'. The two stranger rape scenarios differed from each other depending on the presence of the myths, except that for women there were no differences in rape tolerance. Rape myths did not affect women's evaluations of rape as a crime.

The scenario in which it was dark, silent, and the assailant was a stranger with a weapon was believed to reflect a more "real rape" phenomenon (scenario 2), whereas when the assailant was an acquaintance or even a boyfriend (scenario 1) the situation raised suspicion in the participants.

There have been many studies of attributions about date and stranger rape. These studies show that both men and women have false beliefs about rape. Assaults by an acquaintance seem less like rape than those by a stranger, and more responsibility is thus attributed to the victim (Quackenbush, 1989; Szymanski et al., 1993). Warshaw's study (Warshaw, 1998) showed that those who experience rape in the legal sense do not necessarily evaluate it this way, therefore 73% of women who have been raped do not report it.

Conclusion

In this study we demonstrated that date rapes are perceived as less severe, less criminal, and more than the fault of the victim than are stranger rapes. This indicates that the assailant being an acquaintance is more significant than such myths as the inebrity of the victim, the provocative quality of her dress, and going out alone at night. Thus, it shows that, in Turkey, the likelihood of the assailant being a date is a far more powerful myth.

However, this research does not reflect the attitude of the Turkish society in general because the sample consisted of university students, and education could not be counter balanced. There is a need for future research to consider different groups with different educational and socioeconomic backgrounds.

REFERENCES

- Akvardar, Y., & Yuksel, S. (1993). Cinsel tecavüze uğrayan kişilere karşı alınan tavır [Attitudes toward rape victims]. *Nöropsikiyatri Arşivi*, 30, 347-351.
- Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Clinical and Consulting Psychology*, 42, 155-162.

- Blumberg, M. L., & Lester, D. (1991). High school and college students' attitudes toward rape. *Adolescence*, 26, 727-729.
- Brady, E. C., Chrisler, J. C., Hosdale, D. C., Osowiecki, D. M., & Veal, T. A. (1991). Date rape, expectations, avoidance strategies, and attitudes toward victims. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 13, 427-429.
- Burgess, A. W., Fawcett, J., Hazelwood, R. R., & Grant, C. A. (1995). Victim care services and the comprehensive sexual assessment tool. In R. H. Hazelwood & A. W. Burgess (Eds.), *Rape investigation* (2nd ed., pp. 263-272). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 217-230.
- Burt, M. R., & Albin, R. S. (1981). Rape myths, rape definitions, and probability of conviction. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 11, 212-230.
- Caron, S. L., & Carter, D. B. (1997). The relationships among sex role orientation, egalitarianism, attitudes toward sexuality, and attitudes toward violence against women. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 137, 568-587.
- Costin, F., & Kaptanoğlu, C. (1993). Beliefs about rape and women's social roles: A Turkish replication. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 23, 327-330.
- Deitz, S. R., Blackwell, K. T., Daley, P., & Bentley, B. J. (1982). Measurement of empathy toward rape victims and rapists. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 43, 372-384.
- Dökmen, Z. (1991). Bem cinsiyet rolü envanterinin geçerlilik ve güvenilirlik çalışması [Validity and reliability study of Bem Sex Role Inventory in Turkey]. *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 35, 81-89.
- Dunn, S. F. M., & Gilchrist, V. J. (1993). Sexual assault. *Primary Care*, 20, 359-373.
- Dye, E., & Roth, S. (1990). Psychotherapists' knowledge about and attitudes toward sexual assault victim clients. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 14, 191-212.
- Feldman-Summers, S., & Palmer, G. C. (1980). Rape as viewed by judges, prosecutors, and police officers. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 7, 19-40.
- Gise, L., & Paddison, P. (1988). Rape, sexual abuse, and its victim. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 11, 629-648.
- Gölge, Z. B., Yavuz, M. F., & Günay, Y. (1999). İlgili meslekten kişilerin ırza geçme ile ilgili tutum ve inanışları [Related professions' attitudes and beliefs concerning rape]. *Nöropsikiyatri Arşivi*, 36, 146-153.
- Hall, E. R., Howard, J. A., & Boezio, S. L. (1986). Tolerance of rape: A sexist or antisocial attitude? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 10, 101-118.
- Heise, L. L. (1993). Reproductive freedom and violence against women: Where are the intersections? *Journal of Law and Medical Ethics*, 21, 206-216.
- Kilpatrick, D. G., Edmunds, C. N., & Seymour, A. (1992). *Rape in America: A report to the nation*. Arlington, VA: National Victim Center.
- Koss, M. P., Gidycz, C. A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology*, 1987, 162-170.
- Ledoux, J. C., & Hazelwood, R. R. (1985). Police attitudes toward rape. *Journal of Police Science Administration*, 1985, 85-97.
- Lee, H. B., & Cheung, F. M. (1991). The Attitudes Toward Rape Victims Scale: Reliability and validity in a Chinese context. *Sex Roles*, 24, 599-603.
- Linden, J. A. (1999). Sexual assault. *Emergency Medicine Clinics of North America*, 17, 685-697.
- Margolin, L., Miller, M., & Moran, P. B. (1989). When a kiss is not just a kiss: Relating violations of consent in kissing to rape myth acceptance. *Sex Roles*, 20, 231-243.
- Money, J. (1987). *Male and female homosexuality: Psychological approaches*. Washington, DC: Hemisphere.
- Muehlenhard, C. L., Friedman, D. E., & Thomas, C. M. (1985). Is date rape justifiable? The effects of dating activity, who initiated, who paid, and men's attitudes toward women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 9, 297-310.
- Muehlenhard, C. L., & Linton, M. A. (1987). Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors. *Journal of Counseling and Psychology*, 14, 186-196.
- Quackenbush, M. (1989). A comparison of androgynous, masculine sex typed, and undifferentiated males on dimensions of attitudes toward rape. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 23, 318-342.
- Randall, M., & Haskell, L. (1995). Sexual violence in women's lives: Findings from the Women's Safety Project, a community-based survey. *Violence against Women*, 3, 6-31.
- Rando, R. A., Rogers, J. R., & Brittan-Powell, C. S. (1998). Gender role conflict and college men's sexually aggressive attitudes and behavior. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 20, 359-369.
- Resick, P. A., & Jackson, T. L. (1981). Attitudes toward rape among mental health professionals. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 9, 481-489.
- Schneider, L. J. (1992). Perceptions of single and multiple incident rape. *Sex Roles*, 26, 97-100.
- Scully, D. (1990). *Understanding sexual violence: A study of convicted rapists*. London: Harper Collins.
- Shotland, R. L. (1989). A model of the causes of date rape in developing and close relationships. In C. Hendrick (Ed.), *Close relationships* (pp. 247-270). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Szymanski, L. A., Devlin, A. S., Chrisler, J. C., & Vyse, S. A. (1993). Gender role and attitudes toward rape in male and female college students. *Sex Roles*, 29, 37-57.
- Turkish Ministry of Justice. (1999). *Justice statistics of Turkey*. Ankara: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Ward, C., Newlon, B., Krahe, B., Myambo, K., Payne, M., Tastaban, Y., et al. (1998). The Attitudes toward Rape Victims Scale: Psychometric data from 14 countries. *Social and Behavioral Sciences Documents*, 18, 2877.
- Ward, C. A. (1995). *Attitudes toward rape: Feminist and social psychological perspectives*. London: Sage.
- Ward, M. A., & Resick, P. A. (1979, August). *Relationships between attitudes toward rape and sex-role perception*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, New York.
- Warshaw, R. (1988). *I never called it rape*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Weinberg, M. S., Lottes, I. L., & Shaver, F. M. (1995). Swedish or American heterosexual college youth: Who is more permissive? *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 24, 409-437.